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BIOGRAPHY

PLUTARCH'S LIVES
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH
VOLUME III

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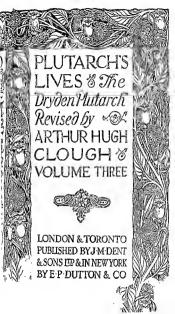
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ADTAXERYES

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

PHOCION

Dissains, the orator, when in the height of the power which he botained at Athens, by advising the state in the interest of Anti-paeer and the Macedorians, being necessitated to write and speak many things below the dignity, and contrary to the character, of the city, was went to excuse himself by saying he steered only the shipwrechs of the commonwealth. This hardy saying of his might have some appearance of trush, if applied to Phocioris government. For Demades, indeed, was himself the mere wrede of his country, living and ruling so dissolutely, that Antipater took occasion to say of him, when he was now grown old, that he was like a sacrificed beast, all consumed except the tongue and the belly. But Phocior's was a real virtue, only overmatched in the unequal contest with an adverse time, and endeed, by the life forms of George, inglicious and obscure. We must not, indeed, allow ourselves to concur with Sophoeles in so far dimidshing the force of virtue as to say thrive as to

"When fortune fails, the sense we had before Deserts us also, and is ours no more."

Yet thus much, indeed, must be allowed to happen in the conflicts between good men and ill fortune, that instead of due returns of honour and gratitude, obloquy and unjust surmises may often prevail, to weaken, in a considerable degree, the credit of their virtue.

It is commonly said that public bodies are most insulting and contumelious to a good man, when they are puffed up with prosperity and success. But the contrary often happens; affiliations and public calamities naturally embittering and souring the minds and tempers of men, and disposing them to such providents and irritability that hardly my word or sentiment of common vigour can be addressed to them, but they will be apt to take define. He that remonstrates with them on their

Plutarch & Laves

2 errors is presumed to be insulting over their mulortunes and any free-spoken expostulation is construed into coutempt. Honey itself is searching in sore and ulcerated parts and the wisest and most jud cous counsels prove provoking to dis tempered minds unless offered with those soothing and com pliant approaches which made the poet for instance characterise plant approaches which made the poet for instance characterise agreeable things in general by a word express we of a grateful and easy touch exciting nothing of offence or resistance. In flamed eyes require a retireat into dusky places amongst colours of the deepest shades and are unable to endure the brilliancy of light. So fares t in the body pol tic m times of distress and humiliation a certam sens tiveness and soreness of humour prevail, with a weak incapacity of enduring any free and open solvice even when the necess ty of affairs most requires such plain dealing and when the consequences of an single error may be beyond retrieving At such times the conduct of public affairs is on all hands most hazardous. Those who burnour the people are swallowed up in the common ruin those who endeavour to lead them snight perish the first in their attempt.

endeasour to lead ment argin period the arth in their strength.

Astronomers till up the sun sind on in ne ther exactly parallel with that of the heavens in general nor yet directly and das instructually oppose to but described an old queline with insensible declination he seems to current protects grow as a several seasons in just operations to the whole exaction as several seasons in just operations to the whole exaction. So it happens in political selfaure it the motions of rivers be come stantly oppose they will be revended as an other parallel properties the will be revended as and thary and harsh as on the

other and too much deference or encouragement as too aften that been to popular faults and errors is full of danger and rumous consequences. But where concession is the response to willing obedience and a state-stana gratifiers his people that the may the more imperatively recall them to a sense of the common unterest, then meded human beings who are ready enough to serve well and submit to moth if they are not always ordered shock and roughly handred like slaves may be said to be guidened and the submit of the state of the said of the said

argument and reason, controlling it into compliance with his eternal nurroses,

Cato the vonnger is a similar instance. His manners were little agreeable or acceptable to the people, and he received very slender marks of their favour; witness his repulse when he sued for the consulship, which he lost, as Cicero says, for acting rather like a citizen in Plato's commonwealth, than among the dress of Romulus's posterity, the same thing happening to him, in my oninion, as we observe in fruits rive before their season, which we rather take pleasure in looking at and admiring than actually use; so much was his old-fashioned virtue out of the present mode, among the depraved customs which time and luxury had introduced, that it appeared, indeed, remarkable and wonderful, but was too great and too good to suit the present exigencies. being so out of all proportion to the times. Yet his circumstances were not altogether like Phocion's, who came to the helm when the ship of the state was just upon sinking. Cato's time was, indeed, stormy and tempestuous, yet so, as he was able to assist in managing the sails, and lend his helping hand to those who, which he was not allowed to do, commanded at the helm, others were to blame for the result; yet his courage and virtue made it in spite of all a bard task for fortune to ruin the commonwealth, and it was only with long time and effort and by slow decrees, when he himself had all but succeeded in averting it, that the catastrophe was at last effected.

Photion and he may be well compared together, not for any mere general resemblances, as though we should say both were good men and great statesmen. For, assuredly, there is difference enough among virtues of the same denomination, as between the bravery of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas, the prudence of Themistories and that of Aristides, the justice of Numa and that of Agesilans. But these men's virtue, even looking to the most minute points of difference, bear the same colour, stamp, and character impressed upon them, so as not to be distinguishable. The mixture is still made in the same exact proportions whether we look at the combination to be found in them, both of lenity on the one hand, with austerity on the other: their boldness mon some occasions, and caution on others: their extreme solicitude for the public, and perfect neglect of themselves; their fixed and immovable bent to all virtuous and honest actions, accompanied with an extreme tenderness and semunlosity as to doing anything which might appear mean or unworthy; so that we should need a very nice and subtle logic of discrimination to detect and establish the

As to Cate's extraction, it is confessed by all to have been illustrious, as will be said hereafter, nor was Phocion's, I feel assured, obscure or ignoble For had he been the son of a turner, as Idomeneus reports, it had certainly not been forgotten to his disparagement by Glancippus, the son of Hyperides, when heaping up a thousand spiteful things to say against him Nor. indeed, had it been possible for him, in such circumstances, to have had such a liberal breeding and education in his youth, as to be first Plato's and afterwards Xenocrates's scholar in the Academy, and to have devoted himself from the first to the Dursuit of the noblest studies and practices. His countenance was so composed that scarcely was he ever seen by any Athenian either laughing or in tears He was rarely known, so Duris has recorded, to appear m the public baths, or was observed with his hand exposed outside his cloak, when he wore one Abroad. and in the camp, he was so hardy in going always thin clad and barefoot, except in a time of excessive and intelerable cold, that the soldiers used to say in merriment, that it was like to be a hard winter when Phocion wore his cost.

Although he was most gentle and humane in his disposition. his aspect was stern and forbidding, so that he was seldom accested alone by any who were not entimate with him When Chares once made some remark on his frowning looks, and the Athenians laughed at the jest, "My sullenness," said Phocion. never yet made any of you sad, but these men's sollities have myen you sorrow enough" In hie manner Phocor's language, also, was full of mstruction, abounding in happy maxims and wise thoughts, but admitted no embellishment to its austere and commanding brevity Zeno said a philosopher should maker speak till his words had been steeped in meaning, and such it may be said, were Phocion's, crowding the greatest amount of timeficance into the smallest allowance of space. And to this, probably, Folyeuctus, the Sphettun, referred, when he said that Demosthenes was, indeed, the best orator of his time, but Phomos the most powerful speaker His oratory, like small coin of great value, was to be estimated, not by its bulk, but its intrinsic worth. He was once observed, it is said, when the theatre was filling with the audience, to walk musing alone behind the scenes, which one of his friends taking notice of said, " Phocion, you seem to be thoughtful" "Yes," replied he, "I am considering how I may shorten what I am going to say to the Athenians Even Demosthenes kinself, who used to despise the rest of the haranguers, when Photian stood up, was won't to say quietly to those about him, "Here is the pruning-knife of my periods." This, however, might refer, perhaps, not so much to his eloquence as to the influence of his character, since not only a word, but even a nod from a person who is esteemed, is of more force than a thousand arounders or studied sentences from others.

In his youth he followed Chabrias, the general, from whom he gained many lessons in military knowledge, and in return did something to correct his pnegnal and capricious humour. For whereas at other times Chabrias was heavy and phiegmatic, in the heat of battle he used to be so fired and transported that he threw himself headlong into danger beyond the forwardest, which indeed, in the end, cost him his life in the island of Chios. he having pressed his own ship foremost to force a landing. But Phocion, heing a man of temper as well as courage, had the dexterity at some times to rouse the general, when in his procrastinating mood, to action, and at others to moderate and cool the impetuousness of his unscasonable fury. Upon which account Chabrias, who was a good-natured, kindly-tempered man, loved him much, and procured him commands and opportunities for action, giving himself means to make himself known in Greece, and using his assistance in all his affairs of moment. Particularly the sea-fight of Naxos added not a little to Phocion's reputation, when he had the left squadron committed to him by Chabrias, as in this quarter the battle was sharply contested, and was decided by a speedy victory. And this being the first prosperous sea-battle the city had engaged in with its own force since its captivity, Chabrias won great popularity by it, and Phocion, also, got the reputation of a good commander. The victory was gained at the time of the Great Mysteries, and Chabrias used to keep the commemoration of it by distributing wine among the Athenians, yearly, on the sixteenth day of Boedromion.

After this, Chabrias sent Phocion to denand their quota of the charges of the war from the islanders, and offered him a guard of twenty ships. Phocion told bian, if he intended him to go against them as enemies, that force was imignificant; if its of friends and allian, one vessel was sufficient. So the took his own single galley, and having visited the cites, and treated with the magistrates in an equitable and open manner, he brought back a number of ships, sunt by the confederates to Athens, to convey the suppliers. Methics of this friendship and attention close with Chabnas's life, but after his decrase he carefully maintained it to all that were related to him, and chiefly to his son, Ctesippus, when he laboured to bring to some good, and although he was a stupid and intractable young fellow, always end-avoured, so far as in him lay, to correct and cover his fanits and follies Once, however, when the youngster was very impertment and troublesome to him in the camp, interrupt me hom with tale greetions, and purting forward his opinions and suggestions of how the war should be conducted, he could not forbear exclaiming, "O Chabrias, Chabrias, how grateful I show myself for your friendship, in submitting to endure your son!"

Upon lookers mto sublic matters, and the way in which they were now conducted, he observed that the administration of affairs was tot and percelled out, like so much land by allogment, between the military men and the public speakers, so that neither these nor those about interfere with the claims of the others. As the one were to address the assembles, to draw up votes and prepare motions, mes, for example, like Eubulus, Anstophon. Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, and were to rush their interests here, so, in the meantime, Diopithes, Menestheus. Leorthenes, and Chares were to make their profit by war and m military termmands. Photon, on the other hand, was desirous to restore and carry out the old system, more complete in itself, and more harmonious and uniform, which prevailed in the times of Pencles, Aristides, and Solon, when statesmen showed themselves, to use Archilochus's words-

" Mary and the Musey friends alike designed,
To get and arms multi-resulty inchined."

and the presiding goddess of his country was, he did not fail to see, the patreness and protectives of both evol and military wisdom With these views, while his advect at home was always for reace and quietness, he nevertheless beld the office of general more frequently than any of the statesmen, not only of his own times, but of those preceding, never, indeed, promoting or en courseme military expeditions, yet never, on the other hand, shunning or declining, when he was called upon by the public voice. Thus much is well known, that he was no less than fortrefive several times chosen general, he being never on any one of those occasions present at the election, but having the command. m his absence, by common suffrage, conferred on him, and he sent for on purpose to undertake it. Insemuch that it amared those who did not well consider to see the people always prefer

Phocion, who was so far from humouring them or courting their favour, that he always thwarted and opposed them. But so it was, as creat men and princes are said to call in their flatterers when dinner has been served, so the Athenians, upon slight occasions, entertained and diverted themselves with their spruce speakers and trim erators, but when it came to action, they were sober and considerate enough to single out the austerest and wisest for public employment, however much he might be opposed to their wishes and sentiments. This, indeed, he made no scruple to admit, when the oracle from Delphi was read, which informed them that the Athenians were all of one mind. a single dissentient only excepted, frankly coming forward and declaring that they need look no further; he was the man; there was no one but he who was dissatisfied with everything they did. And when once he gave his opinion to the people, and was met with the general approbation and applause of the assembly, turning to some of his friends, he asked them. " Have I inadvertently said something foolish?"

Upon occasion of a public festivity, being solicited for his contribution by the example of others, and the people pressing him much, he bade them apply themselves to the wealthy; for his part he should blush to make a present here, rather than a repayment there, turning and pointing to Calliclas, the moneylender. Being still clamoured upon and importuned, he told them this tale. A certain cowardly fellow setting out for the wars, hearing the ravens croak in his passage, threw down his arms, resolving to wait. Presently he took them and ventured out again, but hearing the same music, once more made a ston. "For," said he, " you may croak till you are tired, but you shall make no dinner upon me."

The Athenians preing him at an unseasonable time to lead them out against the enemy, he peremptorily refused, and being upbraided by them with cowardice and pusillanimity, he told them, " Just now, do what you will, I shall not be braye; and do what I will, you will not be cowards. Nevertheless, we know well enough what we are." And when again, in a time of great danger, the people were very harsh upon him, demanding a strict account how the public money had been employed, and the like, he bade them. "First, good friends, make sure you are safe." After a war, during which they had been very tractable and timorous, when, upon peace being made, they began again to be confident and overbearing, and to cry out upon Phocion, as having lost them the honour of victory, to all their clamour he

made only this answer, "My friends, you are fortunate in having a leader who knows you, otherwise, you had long since been undone'

Having a controversy with the Eccotians about boundaries, which he counselled them to decide by negotiation, they melined to blows "You had better," said he, "carry on the contest with the weapons in which you excel (your tongues), and not by war, m which you are inferior" Once when he was addressing them, and they would not hear him or let him go on, said he. "You may compel me to act against my wishes, but you shall never force me to sneak arounst my sudgment." Among the many public speakers who opposed him, Demosthenes, for example, once told him, "The Athenans, Phocion, will kill you some day when they once are m a rage" "And you," said he, "if they once are in their senses." Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, once on a hot day was arging war with Philip, and being a complete man, and out of breath and us a great heat with spraking, took numerous draughts of water as he went on "Here, indeed," said Phonon, "is a fit man to lead us into a

war! What think you he will do when he is carrying his corselet and his shield to meet the enemy, if even here, delivermg a prepared speech to you, has almost killed him with exhaustion?" When Lycurgus in the assembly made many reflections on his past conduct, upbraiding him above all for having advised them to deliver up the ten citizens whom Alexander had demanded, he replied that he had been the author of much safe and wholesome county! which had not been

followed

There was a man called Archibiades, nicknamed the Lacedemonan, who used to go about with a huge, over-grown beard, wearing an old threadbare cloak, and affecting a very stern countenance Phonon once, when attacked to conneal by the rest, appealed to this man for his support and testimony And when he got up and began to speak on the popular side, putting his hand to his beard, "O Archibiades," said he, " it is time you should shave" Anstogiton, a common accuser, was a terrible man of war within the assembly, always inflaming the people to battle, but when the muster roll came to be produced, he appeared lumping on a cratch, with a bandage on his leg. Photion descried him afar off, coming m, and ched out to the clerk, " Put down Arstogaten, too, as lame and worthless"

So that it is a little worderful, how a man so severe and harsh upon all occasions should, notwithstanding, obtain the name of

the Good. Yet, though difficult, it is not, I suppose, impossible for men's tempers, any more than for wines, to be at the same time barsh and agreeable to the taste; just as on the other hand many that are sweet at the first taste are found, on further use, extremely disagreeable and unwholesome. Hyperides, we are told, once said to the people, "Do not ask yourselves, men of Athens, whether er not I am bitter, but whether or not I am paid for being so," as though a coverous purpose were the only thing that should make a harsh temper insupportable, and as if men might not even more justly render themselves obnoxious to popular dislike and consure, by using their power and influence in the indulgence of their own private passions of pride and jealousy, anger and animosity. Phocion never allowed himself from any feeling of personal hostility to do hurt to any fellowcitizen, nor, indeed, reputed any man his enemy, except so far as he could not but contend sharply with such as opposed the measures he urged for the public good; in which argument he was, indeed, a rude, obstinate, and uncompromising adversary. For his general conversation, it was easy, courteous, and obliging to all, to that point that he would befriend his very opponents in their distress, and espouse the cause of those who differed most from him, when they needed his patronage. His friends reproaching him for pleading in behalf of a man of indifferent character, he told them the innocent had no need of an advocate. Aristogiton, the sycophant, whom we mentioned before, having, after sentence passed upon him, sent carnestly to Phocion to speak with him in the prison, his friends dissuaded him from going; "Nay, by your favour," said he, "where should I rather choose to pay Aristogiton a visit?"

As for the allies of the Athenians, and the islanders, whenever any admiral besides Phoeion was sent, they treated him as an enemy suspect, harricated their gasts, blocked up their havens, brought in from the country their cattle, slaves, wives, additioner, and put them is gurisson, but upon Phoeion's arrival, they went out to welcome him in their private boats and barges, with streamers and garbands, and received him at landing with

every demonstration of joy and pleasure.

When King Philip was effecting his entry into Euboza, and was bringing over troops from Maccdonia, and making himself master of the cities, by mease of the tynatus who ruled in them, Platarch of Erectia sent to request aid of the Athenians for the relief of the island, which was in imminent danger of falling whole into the hands of the Maccdonians. Photoin was sent thither with a bandful of then in comparison in expectation that the Euborans themselves would flock in and toin him But when he came he found all things in confusion the country all betraved the whole ground as it were undermined under his feet by the secret pens oners of King Phil p so that he was in the greatest risk imaginable. To secure himself as far as be could be seized a small rising ground which was divided from the level plans about Tomoras by a deep watercourse and here he enclosed and fortified the cho cest of his army As for the dle talkers and disorderly bad a tizens who ran off from his camp and made their way back he bade his officers not repard them since here they would have been not only useless and ungovernable themsel es but an actual hindrance to the rest and further being conscious to themselves of the neglect of the r duty they would be less ready to misrepresent the act on or raise a cry against them at their return home. When the enemy drew nigh he bade his men stand to the r arms until he had finished the sacruite n which he spent a cons derable time e ther by some difficulty of the thing tself or on purpose to in his the enemy nearer Plutarch interpreting this tard Beas as a fa ure in his courage fell on alone with the mercenaries which the cavalry perce ving could not be contained but issuing also out of the came confusedly and in disorder sourced up to the enemy The first who came up were defeated the rest were put to the rout Phitarch himself took to flaht and a body of the enemy ad ranced in the hope of carrying the camp supposing themselves to have secured the victory But by this time the sacrifice being over the Athenians within the camp came forward and falling upon them put them to flight and killed the greater number as they fled among the intrenchments while Phoeses ordering his infantry to keep on the watch and rally those who came in from the previous flight, hunself with a body of his best men engaged the enemy in a sharp and bloody fight in which all of them behaved with a gnal courage and gullantry Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glancus of Polymedes who fought near the general gained the honours of the day Cleophanes also did good service in the battle Recovering the cavalry from its defeat and with his shouts and encouragement bring ug them up to success the general who was in danger he confirmed the victory obtained by the mfantry Photion now expelled Plutarch from Errtra and possessed houself of the very important fort of Zaretra s tusted where the island is purched n as it were by the seas on each side and its breadth most reduced to a narrow girth. He released all the Greeks whom he took, out of fear of the public speakers at Athens, thinking they might very likely persuade the people in their anger into committing some act of cruelty.

This affair thus despatched and settled, Phocian set sail homewards, and the allies had soon as good reason to regret the loss of his just and humane dealing as the Athenians that of his experience and courage. Molossus, the commander who took his place, had no better success than to fail aftee into the enemy's

ands

Philip, full of great thoughts and designs, now advanced with all his forces into the Hellespont, to seize the Chersonesus and Perinthus, and after them Byzautium. The Athenians raised a force to relieve them, but the popular leaders made it their business to prefer Chares to be general, who, sailing thither, effected nothing worthy of the means placed in his hands. The cities were afraid, and would not receive his ships into their harbours, so that he did nothing but wander about, mising money from their friends, and despised by their enemies. When the people, chafed by the orators, were extremely indignant, and repented having over sent any help to the Byzantines, Phocion rose and told them they ought not to be appry with the allies for distrusting, but with their generals for being distrusted. "They make you suspected," he said, "even by those who cannot possibly subsist without your succour." The assembly being moved with this speech of his, changed their minds on the sudden, and commanded him immediately to raise another force, and go himself to assist their confederates in the Hellespont; an anpointment which, in effect, contributed more than anything to the relief of Byzantium.

The relief to a Sylantium.

To Fi Pacion's name was already honourably known; and an old acquaintance of his, who had been he tellow-student in the Academy, Lean, a man of high renown for written anong the Byzantiuss, lawing wondred for Photion to the city, they opered their gates to receive him, not permitting him, though he decired it, to encamp without the walls, but entertained him and all the Athenians with perfect reliance, while they, it requite their confidence, behaved among their new hosts sobrily and inclinatively, and exceted themselves on all occasions with the greatest zeal and resolution for their defence. Thus King Phillip was driven out of the Hellespont, and was despised to boot, whom, till now, it had been thought impossible to match, or even to connex. Photosin also took come of his shins, and re-

captured some of the places he had gransoned, making besides several inroads into the country, which he plundered and overran, until he received a wound from some of the enemy who came to the defence, and, thereupon, sailed away home

The Legaritan at this time privately praying and of the Antenius, Plocon, fatting lest the Benchians should have of the Antenius, Plocon, fatting lest the Benchians should have of the Control of the Co

When final hostilities with Philip were now certain, and in Photoon's absence other generals had been nominated, be, on his arrival from the islands, dealt eargestly with the Athenians, that since Philip showed peaceable inclinations towards them, and great'y apprehended the danger, they would consent to a treaty Being contradicted in this by one of the ordinary frequenters of the courts of sustice, a common accuser, who asked him if he durit presume to persuade the Athenians to peace, now their arms were in their bands, "Yes," said he, " though I know that if there be war, I shall be in office over you, and if peace, you over me" But when he could not prevail, and Demosthenes's opinion carried it, advising them to make war as far off from home as possible, and fight the battle out of Attica, " Good friends," said Phocson, " let us not ask where we shall fight, but how we may conquer in the war That will be the way to keep it at a distance. If we are besten, it will be quickly at our doors" After the defeat, when the chimourers and incendiaries in the town would have brought up Chandemus to the hustings, to be nominated to the command, the best of the citizens were m a panic, and supporting themselves with the aid of the council of the Areopagus, with entreates and tears, hardly prevailed upon the people to have Photion entrusted with the care of the city He was of opinion, in general, that the fair terms to be expected from Philip should be accepted, yet after Demades had made a motion that the city should receive the common conditions of peace in concurrence with the rest of the states of Greece, he opposed it, till it were known what the particulars were which Philip demanded. He was overhome in this advice, under the pressure of the time, but almost immediately after the Athenians repented it, when they understood that by these articles they were obliged to furnish Philip both with horse and shipping. "It was the fear of this," said Pincian, "that occasioned my opposition. But since the thing is done, let us make the best of it, and not be discouraged. Our forefathers were sometimes in command, and sometimes under it; and by doing their duty, whether as rulers or as subjects, saved their own country and the rest of Green.

Upon the news of Philip's death, he opposed himself to any public demonstrations of joy and jubilee, saying it would be gnoble to show malice upon such an occasion, and that the army that had fought them at Cheronea was only diminished by a

single man.

When Demosthenes made his invectives against Alexander, now on his way to attack Thebes, he repeated those verses of Homer:—

"Unwise one, wherefore to a second stroke
His anger be foolbardy to provoke?"

and asked, "Why stimulate his already eager passion for glory? Why take pains to expose the city to the terrible conflagration town so near? We, who accepted office to save our fellow-citizens, will not, however they desire it, be consenting to their destruction."

After Thebes was lots, and Alexander had demanded Danosthanes, Lyoungus, Hyperides, and Charidenus to be delivered up, the whole assembly tunning their eyes to him, and calling on him by name to deliver this opinion, at last be row up, and and in them one of this most influents friends, which is not up, and and the control of the control of the control of the control of the desired and above and these, best data for my part, should be demand this my friend Nicotes, it would not reduce to give him up. For as for myself, to have it in my power to sacrifice my own life and fortune for the common safety, it tought think the greatest of good fortune. Traly," he added, "it pieces my beart to see these who can tell disther for succour from the decisation of Tables. Yet it is enough for Greece to have Tables to deplore. It will be more for the interest of all that we should deprecate the conquerors unger, and intercode for both, than run the hazard of another bestle."

When this was decreed by the people, Alexander is said to

have rejected their first address when it was presented, throwing it from him scomfully, and turning his back upon the deputation, who left him in affright. But the second, which was presented by Phocion, he received, understanding from the older Macedonyans how much Philip had admired and estremed him. And he not only gave him audience and listened to his memorial and petition, but also permitted him to advise him, which he did to this effect, that if his desirns were for quietness, he should make peace at once, if glory were his sum, he should make war, not upon Greece, but on the barbarians. With various counsels and suggestions, happily designed to meet the genius and leekings of Alexander, he so won upon him, and softened his temper, that he bade the Athenians not forget their position, as if anything went wrong with him, the supremacy belonged to them And to Phocion himself, whom be adopted as his friend and guest, he showed a respect, and admuted hun to distinctions, which few of those who were continually near his person ever received. Duris, at any rate, tells us, that when he became great, and had conquered Darrus, in the heading of all his letters he left off the word Greeting, except m those he wrote to Phocson. To him, and to Antinater alone, he condescended to use it. This also is stated by Chares

As for his munificence to him, it is well known he sent him a present at one time of one bundred talents, and this being prought to Athens. Phocion asked of the hearers how it came to pass that among all the Athensans be alone should be the object of this bounty. Being told that Alexander esteemed him alone a person of honour and worth, " Let him, then," said be, " permit me to continue so and be still so reputed " Following him to his house, and observing his simple and plain way of living, his wife employed in kneading bread with her own hands, himself drawing water to wash his feet, they pressed him to accept it, with some indignation, being ashamed, as they said, that Alexander's friend should live so poorly and prinfully So Phocaen, pointing out to them a poor old fellow, in a durty worn-out coat, passing by, asked them if they thought him in worse condition than this man. They bade him not mention such a comparison. "Yet," said Phocion, "he, with less to live upon than I, finds it sufficient, and in brief," he continued, " if I do not use this money, what good is there in my having it, and if I do use it, I shall procure an ill name, both for myself and for Alexander, among my countrymen" So the treasure went back again from Athens, to prove to Greece, by a signal example, that he who could afford to give so magnificent a present, was vet not so rich as he who could afford to refuse it. And when Alexander was displeased, and wrote back to him to say that he could not esteem those his friends who would not be oblined by him, not even would this induce Phocion to accept the money. but he begged leave to intercede with him in behalf of Echecratides, the sophist, and Athenodorus, the Imbrian, as also for Demaratus and Sparton, two Rhodians, who had been arrested upon some charges, and were in custody at Sardis. This was instantly granted by Alexander, and they were set at liberty. Afterwards, when sending Craterus into Macedonia, he commanded him to make him an offer of four cities in Asia, Clus, Gergithus, Mylasa, and Elea, any one of which, at his choice, should be delivered to him: insisting yet more positively with him, and declaring he should resent it, should he continue obstinate in his refusal. But Phocion was not to be prevailed with at all, and, shortly after, Alexander died,

Phocion's house is shown to this day in Melita, ornamented with small plates of copper, but otherwise plain and homely. Concerning his wives, of the first of them there is little said, except that she was sister of Cephisodotus, the statuary. The other was a matron of no less reputation for her virtues and simple living among the Athenians than Phocion was for his probity. It happened once when the people were entertained with a new tragedy, that the actor, just as he was to enter the stage to perform the part of a queen, demanded to hove a number of attendants sumptuously dressed, to follow in his train, and on their not being provided, was sullen and refused to act, keeping the audience waiting, till at last Melanthins, who had to furnish the chorus, pushed him on the stage, crying out, "What, don't you know that Phocion's wife is never attended by more than a single waiting-woman, but you must needs be grand, and fill our women's heads with vanity?" This speech of his, spoken loud enough to be heard, was received with great applause, and clapped all round the theatre. She berself, when once entertaining a visitor out of Ionia, who showed her all her rich ornaments, made of gold and set with jewels, her wreaths, necklaces, and the like, "For my part," said she, " all my ornament is my husband. Phocion, now for the twentieth year in office as general at Athens."

He had a son named Phocus, who wished to take part in the games at the great least of Minerva. He permitted him so to do, in the contest of leaping, not with any view to the victory, but in the hope that the training and discipline for it would make him a better man, the youth being in a general way a lover of drinking, and ill-regulated in his habits. On his having succeeded in the sports, many were eager for the honour of his company at banquets in celebration of the victory Phocion declined all these invitations but one, and when he came to this entertainment and saw the costly preparations, even the water brought to wash the guests' feet being mingled with wine and spaces, he reprimanded his son, asking him why he would so far permit his friend to sully the honour of his victory And in the hope of wholly weaning the young man from such habits and company, he sent him to Lacedrinon, and placed him among the youths then under the course of the Spartan discipline the Athenians took offence at, as though he slighted and contemped the education at home, and Demades twitted him with it publicly "Suppose, Phocion, you and I advise the Athenians to adont the Spartan constitution If you like, I am ready to introduce a bill to that effect, and to speak in its favour" "Indeed," said Phocion, "you, with that strong scent of perfumes about you, and with that manule on your shoulders. are just the very man to speal in honour of Lycurgus, and recommend the Spartan table " When Alexander wrote to demand a supply of galleys, and

the public speakers objected to sending them. Phocion, on the council requesting his opinion, told them freely, "Sirs, I would either have you victorious yourselves, or friends of those who are so" He took up Pytheas, who about this time first began to address the assembly, and already showed himself a confident, talking fellow, by saying that a young slave whom the people had but bought yesterday ought to have the manners to hold his tongue And when Harpalus, who had fled from Alexander out of Asia, carrying off a large sum of money, came to Attica. and there was a perfect race among the ordinary public men of the assembly who should be the first to take his pay, he distributed amongst these some trifling sums by way of a bait and provocative, but to Phocion he made an offer of no less than seven hundred talents and all manner of other advantages he pleased to demand, with the compliment that he would entirely commit himself and all his affairs to his disposal. Phocion answered sharply. Harpalus should repent of it, if he did not quickly leave off corrupting and debauching the city, which for the time silenced him, and checked his proceedings. But afterwards, when the Athenians were deliberating in council about

him, he found these that had received money from him to be his greatest enemies, urging and aggravating matters against him, to prevent themselves being discovered, whereas Phonion. who had never touched his pay, now, so far as the public interest would admit of it, showed some regard to his particular security This encouraged him once more to try his inclinations, and upon further survey finding that he himself was a fortress, inaccessible on every quarter to the approaches of corruption, he professed a particular friendship to Phocion's son-in-law, Charieles. And admitting him into his confidence in all his affairs, and continually requesting his assistance, he brought him under some suspicion. Upon the occasion, for example, of the death of Pythonice, who was Harpalus's mistress, for whom he had a great fondness, and had a child by her, he resolved to build her a sumptuous monument, and committed the care of it to his friend Charicles. This commission, disreputable enough in itself, was yet futher disparaged by the figure the piece of workmanship made after it was finished. It is yet to be seen in the Hermeum, as you go from Athens to Eleusis, with nothing in its appearance answerable to the sum of thirty talents, with which Charicles is said to have charged Harpalus for its erection. After Harpalus's own decease, his daughter was educated by Phocion and Charicles with great care. But when Charicles was called to account for his dealings with Harpalus, and entreated his father-in-law's protection, begging that he would appear for him in the court. Phocion refused, telling him, " I did not choose you for my son-in-law for any but honourable purposes."

Asclepiades, the son of Hipparchus, brought the first tiding, of Alexandris death of Atlens, which Demades told them was not to be scribited; for were it true, the whole world would era this have stunk with the dead book. But Photoin, seeing the people cages for an instant newburies, did his bisst to quiet and repress them. And when numbers of them ranked up to the lustifug to speak, and cried out that the news was true, and Alexander was dead. "If he is dead to-day," said he, "he will be so to-norrow and the day after to-morrow equally. So that there is no need to take councils hashif we before his take,"

When Leothenes now had embarked the city in the Lumian was practly against Photoin's wishes, to raise a laugh against Photoin, he saked him souffinely, what the state had been benefited by his having now so many years been general. "It is not a little," said Photoin, "that the citizens have been buried in their own sepulchres." And when Leothenes continued to speak holdly and boastfully in the assembly, "Young man," he said, "your speeches are like express-trees, stately and tall, and no fruit to come of them." When he was then attacked by Hyperdes, who asked him when the time would come that he would advise the Athennas to make war, " As soon, said he, "as I find the young men keep their ranks, the rich men con tribute their money, and the orators leave of robbing the treasury" Afterwards, when many admired the forces raised, and the preparations for war that were made by Leosthenes, they asked Photion how he approved of the are leves. "Very well," said he for the short course, but what I fear is the long race. Since, however late the war may last, the cuty has net her money, ships nor so diers but these. The event justimed his prog nosties. At first all things appeared fair and promising Leos thenes gained great reputation by worsting the Birotians in battle, and drawing Antipater within the walls of Lamus, and the citizens were so transported with the first successes, that they kent so'emn festivities for them, and offered public sacrifices to the gods. So that some, thinking Photson must now be con wmeed of his error, asked him whether he would not willmely have been author of these successful actions. "Yes," said he, "most gladly, but also of the former counsel." And when one express after enother came from the camp confirming and marrifying the victories. When, said he, will the end of them come?"

tome comes.

Leavidnes, soon after, was killed, and now those who feared levit Photomo obtained the command he would put an end to be levit Photomo obtained the command he would put an end to be a friend and old command to be a friend and old command.

And the Photomo obtained to be a friend and old command to be a friend and old command to be a friend, and reserve has (with whom more condicionness) for this time, and reserve has (with whom more condicionness) for the condition of the property of the condition of the property of the condition of the property of the condition having our walker, but Photomo mand of the great mander of the property of the condition of the condition, that he had not so to find the but found that the condition of th

When the people were eager to make an expedition against the Beothans, he at first opposed st, and on his friends telling him the people would bill hun for always running counter to them, "That will be unjust of them," he said, "if I give them bouest advice, if not, it will be just of them." But when he found them persisting and should be him to lead them out, be commanded the crier to make prodamation, that all the Athenians under sixty should instantly provide themselves with five days' provision, and follow him from the assembly. This caused a great humid. Those in years were startled, and chamoured against the order; he demanded wherein he injured them, "For I," says he, "am move fourescore, and am ready to lead you." This succeeded in pacifying them for the present,

But when Micion, with a large force of Macedonians and mercenaries, began to pillage the sea-coast, having made a descent upon Rhamnus, and overrun the neighbouring country. Photion led out the Athenians to attack him. And when sundry private persons came, intermeddling with his dispositions, and telling bim that he ought to occupy such or such a hill, detach the cavalry in this or that direction, engage the enemy on this point or that, " O Hercules," said he, " how many generals have we here, and how few soldiers!" Afterwards, having formed the battle, one who wished to show his bravery advanced out of his post before the rest, but on the enemy's approaching, lost heart, and retired back into his rank. "Young man," said Phocion, "are you not ashamed twice in one day to desert your station, first that on which I had placed you, and secondly that on which you had placed yourself?" However, he entirely routed the enemy, killing Micion and many more on the spot. The Grecian army, also, in Thessalv, after Leonnatus and the Macedonians who came with him out of Asia had arrived and joined Antipater, fought and beat them in a battle. Leonnatus was killed in the fight, Antiphilus commanding the foot, and Menon, the Thessalian, the horse.

But not long after, Cratens crossed from Asia with numerous orces; a pitched battle was dought at Cranon; the Greeks were besten; though not, indeed, in a signal deteat, nor with any great loss of men. But what with their want of obedience to their commanders, who were young and over-indulgent with them, and what with Antipater's tampering and treating with their spearnet cities, one by one, the end of it was that the army was dissolved, and the Greeks shamefully surrendered the Bettry of their country.

Upon the news of Antipater's now advancing at once against Athens, with all his force, Demosthenes and Hyperides deserted the city, and Demades, who was altogether insolvent for any part of the fines that had been laid upon him by the city, for he had been condemned no less than seven times for introducing bills contrary to the laws, and who had been disfranchised, and was no longer competent to vote m the assembly, laid held of this season of impunity to bring in a bill for sending ambassadors with plenmotentiary power to Antipater, to treat about a neace But the people distrusted him, and called upon Phocion to give his opinion, as the person they only and entirely confided in. He told them, "If my former counsels had been prevalent with you, we had not been reduced to deliberate on the question at all " However, the vote passed, and a decree was made, and he with others deputed to go to Antipater, who lav now encarneed in the Theban territories, but intended to dislodge immediately, and pass into Attica. Phocion's first request was, that he would make the treaty without moving his camp. And when Craterus declared that it was not fair to ask them to be burdensome to the country of their friends and allies by their stay, when they might rather use that of their enemies for Drovisions and the support of their army. Antipater, taking him by the hand, said, "We must grant this favour to Phocion" For the rest he bade them return to their principals, and acquaint them that he could only offer them the same terms, namely, to surrender at discretion, which Leasthenes had offered to him when he was shut up in Lamia.

When Photion had returned to the city and acquainted them with this answer, they made a virtue of necessity and complied, since it would be no better. So Phocion returned to Thebes with the other ambassadors, and among the rest Xennerates, the obligacoher, the reputation of whose virtue and wisdom was so great and famous everywhere, that they concerted there could not be any pride, cruelty, or anger arising in the heart of man, which would not at the mere sight of him be subdued into something of reverence and admiration. But the result, as it happened, was the very opposite. Antipater showed such a want of feeling, and such a dislike of goodness He saluted every one else, but would not so much as notice Xenocrates Xenocrates. they tell us, observed upon it, that Antipater, when meditating such cruelty to Athens, did well to be ashamed of seeing hun, When he began to speak, he would not hear him, but broke in and rudely interrupted him, until at last he was obliged to be silent But when Photion had declared the purport of their embassy, he replied shortly, that he would make peace with the Athenians on these conditions, and no others, that Demostheres and Hyperides should be delivered up to him; that they should retain their ancient form of government, the franchise being determined by a property qualification; that they should receive a garrison into Munychia, and pay a certain sum for the cost of the war. As things stood, these terms were judged tolerable by the rest of the ambassadors; Xenocrates only said, that if Antipater considered the Athenians slaves, he was treating them fairly; but if free, severely. Phocion pressed him only to spare them the garrison, and used many arguments and entreaties. Antipater replied, "Phocion, we are ready to do you any favour, which will not bring ruin both on curseives and on you." Others report it differently: that Antipater asked Phocion, supposing he remitted the garrison to the Athenians. would he, Phocion, stand surety for the city's observing the terms and attempting no revolution? And when he hesitated. and did not at once reply, Callimedon, the Carabus, a hot partisan and professed enemy of free states, cried out, " And if he should talk so idly, Antipater, will you be so much abused as to believe him and not carry out your own purpose?" So the Athenians received the garrison, and Menyllus for the governor, a fair-dealing man, and one of Phocion's acquaintance.

But the proceeding seemed sufficiently imperious and arbitrary, indeed rather a spiteful and insulting estentation of power, than that the nessession of the fortress would be of any great importance. The resentment felt upon it was heightened by the time it happened in, for the garrison was brought in on the twentieth of the month of Boedromion, just at the time of the great festival, when they carry forth Jacchus with solemn pomp from the city to Eleusis; so that the solemnity being disturbed, many began to call to mind instances, both ancient and modern, of divine interventions and intimations. For in old time, upon the occasions of their happiest successes, the presence of the shapes and voices of the mystic ceremonies had been youchsafed to them. striking terror and annaement into their enemies; but now, at the very season of their celebration, the gods themselves stood witnesses of the saddest oppressions of Greece, the most holy time being profaned, and their greatest jubilee made the unlucky date of their most extreme calamity. Not many years before, they had a warning from the aracle at Dodona, that they should carefully guard the summits of Diana, lest haply strangers should seize them. And about this very time, when they dyed the ribbons and garlands with which they adorn the couches and cars of the procession, instead of a purple, they received only a

faint yellow colour, and to make the omen yet greater, all the things that were dyed for common use, took the natural colour. While a candidate for initiation was yashing a young pig in the haven of Candianus, a thark seized him, but off all his lower parts up to the belly, and devoured them, by which the god gave them manifestly to indirestand, that having lost the lower town and

sea-coast, they should keep only the upper city Menvilus was sufficient security that the garrison should behave itself inoffensively. But those who were now excluded from the franchise by poverty amounted to more than twelve thousand, so that both those that remained in the city thought themselves oppressed and shamefully used, and those who on this account left their homes and went away into Thrace, where Antipater offered them a town and some territory to inhabit. regarded themselves only as a colony of slaves and exiles when to this was added the deaths of Demosthenes at Calauria. and of Hyperides at Cleone, as we have elsewhere related, the citizens began to think with regret of Philip and Alexander, and almost to wish the return of those times. And as, after Anticomes was slaw, when those that had taken him off were afflictme and convessing the people, a countryman in Phrygia, digging in the fields, was asked what be was doing, "I am," said he, fetching a deep sigh, " searching for Antigonus," so said many that remembered those days, and the contests they had with those kings, whose anger, however great, was yet generous and placable, whereas Anupater, with the counterfeit humility of appearing like a private man, in the meanness of his dress and his homely fare, merely behed his real love of that arbitrary power, which he exercised, as a cruel master and despot, to distress those under his command Yet Phocion had interest with him to recall many from banishment by his intercession, and prevailed also for those who were driven out, that they might not, like others, be hursed beyond Tenarus, and the mountains of Ceraums, but remain in Greece, and plant themselves in Peloponnesus, of which number was Agnoundes, the sycophant He was no less studious to manage the affairs within the city with equity and moderation, preferring constantly those that were men of worth and good education to the magistracies, and recommending the busy and turbulent talkers, to whom it was a mortal blow to be excluded from office and public debating, to learn to stay at home, and be content to till their land. And observing that Xenocrates paid his alien-tax as a foreigner, he offered him the freedom of the city, which he refused, saving he could not accept a franchise which he had been sent as an ambassador to deprecate.

Menvilus wished to give Phocion a considerable present of money, who, thanking him, said, neither was Menyllus greater than Alexander, nor his own occasions more urgent to receive it now, than when he refused it from him. And on his pressing him to permit his son Phocus to receive it, he replied, "If my son returns to a right mind, his patrimony is sufficient; if not, all supplies will be insufficient." But to Antipater he answered more sharply, who would have him engaged in something dishonourable. "Antipater," said he, "cannot have me both as his friend and his fiatterer," And, indeed, Antipater was wont to say he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades; the one would never suffer him to gratify him at all, the other would never be satisfied. Phocion might well think that poverty a virtue, in which, after having so often been general of the Athenians, and admitted to the friendship of potentates and princes, he had now grown old. Demades, meantime, delighted in lavishing his wealth even in positive transgressions of the law. For there having been an order that no foreigner should be hired to dance in any chorus on the penalty of a fine of one thousand drachmas on the exhibitor, he had the vanity to exhibit an entire chorus of a hundred foreigners, and paid down the penalty of a thousand drachmas a head upon the stage itself. Marrying his son Demeas, he told him with the like vanity, "My son, when I married your mother, it was done so privately it was not known to the next neighbours, but kings and princes give presents at your puptials."

The garrison in Munychin continued to be felt as a great grievance, and the Athenians did not coax to be importunate upon Fhocian, to prevail with Antipater for its removal; but whether he despaired of effecting it, or perhaps observed the people to be more orderly, and public matters more reasonably conducted by the awe that was thus created, he constantly codinected by the awe that was thus created, he constantly checkined the office, and contented harmed with obtaining from Antipater the postponeneat for the present of the payment of the sum of money in which the city was fixed. So the people, leaving him off, applied themselves to Demades, who readily undertook the employment, and took along with him his on also into Maccdonia; and some superior power, as it seems, so ordering is, he came just at that nick of time when Antipater was already scired with his sickness, and Cassander, taking upon himself the command, had founds a letter of Demades's, formerly

written by hun to Antspons in Asia, recommending hun to come and possess himself of the engine of Greece and Macrdon, row hanging, he are no self at Antspater), "by an old and rotten threed the control of the control of the control threed to brought out the son, and killed him so close before his face, that the blood ran all over his clothes and person, and then, after hitterly taunting and upbrashing him with his inrestituted and treachery, despatched him hisself.

gratitude and treadingly despectives missing missing Antiquete long deed, after normaning Polysperthon general in chief and Cassander summander of the cavalry, Cassander at Meryding, to succeed him in the conviated of hispating, to succeed him in the conviated of the garrison, other mending him to posses a himself of Himyding before the news of Antiqueter's death should be heard, which of the persons of the deed of the conviction of the con

In the meantine Polysperchen, who was intrusted with the charge of the king, to constremen Causander, sent a litter to the city, declaring, in the name of the king, that he restored them their demonstry, and that the whole Athenius people were at liberty to conduct their commonwealth according to their another ductions and constitutions. The object of these pre-tenors was merely the everthrow of Phocon's influence, as the event manufacted. For Polyspercha's design being to possess hamself of the city, the departed altogether of bringing it to passification of the control of the control of the city to the passion of the control of the city to the control of the city of the control of the city of the Common control of the city of the tongues of the Corresponder.

With this prospect the Athenans were all in excitement, and \text{Nonner, wishing to confer with them on the subject, at a meeting of the Council in Pirruy, zene hunself, trusting for the safety of his perion to Phonon And hea Dercyllin, who commanded the guard there, made an attempt to seize him, upon

notice of it beforehand, he made his escape, and there was little doubt he would now lose no time in righting himself upon the city for the affront, and when Photon was found fault with for letting him get off and not securing him, he defended himself by saving that he had no mistrust of Nicanor, nor the least reason to expect any mischief from him, but should it prove otherwise. for his part he would have them all know, he would rather receive than do the wrong. And so far as he snoke for himself alone. the answer was honourable and high-minded enough, but he who hazards his country's safety, and that, too, when he is her magistrate and chief commander, can scarcely be acquitted, I fear, of transgressing a higher and more sacred obligation of justice, which he owed to his fellow-citizens. For it will not even do to say that he dreaded the involving the city in war, by seizing Nicanor, and hoped by professions of confidence and just dealing to retain him in the observance of the like; but it was, indeed, his credulity and confidence in him, and an overweening opinion of his sincerity, that imposed upon him. So that notwithstanding the sundry intimations he had of his making preparations to attack Piraeus, sending soldiers over into Salamis, and tampering with and endeavouring to corrupt various residents in Piracus, he would, notwithstanding all this evidence, never he persuaded to believe it. And even when Philomedes of Lampra had got a decree passed, that all the Athenians should stand to their arms, and be ready to follow Phocion their general, he yet sat still and did nothing, until Nicanor actually led his troops out from Munychia, and drew trenches about Pirceus: upon which, when Phocion at last would have let out the Athenians, they cried out against him, and slighted his orders.

Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, was at hand with a considerable force, and professed to come to give them succour against Nicanor, but intended nothing less, if possible, than to surprise the city, whilst they were in tumult and divided among themselves. For all that had previously been expelled from the city, now coming back with him, made their way into it, and were joined by a mixed multitude of foreigners and disfranchised persons, and of these a motley and irregular public assembly came together, in which they presently divested Phocion of all power, and chose other generals; and if by chance Alexander had not been spied from the walls, alone in close conference with Nicanor, and had not this, which was often repeated, given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city had not escaped the snare. The crator Agnonides, however, at once fell foul upon Phocion, and impeached him of treason; Callimedon and Charicles, fearing the worst, consulted their own security by fying from the city Phocon, with a few of his friends that stayed with him, went over to Pobysperhon, and out of respect for him, Solon of Phites, and Dimarchius of Cornith, who were reputed friends and confidents of Pobysperhon, accompanied him. Dut on account of Dimarchius falling ill, they remained several days in Elate, during which time, upon the primanom of Agnonides and on the motion of Archesticus, a decree passed that the people should and delegates thither to accuse Phocon So both parties reached Pobysperhon at the same turne, who was coing through the country with the king and was then at a small village of Phoco, Phony go, anofer the norman move called

Galate, but then Acrurum There Polysperchon, having set up the golden canopy, and seated the king and his company under st, ordered Dinarchus at once to be taken, and tortured, and put to death, and that done, gave audience to the Athenians, who filled the place with noise an't tumult, accusing and retriminating on one another, till at last Agnonides came forward, and requested they might all be shut up together in one cage, and conveyed to Athens, there to decide the controversy. At that the king could not forbear smiling but the company that attended, for their own amusement. Macedonians and strangers, were carer to hear the alter cation, and made signs to the delegates to go on with their case at once But it was no sort of fair hearing Polysperchon frequently interrupted Photion, till at last Photion struck his staff on the grounds and declined to speak further And when Heremon said. Polysperchon humself could bear witness to his affection for the prople, Polysperchon called out fiercely, " Give ever slandering me to the king," and the king starting up was about to have run hun through with his javelin, but Polytperchon interposed and hindered him, so that the assembly dissolved

Phonon, then, and those about hum, were seared, those of his french that were not manufactively by hum, on senge this, had their facer, and saved themselves by flight. The rest Clius took and brought to Athens, to be undouted to trul, but, in truch, at wene stready sentenced to due. The manuser of converge them was undered extrevely proving, they were carried in characts through the Germanus, straight to the place of judiciar, where Claus security them till they had convoked an assembly of the people, which was upon to all correst, nothing foregoers, not after, nor those who had been punished with distinctionment being refused admittance, but all able, both one and women, burn glawford to come into the court, and even

upon the place of speaking. So having read the king's letters. in which he declared he was satisfied himself that these men were traitors, however, they being a free city, he willingly accorded them the grace of trying and judging them according to their own laws. Clitus brought in his prisoners. Every respectable citizen, at the sight of Phocion, covered up his face. and stooned down to conceal his tears. And one of them had the courage to say, that since the king had committed so important a cause to the judgment of the people, it would be well that the strangers, and those of servile condition, should withdraw. But the populace would not endure it, crying out they were oligarchs, and enemies to the liberty of the people, and deserved to be stoned: after which no man durst offer anything further in Phocion's behalf. He was himself with difficulty heard at all, when he put the question, "Do you wish to put us to death lawfully or unlawfully?" Some answered, "According to law.". He replied, "How can you, except we have a fair hearing?" But when they were deaf to all he said, approaching nearer, "As to myself," said he, "I admit my guilt, and pronounce my public conduct to have deserved sentence of death. But why, O men of Athens, kill others who have offended in nothing?" The rabble cried out they were his friends, that was enough. Phocion therefore drew back, and said no more.

Then Agencides read the bill, in accordance with which the people should decide by show of hands whether they judged them guilty, and it so it should be found, the penalty should be death. When this had been read out, some desired it right be added to the sentence, that Fhodon should be tortured also, and the neak should be produced with the executioners. But Agenciales preceiving even Citius to dislike this, and himself inthinking it heartful and behaviours, asid, "When we catch that alove, Callinacion, men of Athens, we will put him to the rack, but I shad make no medica of the kind in Productive case." I have the same to be should be the shad to the control case." I would be supposed of, and the show of hands called for; upon which, not one man retaining his sean, of hands called for; upon which, not one man retaining his sean, but all rising up, and some with agranded on their heads, they

condemned them all to death.

There were present with Phoeion, Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. Demetrius the Phalerian, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, were included in the condemnation, being absent.

After the assembly was dismissed, they were carried to the prison, the rest with cries and lamentations, their friends and relatives following and chinging about them, but Photion looking (as men observed with astonishment at his calminess and marinanumity), just the same as when he had been used to return to his home attended, as general, from the assembly. His enemies ran along by his side, revoling and abusing him And one of them coming up to him, spat in his face, at which Phomon, turning to the officers, only said, "You should stop this indecency" Thudippus, on their reaching the prison, when he observed the executioner tempering the poison and preparing it for them, gave away to his passion, and began to bemoan his condition and the bard measure he received, thus unjustly to suffer with Phocion "You cannot be contented," said be, " to die with Phocion?" One of his friends that stood by, asked him if he wished to have snything said to his son "Yes, by all means," said he, "but him bear no grudge against the Athenians" Then Nicocks, the dearest and most faithful of his friends, berged to be allowed to drink the poison first. "My friend," said he, " you ask what I am loath and sorrowful to give, but as I never yet in all my life was so thankless as to refuse you I must grately you in this also " After they had all drunk of it, the poison ran short, and the executioner refused to prepare more, except they would pay him twelve drachmas, to defray the cost of the quantity required. Some delay was made, and time spent, when Phocion called one of his friends, and observing that a man could not even die at Athens without paying for it, requested him to give the sum

Is was the uncreasth day of the month Munychine, on which it was the takes to have a solonia procession in the city, in honour of liphter. The horsemen, as they passed by, some of them there wavey their galands, others stopped, weeging, and casting serrowful looks towards the prison doors, and all the cutters whole taimed were of a bloodlety debughed by spite and passion, or who had any himmanty left, acknowledged it to have been most improvily does, but, at lest, to left that day pass and the city so be kept pair from death and a public executor at the science instead of the strong had been in the science in the strong had been in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science in the science in the science is the science in the science is the science in the scite in the science in the science in the science in the science i

who used to do these offices for hire, took the body and carried it beyond Eleusis, and procuring fire from over the frontier of Megara, burned it. Photion's wife, with her servant-maids, being present and assisting at the solemnity, raised there an empty tomb, and performed the customary libations, and gathering up the bones in her lap, and bringing them home by night, dog a place for them by the fireside in her house, saying. "Blessed hearth, to year custody I commit the remains of a good and howe man, and, I beseed you, protect and restore them to the repulcive of his fathers, when the Athenians return to their right minds."

And, indeed, a very little time and their own sad experience soon informed them what an excellent governor, and how great an example and guardian of justice and of temperance they had bereft themselves of. And now they decreed him a statue of brass, and his hones to be buried honourably at the public charge: and for his accusers. Agnonides they took themselves. and caused him to be put to death. Epicurus and Demophilus, who fled from the city for fear, his son met with, and took his revenge upon them. This son of his, we are told, was in general of an indifferent character, and once when enamoured of a slave girl kept by a common barlot merchant, happened to hear Theodorus, the atheist, arguing in the Lyceum, that if it were a good and honourable thing to buy the freedom of a friend in the masculine, why not also of a friend in the feminine, if, for example, a master, why not also a mistress? So putting the good argument and his passion together, he went off and purchased the girl's freedom. The death which was thus suffered by Phocion revived among the Greeks the memory of that of Socrates, the two cases being so similar, and both equally the sad fault and misfortune of the city.

CATO THE YOUNGER

The family of Cate derived its first lister from his great-grandfather Cate, whose virtue gamed him such great reputation and authority among the Romans, as we have written in his life This Cate was, by the loss of both his parents, left an orphan,

together with his brother Cepto, and his sister Porca. He had also a half-sister, Servilla, by the mother s side. As these hvid together, and ware heed up in the bause of Livius Drusss, their andle by the mother, who, at that time, had a great share in the government, being a very eloquent speaker, a man of the greatest temperance, and reliding in dignity to none of the Romans.

It is said of Câto that even from his infancy, in his speech, his countriance, and all his oldular pastimes, he decovered as infexible temper unmoved by any passion, and firm in everything. He was resolute in his purposes, much beyond the strength of his age, to go through with whatever he undertook. He was rough and ungradt board those that flattered him, and still more unyelding to those who threatened him. It was difficult to acreate him to laughter, his countenance veldom relaxed even into a smile, he was not quickly or easily provoked to angor, but if once ancered, he was no it quickly in the fifteen the party of the said of the provided to angor, but if once ancered, he was no it quickly or easily provoked.

When he becan to learn, he proved dull, and slow to apprehend, but of what he once received, his memory was remarkably tenacious And such, in fact, we find generally to be the course of natures men of fine genius are readily reminded of things, but those who receive with most pains and difficulty, remember best, every new thing they learn, being, as it were, burnt and branded in on their minds Cato's natural stubbornness and slowness to be persuaded may also have made it more difficult for him to be taught. For to learn is to submit to have something done to one, and persuasion comes soonest to those who have least strength to resist it. Hence young men are sooner persuaded than those that are more in years, and sick men, than those that are well in health. In fine, where there is least previous doubt and difficulty, the new empression is most easily accepted Yet Cato, they say, was very obedient to his precentor, and would do whatever he was commanded, but he would also ask the reason, and inquire the cause of everything, And, indeed, his teacher was a very well-bred man, more ready to instruct than to beat his scholars. His name was Sarpedon.

When Cato was a child, the allies of the Romans sued to be made free citizens of Rome. Pumpædius Silo, one of their deputies, a brave soldier and a man of great repute, who had contracted a friendship with Drusus, lodged at his house for several days, in which time being grown familiar with the children, "Well," said he to them, "will you entreat your uncle to befriend us in our business?" Capio, smiling, assented, but Cato made no answer, only he looked steadfastly and fiercely on the strangers. Then said Pompædius, " And you, young sir, what say you to us? will not you, as well as your brother, intercede with your uncle in our behalf?" And when Cato continued to give no easwer, by his silence and his countenance seeming to deny their petition, Pompadius snatched him up to the window as if he would throw him out, and told him to consent, or he would fling him down, and, speaking in a harsher tone, held his body out of the window, and shook him several times. When Cate had suffered this a good while, unmoved and unalarmed, Pompædius, setting him down, said in an undervoice to his friend, "What a blessing for Italy that he is but a child! If he were a man, I believe we should not gain one voice among the people." Another time, one of his relations, on his birthday, invited Cate and some other children to supper, and some of the company diverted themselves in a separate part of the house, and were at play, the elder and the younger together, their sport being to act the pleadings before the judges, accusing one another, and carrying away the condemned to prison. Among these a very beautiful young child, being bound and carried by a bigger into prison, cried out to Cato, who seeing what was going on, presently ran to the door, and thrusting away those who stood there as a guard, took out the child, and went home in anger, followed by some of his companions.

Cate at length grew so femous among them, that when Sylla designed to exhibit the sacred game of young men riding courses on horseback, which they called Troy, baying gotten together the youth of good birth, he appointed two for their leaders. One of them they accepted for his mother's sake, being the son of Metella, the wife of Svila; but as for the other, Sextus, the nephew of Pompey, they would not be led by him, nor exercise under him. Then Sylla asking whom they would have, they all cried out, Cato; and Sextus willingly yielded the honour to him. as the more worthy

Sylla who was a friend of their family sent at times for Cato and his brother to see them and talk with them a lawour which he showed to very few after gauning his great power and authority Sarpedon full of the advantage it would be as well for the honour as the niefty of his scholars would often bring Cato to wait upon Sylla at his house which for the multitude of those that were being carried off in custody, and tomented there looked like a place of execution. Cato was then in his fourteenth year and see git the heads of men said to be of great distinction brought their and observing the secret upbs of those that were present he asked his preceptor.

Why does nobed will this man? Because as d he, they fear him child more than they hate him "Why then reped Cato did you not give me a sword that I mght stab him and free my country from this alwary? Supprion bearing this and et the same times ere plus countries are well ing with anger and determination took care thence-forward to watch him startly lest be should hazard any

desperate a tempt.

desperait a templ. While he way vet very young to some that asked him whom he loved best, he answered his brother. And being asked whom mext he replied he brother again. So likewas the third time and still the same till they left off to ask any further. Ask preven age this hove to he brother green yet the stronger who have the he brother green yet the stronger when the stronger of the same till they left off to ask any further ask prevent out of them no ratio the forms, without Gero. But whech his brother made we do precous comments and performer Cato declined them and be was in all his hab is very struct and assetter so that when Gero, was admirted for his modera tion and temperance he would acknowledge that indeed he nabt be accounted such in comparison with horse other men.

o ght be accounted such in comparison with some other men but, said he when I compare myself with Cato I find

myself scarcely different from S pp us one at that time notorious for his luxurous and effen nate hyper

Cato being made priest of Apollo went to another house tool has portion of their paternal inheritance amounting to a humber and twenty talents and began to her yet more strictly that before Having gained the intimate acquaintance of Antipate the Tyran the Stoc philosopher he devoted humber to the though some seed of moral and pol tucal doctrine. Any though possessed as it were by a kind of imparizon for the purist of every writing yet what most of all virtue and excel lense fixed has affection was that stady and indirently turtion.

which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion. He learned also the art of speaking and debating in public, thinking that political philosophy, like a great city, should maintain for its security be military and write element. But he would never recite his exercises before company, nor was he ever his sience, to declaim. And to one that to did his men blair his sience, "But T hope not my bife," he replied, "I will begin to speak, when I have that to say which had not better be unsaid."

The great Porcian Hall, as it was called, had been built and dedicated to the public use by the old Cato, when ædile. Here the tribunes of the people used to transact their business, and because one of the nillars was thought to interfere with the convenience of their seats, they deliberated whether it were best to remove it to another place, or to take it away. This occasion first drew Cato, much against his will, into the forum: for he opposed the demand of the tribunes, and in so doing gave a specimen both of his courage and his powers of speaking, which gained him great admiration. His speech had nothing youthful or refined in it, but was straightforward, full of matter, and rough, at the same time that there was a certain grace about his rough statements which won the attention; and the speaker's character, showing itself in all he said, added to his severe language something that excited feelings of natural pleasure and interest. His voice was full and sounding, and sufficient to be heard by so great a multitude, and its vigour and capacity of endurance quite indefatigable, for he often would speak a whole day and never stop.

When he had carried this cause, he betook himself spale to study and retirement. He employed himself in hurging his body to labour and violent exercise; and habituated himself to go bareheaded in the hottest and the condiset weather, and to walk on foct at all sessons. When he went on a journey with any of his friends, though they were on hoseback and he no foot, yet he would often join now one, then another, and converse with them on the way. In rickness the patience he showed in supporting, and the abstituting he used for curing, his distanguers were admirable. When he hed an ague, he would treamle alone, and suffer nobody to see him, till he began to recover, and found the fit was over. At supper, when he thren'd tief the choice of dishes, and lost, and the company offered him nevertheless his choice, he decidend to dispute, as be said, the decision of Venus, At first, he was wont to drink only once after supper, and then go away, but hy process of times he given to drink more, insomuch that oftentimes he would continue till morning. This his friends explained by saying that state affairs and public business took him up all day, and being desirous of knowledge, he liked to pass the night at wine in the conversation of philosophers Hence, upon one Memmus saying in public, that Cato spent whole nights in drinking, 'You should add." replied Coero, " that he spends whole days in gambling " And in general Cate esteemed the costoms and manners of men at that time so corrupt, and a reformation in them so necessary, that he thought it requisite, in many things, to go contrary to the ordinary way of the world Seeing the lightest and gayest purple was then most in fashion, he would always wear that which was the nearest black, and he would often go out of doors after his morning meal, without either shoes or tunic. not that he sought vain glory from such rovelties, but he would accustom himself to be ashamed only of what deserves shame. and to despise all other sorts of disgrace

The estate of one Cato, his course, which was worth one hundred talents, falling to him, be turned it all into ready money, which he kept by him for any of his friends that should happen to want, to whom he would lend it without interest And for some of them, he suffered his own land and has slaves

to be mertgaged to the public treasury

Wan be though thoust of an age fit to marry, hiving never before known any woman, he was contracted to Lepids, who had before been centracted to Metalias Scape, but on Scape's own withdrawal from it, the contracts had been dissolved, and abe left at liberty. Yet Somo afterwards repeating himself, and all he could to regain her, before the marriage with Cata was completed, and succeeded in so doing. At which Cato was completed, and succeeded in so doing. At which Cato was voilently increased, and resolved at first to go to law about it, but his frends persuaded him to the contrary. However, he was so moved by the heat of youth and passon that he wrote a quantity of lands everyer agusts Scape, in the hitter, sarcastic and the state of the

In the war of the slaves, which took its name from Spartacus, their ringleader, Gellius was general, and Cato went a volunteer, for the sake of his brother Capio, who was a tribune in the army.

Cato could find here no opportunity to show his zeal or exercise his valour, on account of the ill conduct of the general. However, amidst the correction and disorders of that army, he showed such a love of discipline, so much bravery upon occasion, and so much courage and wisdom in everything, that it appeared he was in no way inferior to the old Cato. Gellius offered him great rewards, and would have decreed him the first honours; which, however, he refused, saying he had done nothing that deserved them. This made him be thought a man of strange and eccentric temper.

There was a law passed, moreover, that the candidates who stood for any office should not have prompters in their convess. to tell them the names of the citizens; and Cato, when he sued to be elected tribune, was the only man that obeyed this law. He took great pains to learn by his own knowledge to salute those he had to speak with, and to call them by their names; yet even those who praised him for this, did not do so without some envy and icalousy, for the more they considered the excellence of what he did, the more they were grieved at the difficulty

they found to do the like. Being chosen tribune, he was sent into Maccdon to join Rubrius, who was general there. It is said that his wife showing much concern, and weeping at his departure, Munatius, one of Cato's friends, said to her, "Do not trouble yourself, Atilia, I will engage to watch over him for you." "By all means," replied Cato; and when they had gone one day's journey together. " Now," said he to Munatius, after they had supped, "that you may be sure to keep your promise to Atilia, you must not leave me day nor night," and from that time, he ordered two beds to be made in his own chamber, that Munatius might lie there. And so he continued to do. Cato making it his jest to see that he was always there. There went with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends; these rode on horseback, but Cate always went on foot, yet would be keep by them, and talk with each of them in turn as they went,

When he came to the army, which consisted of several legions, the general gave him the command of one; and as he looked upon it as a small matter, and not worthy a commander, to give evidence of his own signal valour, he resolved to make his soldiers. as far as he could, like himself, not, however, in this relaxing the terrors of his office, but associating reason with his authority. He persuaded and instructed every one in particular, and bestowed rewards or nunishments according to desert; and at length his men were so well disciplined, that it was hard to say whether they were more peaceable or more warlike, more valuant or more just, they were alike formidable to their enemies and honour And Cato himself acquired in the fullest measure, what at had been his least desire to seek, glory and good repute, he was highly esteemed by all men, and entirely beloved by the soldiers Whatever he commanded to be done, he himself took part in the performing, in his apparel, his diet, and mode of travelling, he was more like a common soldier than an officer, but in character, high purpose, and wisdom, he far exceeded all that had the names and titles of commanders, and he made himself, without knowing it, the object of general affection For the true love of virtue is in all men produced by the love and respect they bear to him that teaches it, and those who praise good men, vet do not love them, may respect their reputation, but do not really admire, and will never smutate their virtue

There dwelt at that time in Pergamus, Athenodorus, surnamed Cordybo, a man of buch repute for his knowledge of the Stone philosophy, who was now grown old, and had always steadily refused the friendship and accommandance of princes and great men Cato understood this, so that imagining he should not be able to prevail with him by sending or writing, and being by the laws allowed two months' absence from the army, he resolved to go into Asia to see him in person, trusting to his own good qualities not to lose his labour. And when he had conversed with him, and succeeded in persuading him out of his former resolutions, he returned and brought him to the camp as royful and as proud of this victory as if he had done some heroic exploit. greater than any of those of Fompey or Luculius, who with their armies at that time were subduing so many nations and

kinodoma While Cate was yet in the service, his brother, on a journey towards Asia, fell nick at Anna in Thrace, letters with intelbrence of which were mamediately despatched to him. The sea was very rough, and no convenient ship of any size to be had, so Cate getting into a small trading-vessel, with only two of his friends, and three servants, set sail from Thessalonica, and having very narrowly escaped drawning, he arrived at Ænus just as Capio expired Upon this occasion, he was thought to have showed himself more a fond brother than a philosopher, not only in the excess of his guef, bewaring and embracing the dead body, but also in the extravagant expenses of the funeral, the vast quantity of rich perfumes and costly garments which were burnt with the corpse, and the monument of Tonsian marble, which he erected, at the cost of eight talents, in the public place of the town of Anus. For there were some who took mon them to cavil at all this, as not consistent with his usual calmuess and moderation, not discerning that though he were steadfast, firm, and inflexible to pleasure, fear or foolish entreaties, yet he was full of natural tenderness and brotherly affection. Divers of the cities and princes of the country sent him many presents, to honour the funeral of his brother; but he took none of their money, only the perfumes and ornaments he received, and paid for them also. And afterwards, when the inheritance was divided between him and Capio's daughter, he did not require any portion of the funeral expenses to be discharged out of it. Notwithstanding this, it has been affirmed that he made his brother's ashes be passed through a sieve, to find the gold that was melted down when burnt with the body. But he who made this statement appears to have anticipated an exemption for his pen, as much as for his sword, from all question and criticism. The time of Cato's service in the army being expired, he

received, at his departure, not only the prayers and praises, but the tears and embraces of the soldiers, who spread their clothes at his feet and kissed his hand as he passed, an honour which the Romans at that time scarcely paid even to a very few of their generals and commanders-in-chief. Having left the army, he resolved, before he would return home and apply himself to state affairs, to travel in Asia, and observe the manners, the customs, and the strength of every province. He was also unwilling to refuse the kindness of Deiotarus, King of Galatia, who having had great familiarity and friendship with his father, was very desirous to receive a visit from him. Cato's arrangements in his journey were as follows. Early in the morning he sent out his baker and his cook towards the place where he designed to stay the next night; these went soberly and quietly into the town. in which, if there happened to be no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they provided for him in an inn, and gave no disturbance to anybody; but if there were no inn, then and in this case only, they went to the magistrates, and desiring them to help them to lodgings, took without complaint whatever was allotted to them. His servants thus behaving themselves towards the magistrates, without noise and threatening, were often discredited, or neglected by them, so that Cate many times

strived and found noth ng provided for h m And it was all the worse when he apprared himself still less account was taken of him When they saw him a tung without saying anything on has beggage they set him down at once as a person of no con sconence who did not venture to make any demand Some times on such occasions he would call them to him and tell them Foolish people lay and this minespitality. All your visitors will not be Catos. Use your courtesy to take off the sharp edge of power There are men enough who desire but a pretence to take from you by force what you give with such

reluctance While he travelled in this manner a diverting second nt befell him in Syria. As he was going into Antioch he saw a creat multitude of people outs do the gates ranged in order on either de the way here the young men with long cloaks there the children decently dressed others wore garlands and white surments who were the prests and magnetrates Cato imagin me all this could mean nothing but a d. play in honour of his reception began to be angry with his servants who had been sent before for suffering t to be done then making his friends al. ht he walked along with them on foot. As soon as he came near the gate, an elderly man, who seemed to be master of these ceremon es with a wand and a garland in his hand came up to Cato and without saluting h m asked him where he had left Demetrius and how soon he thought he would be there This Demetrius was Pompey's servant and as at this time the whole world so to say had its eyes fixed upon Pompey this man also was he has honoured on account of his enfluence with his marter Upon the Cates is ends fell into such violent laughter that they could not restrain themselves while they passed through the crowd and he himself ashamed and distres ed uttered the words Unfortunate city! and said no more. Afterwards however it always made him lauch when he e ther told the story or was otherwise reminded of t.

Pompey himself shortly after made the peopl ashamed of the r guerance and folly m thus neglecting him for Cate coming in his journey to Ephesus went to pay his respects to him who was the e.der man had gamed much honour and was then general of a great army Yet Pempey would not rece we him s thing but as soon as he saw him tost up and going to meet him as the more honourable person gave him his hand and embraced h m with great show of kindness He said much in commendation of his virtue both at that time when receiving him, and also yet more after he had withdrawn. So that now all men began at once to display their respect for Cato, and discovered in him the very same things for which they despised him before, an admirable middless of temper and greathers of spirit. And indeed the civility that Pompey himself showed him appeared to come from one that rather respected than loved him; and the general opinion ware, that while Cato was there he paid him admiration, but was not sorry when he was gone. For when other young men came to see him he usually urged and entreated them to continue with him. Now he did not at all invite Cato to stay, but as if his own power were lessened by the other's presence, he very willingly allowed him to take his leave. Yet to Cat alone, of all those who went for Rome, he recommended his children and his wife, who was indeed connected by relationship with Cato.

After this, all the cline through which he passed strove and emulated each other in showing him respect and shorner. Feasts and entertainments were made for his recoprion, so that he had the friends keep strict which and table care of hin, let he should end by making good what was said by Curlo, who though he were his familite friend, yet disliking the earsterily of his temper, saked him one day if, when he left the army, he designed to see Asla, and Cato answering. "Yes, by all mean." "You do will," replied Curlo, "you will bring back with you a better temper and pleasanter manners," pretty nearly the wey words

he used.

Deiotarus, being now an old man, had sent for Cato, to recommend his children and family to his protection; and as soon as he came, brought him presents of all sorts of things, which he begged and entreated him to accept. And his importunities displeased Cate so much, that though he came but in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away early the next morning. After he was gone one day's journey, he found at Pessinus a yet greater quantity of presents provided for him there, and also letters from Deiotorus entreating him to receive them, or at least to permit his friends to take them, who for his sake deserved some gratification, and could not have much done for them out of Cato's own means. Yet he would not suffer it, though he saw some of them very willing to receive such gifts, and ready to complain of his severity; but he auswered, that corruption would never want pretence, and his friends should share with him in whatever he should justly and honestly obtain, and so returned the presents to Deiotarus.

When he took ship for Brundssum, his finends would have persuided him to put his brother's select into another vessel; but he said he would sooner part with his life than leave them, and so set sail. And as it chanced, he, we are told, had a very dangerous passage, though others at the same time went over safely enough.

After he was returned to Rome, he spent his time for the most part either at home, in conversation with Athenodorus, or at the forum, in the service of his friends. Though it was now the time that he should become questor, he would not stand for the place till he had studied the laws relating to it, and by inquiry from persons of experience, had attained a distinct understanding of the duty and authority belonging to it. With this knowledge, as soon as he came into the office, he made a great reformation among the clerks and under-officers of the treasury, people who had long practice and familiarity in all the public records and the laws, and, when new magistrates came in year by year so gnorant and unskilful as to be in absolute need of others to teach them what to do, did not submit and give way, but kept the power in their own hands, and were in effect the treasurers themselves. Till Cato, applying himself roundly to the work, showed that he possessed not only the title and honour of a questor, but the knowledge and understanding and full authority of his office. So that he used the clerks and under-officers like servants as they were, exposing their corrupt practices, and instructing their ignorance. Being bold, impadent fellows, they flattered the other quarstors his colleagues, and by their means endeavoured to maintain an opposition against him. But he convicted the chiefest of them of a breach of trust in the charge of an inheritance, and turned him out of his place A second he brought to trial for dishonesty, who was defended by Lutatius Catulus, at that time censor, a man very considerable for his office, but yet more for h.s character, as he was emment above all the Romans of that age for his reputed wisdom and integrity. He was also intimate with Cato, and much commended his way of living So perceiving he could not bring off his client, if he stood a fair trial, Le openly began to beg him off Cato objected to his doing this And when he continued still to be importunate," It would he shameful, Catulus," he said, "that the censor, the judge of all our lives, should mear the dishonour of removal by our officers" At this expression, Catalus looked as if he would have made some answer, but he said nothing, and either through anger or shame went away silent, and out of countenance, Nevertheless, the man was not found guilty, for the voices that acquitted him were but one in number less than those that condemned him, and Marcus Lollins, one of Cate's colleagues, who was absent by reason of sickness, was sent for by Catulus, and entreated to come and save the man. So Lollius was brought into court in a chair, and gave his voice also for acquitting him. Yet Cate never after made use of that clerk, and never paid him his salary, nor would be make any account of the vote given by Lollius. Having thus humbled the clerks, and brought them to be at command, he made use of the books and registers as he thought fit, and in a little while gained the treasury a higher name than the senate house itself; and all men said. Cato had made the office of a operator equal to the dignity of a consul. When he found many indebted to the state upon old accounts, and the state also in debt to many private persons, he took care that the public might no longer either do or suffer wrong; he strictly and punctually exacted what was due to the treasury, and as freely and speedily paid all those to whom it was indebted. So that the people were filled with sentiments of awe and respect. on seeing those made to pay, who thought to have escaped with their plunder, and others receiving all their due, who despaired of getting anything. And whereas usually those who brought false bills and pretended orders of the senate, could through favour get them accepted. Cate would never be so imposed upon: and in the case of one particular order, on the question arising whether it had passed the senate, he would not believe a great many witnesses that attested it, nor would admit of it, till the consuls came and affirmed it upon oath.

Them were at that time a great many whom Sylla had made use of an his genus in the proscription, and to whom he had for their service in putting men to death, given twelve thousand dinchances apixee. These men everybody heated as wicked and polluted wretches, but nobedy durnt be revenged upon them. Cato called every one to account, as varegably possessed of the public money, and exacted it of them, and at the same time sample reproved them for their unlawful and implicus sections. After these proceedings they were pressulty accused of marder, and being already in a manner perhapided as guilty, they were early tound so, and accordingly suffered; at which the whole people rejoiced and thought themselves more to see the old tyraxing facility abeliabed, and Sylla himself, so to say, brought to numbers of

Cato's assiduity also, and indefatigable diligence, won very much upon the people He always came first of any of his col leagues to the treasury, and went away the last. He never missed any assembly of the people, or sitting of the senate; being always anxious and on the watch for those who lightly, or as a matter of interest, passed votes in favour of this or that person, for remitting debts or granting away customs that were owing to the tate And at length, having kept the exchequer pure and clear from base informers, and yet having filled it with treasure, he made it appear that the state mucht be rich without oppressing the peop'e At first he excited feelings of dislike and stritution in some of his colleagues, but after a while they were well contented with him, since he was perfectly willing that they should cast all the odum on him, when they declined to gratify their friends with the public money, or to give dishonest underments in passing their accounts, and when hard pressed by suitors, they could readily answer at was impossible to do envthme unless Cato would consent. On the last day of his office, he was honourably attended to his house by almost all the people, but on the way he was informed that several powerful friends were in the treasury with Marcellus, using all their interest with him to pass a certain debt to the public revenue, as if it had been a rift Marcellus had been one of Cato's friends from his childhood, and so long as Cato was with him, was one of the best of his coll-agues in this office, but when alone, was unable to resist the importunity of suitors, and prone to do anybod; a kindness. So Cate immediately termed back, and finding that Marcellus had yielded to pass the thing, he took the book, and while Marcellus silently stood by and looked on, struck it out. This done, he brought Marcellus out of the treasury, and took hun home with him, who for all this, neither then, nor ever after, complained of him, but always continued his friend hin and familiarity with him

as trend. Any and minisarity with him.

Cato, after he had fail down his office, yet did not cease to keep a watch upon the treasury. He had his servants who con minishing wrote cut the details of the expenditure, and he himself kept always by him certain books, which contained the accounts of the revenue from Syla's time to his own questorship, which he had bought for five takents.

He was always first at the senate, and went out last, and often, while the others were slawly collecting, he would sit and tread by himself, holding his gown before his book. He was never once out of town when the senate was to meet. And when

afterwards Pompey and his party, finding that he could never be either persuaded or compelled to favour their unjust designs, endeavoured to keep him from the senate, by engaging him in business for his friends, to plead their causes, or arbitrate in their differences, or the like, he quickly discovered the trick, and to defeat it, fairly told all his acquaintance that he would never meddle in any private business when the senate was assembled. Since it was not in the hope of gaining honour or riches, nor out of mere impulse, or by chance that he engaged himself in politics, but he undertook the service of the state as the proper business of an honest man, and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as constant to his public duty as the bee to the honeycomb. To this end, he took care to have his friends and correspondents everywhere, to send him reports of the edicts, decrees, judgments, and all the important proceedings that passed in any of the provinces. Once when Clodius, the seditious grater, to promote his violent and revolutionary projects, traduced to the people some of the priests and priestesses (among whom Fabia, sister to Cicero's wife, Terentia, ran great danger), Cato having boldly interfered, and having made Clodius appear so infamous that he was forced to leave the town, was addressed, when it was over, by Cicero, who came to thank him for what he had done. "You must thank the commonwealth," said he, for whose sake alone he professed to do everything. Thus he gained a great and wonderful reputation; so that an advocate in a cause, where there was only one witness against him, told the judges they ought not to rely upon a single witness, though it were Cato himself. And it was a sort of proverb with many people, if any very unlikely and incredible thing were asserted, to say, they would not believe it, though Cato himself should affirm it. One day a debauched and sumptuous liver talking in the senate about frugality and temperance, Amous standing up, cried. " Who can endure this, sir, to have you feast like Crassus, build like Lucullus, and talk like Cato." So likewise those who were vicious and dissolute in their manners, yet affected to be grave and severe in their language, were in derision called Catos. At first, when his friends would have persuaded him to stand

An incl., when his armost would have persuited than to stand to be tribune of the people, the thought it undesirable; for that the power of so great an office ought to be reserved, as the strongest medicines, for occasions of the last nocessity. But afterwards in a vocation time, as he was going, accompanied with his books and philosophens, to Lucania, where he had lands with a pleasant residence, they met by the way a great many with a pleasant part of the property of the horses, carrages, and attendants, of whom they understood, that Metellus Nepos was going to Rome, to stand to be tribune of the people. Hereupon Cato stopped, and after a little pause, gave orders to return back numediately, at which the company seeming to wonder, "Don't you know," said be, "how dangerous of itself the madoess of Metellas 123 and now that he cornes armed with the support of Pompey, be will fall like lightung on the state, and bring it to utter disorder, therefore this is no time for uffences and diversion, but we must go and present this man in his designs, or bravely die in defence of our liberty." Nevertheless, by the persuasion of his friends, he wood first to his country house, where he stayed but a very little time, and

He arrived in the evening, and went straight the rext mornmg to the forum, where be began to solicit for the tribuneship. in opposition to Metellus. The power of this office consists rather in controlling than performing any business, for though all the rest except any one tribune should be agreed, yet his der al or intercession could put a stop to the whole matter Cato, at first, had not many that appeared for him, but as soon as his design was known, all the good and dutinguished persons of the city quickly came forward to encourage and support h.m. looking upon him, not as one that desired a layour of them, but one that proposed to do a creat favour to his country and all honest men, who had many times refused the same office, when he might have had it without trouble, but now sought it with danger, that be might defend their liberty and their government. It is reported that so great a number flocked about him that he was like to be stifled amidst the press, and could scarce cet through the crowd. He was declared tribune, with several others, among whom was Metellies

When Cato was chosen into this office, observing that the electron of consists was become a natire of purchase, he sharplyrick led the people for this corruption, and in the conclusion of the speech protested he would broug to trial whomever he also did find giving money, making an exception only in the case of Salanus, on account of their near connection, he having married Seri alia, Cato's usiter. He therefore did not protecute him, but accused Lucus Murrias, who had been closen consulby corrupt means with Silanus. There was a law that the party accused might appoint a person to keep watch upon his accuser, that he might know fairly what means he took in preparing the accusation. He that was set upon Cato by Murria, at free followed and observed him strictly, yet never found him dealing any way unfairly or insidiously, but always generously and candidly going on in the just and open methods of proceeding. And he so admired Cato's great spirit, and so entirely trusted to his integrity, that meeting him in the forum, or going to his house, he would ask him if he designed to do anything that day in order to the accusation, and if Cato said no, he went away, relying on his word. When the cause was pleaded, Cicero, who was then consul and defended Murena, took occasion to be extremely witty and jocose, in reference to Cato, upon the Stoic philosophers, and their paradoxes, as they call them, and so excited great laughter among the judges; upon which Cato, smiling, said to the standers-by, "What a pleasant consul we have, my friends." Murena was acquitted, and afterwards showed himself a man of no ill-feeling or want of sense; for when he was consul, he always took Cato's advice in the most weighty affairs and, during all the time of his office, paid him much honour and respect. Of which not only Murena's prudence, but also Cato's own behaviour, was the cause: for though he were terrible and severe as to matters of justice, in the senate, and at the bar, yet after the thing was over his manner to all men was perfectly friendly and humane.

Before he entered on the office of tribune, he assisted Cicero. at that time consul, in many contests that concerned his office, but most especially in his great and noble acts at the time of Catiline's conspiracy; which owed their last successful issue to Cato. Catiline had plotted a dreadful and entire subversion of the Roman state by sedition and open war, but being convicted by Cicero, was forced to fiv the city. Yet Lentulus and Cothegus remained, with several others, to carry on the same plot; and blaming Catiline, as one that wanted courage, and had been timid and petty in his designs, they themselves resolved to set the whole town on fire, and atterly to overthrow the empire, rousing whole nations to revolt and exciting foreign wars. But the design was discovered by Cicero (as we have written in his life), and the matter brought before the senate. Silanus, who spoke first, delivered his opinion, that the conspirators ought to suffer the last of punishments, and was therein followed by all who spoke after him; till it came to Casar, who being an excellent speaker, and looking upon all changes and commotions in the state as materials useful for his own purposes, desired mther to increase than extinguish them; and standing up, he made a very merciful and persuasive speech, that they ought not to

suffer death without fair trial according to law, and moved that they might be kept in prison. Thus was the house almost wholly tourned by Cesar, apportencing also the engre of the people, insomuch that even Silanus retrieted, and said he did not mean to propose death, but impresonment, for that was the utmost a Roman gould suffer.

Upon this they were all inclined to the milder and more merciful op mon, when Cato, standing up, began at once with orgat passion and vehemence to reproach Silanus for his change of opinion, and to attack Cresar, who would, he said, ruin the commonwealth by soft words and popular speeches, and was endeavouring to inghten the senate, when he himself ought to fear, and be thankful, if he escaped unpunished or unsuspected, who thus openly and boldly dared to protect the enemics of the state, and while finding no compassion for his own native country, brought, with all its glories, so near to utter ruin, could yet be full of rity for those men who had better never have been born, and whose death must deliver the commonwealth from bloodshed and destruction. This only of all Cato's speeches, it is said, was preserved, for Ocero, the consul, had disposed in various parts of the senate house, several of the most expert and rapid writers, whom he had taught to make figures comprising numerous words in a few short strokes, as up to that time they had not used those we call shorthand writers, who then, as it is said, established the first example of the art. Thus Cato carried it, and so turned the house again, that it was decreed the conspirators should be put to death

Not to omit any small matters that may serve to show Cato's temper, and add something to the portraiture of his mind, it is reported, that while Casar and he were in the very heat, and the whole senate regarding them two, a little note was brought in to Casar which Cate declared to be suspicious, and preing that some seditious act was going on, bade the letter be read Upon which Cosar handed the paper to Cato, who, discovering it to be a love-letter from his sister Servilla to Cresar, by whom she had been corrupted, threw it to him again, saying, "Take it, drunkard," and so went on with his discourse. And, indeed, it seems Cato had but ill-fortune m women, for this lady was illspoken of for her familianty with Casar, and the other Servilia. Cato's sister also, was yet more ill-conducted, for being married to Lucullus, one of the greatest men m Rome, and having brought him a son, she was afterwards desorted for incontinency. But what was worst of all, Cato's own wafe Atulia was not free from the same fault; and after she had borne him two children, he was forced to put her away for her misconduct. After that, he married Maraid, the daughter of Philippus, a woman of good reputation, who yet has occasioned much discourse; and the life of Cato, like a dramatic piece, has this one scene or passage full of nerolective and doubtful meaning.

It is thus related by Thrasea, who refers to the authority of Munatius, Cato's friend and constant companion. Among many that loved and admired Cato, some were more remarkable and conspicuous than others. Of these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of high repute and approved virtue, who desired not only to live in friendship and familiarity with Cato, but also to unite his whole house and family with him by some sort or other of alliance in marriage. Therefore he set himself to persuade Cato that his daughter Porcia, who was already married to Bibulus, and had borne him two children, might nevertheless be given to him. as a fair plot of land, to bear fruit also for him. " For," said he, "though this in the opinion of men may seem strange, yet in nature it is honest, and profitable for the public that a woman in the prime of her youth should not lie useless, and lose the fruit of her womb, nor, on the other side, should burden and im-poverish one man, by bringing him too many children. Also by this communication of families among worthy men, virtue would increase, and be diffused through their posterity; and the commonwealth would be united and cemented by their alliances." Yet if Bibulus would not part with his wife altogether, he would restore her as soon as she had brought him a child, whereby he might be united to both their families. Cate answered, that he loved Hortensius very well, and much approved of uniting their houses, but he thought it strange to speak of marrying his daughter, when she was already given to another. Then Hortensius, turning the discourse, did not hesitate to speak openly and ask for Cato's own wife, for she was young and fruitful, and he had already children enough. Neither can it be thought that Hortensius did this, as imagining Cato did not care for Marcia: for, it is said, she was then with child. Cato, percoiving his earnest desire, did not deny his request, but said that Phillippus, the father of Marcia, ought also to be consulted. Philippus, therefore, being sent for, came; and finding they were well agreed, gave his daughter Marcia to Hortensius in the presence of Cato, who himself also assisted at the marriage. This was done at a later time, but since I was speaking of women. I thought it well to mention it now.

Lentulus and the rest of the conspirators were put to death, but Casar, finding so much insumated and charged against him in the senate, betook himself to the people, and proceeded to stir up the most corrupt and dissolute elements of the state to form a party in his support. Cato, apprehensive of what might ensue, rero, aded the senate to win over the poor and unprovided for multitude by a distribution of corn the annual charge of which amounted to twelve hundred and fifty talents. This act of humanity and Lindness unquestionably dissipated the present danger But Metellus coming into his office of tribune, becan to hold tumultious assemblies and had prepared a decree, that Pompey the Great should presently be called into Itals, with all his forces to preserve the city from the danger of Catiline's con-This was the fair pretence, but the true design was to deliver all into the hands of Fompey, and to give him an absolute power Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cito did not fall sharply upon Metellus, as he often did, but urged his advice in the most reasonable and moderate tone. At last he descended even to entreaty, and extolled the house of Metellus as having always taken part with the nobility At this Metelline grew the more insolent, and despising Cato, as if he yielded and were afraid, let himself proceed to the most audacious menaces. openly threstening to do whatever he pleased in spite of the senate Upon this Cate changed his countenance, his yours, and his language, and after many sharp expressions, boldly concluded that, while he bied Pompey should never come armed into the city Ti e senate thought them both extravagant, and not well in their safe senses, for the design of Metellus seemed to be mere rage and freazy, out of excess of muschef bringing all things to run and confusion, and Cato's vartue looked like a kind of ecstasy of contention in the cause of what was good and tait But when the day came for the people to give their voices for

the passing this decree, and Metellus beforehand occupied the forum with armed men, strangers, gladiators, and slaves, those that in hopes of change followed Pempey were known to be no small part of the people, and besides, they had great assistance from Casar, who was then prator, and though the best and chiefest men of the city were no less offended at these proceedings than Cato, they seemed rather likely to suffer with him than able to assist him. In the meantime Cato's whole family were to extreme fear and apprehension for him, some of his friends neither ate nor slept all the night, passing the whole time in debating and perplexity. his wife and sisters also bewarled and

lamented him. But he himself, void of all fear, and full of assurance, comforted and encouraged them by his own words and conversation with them. After supper he went to rest at his usual hour, and was the next day waked out of a profound sleep by Minucius Thermus, one of his colleagues. So soon as he was up, they two went together into the forum, accompanied by very few, but met by a great many, who bade them have a care of themselves. Cate, therefore, when he saw the temple of Castor and Pollox encompassed with armed men, and the steps guarded by gladiators, and at the top Metellus and Casar seated together, turning to bis friends, " Behold," said he, " this audacious coward, who has levied a regiment of soldiers against one unarmed naked man;" and so he went on with Thermus. Those who kept the passages gave way to these two only, and would not let anybody else pass. Yet Cato taking Munatius by the hand, with much difficulty pulled bun through along with him. Then going directly to Metellus and Casar, he sat himself down between them, to prevent their talking to one another, at which they were both amazed and confounded. And those of the honest party, observing the countenance, and admiring the bigh spirit and boldness of Cato, went nearer, and cried out to him to have courage, exhorting also one another to stand together, and not betray their liberty nor the defender of it.

Then the clerk took out the bill, but Cate forbade him to read it, whereupon Metellus took it, and would have read it bimself. but Cate sentched the book away. Yet Metellus, having the decree by heart, began to recite it without book; but Thermus put his hand to his mouth, and stopped his speach. Metellus seeing them fully bent to withstand him, and the people cowed, and inclining to the better side, sent to his house for armed men-And on their rushing in with great noise and terror, all the rest dispersed and ran away, except Cato, who alone stood still. while the other party threw sticks and stones at him from above, until Murena, whom he had formerly accused, came up to protect him, and holding his gown before him, cried out to them to leave off throwing; and, in fine, persuading and pulling him along, he forced him into the temple of Castor and Pollux. Metellus, now seeing the place clear, and all the adverse party fled out of the forum, thought he might easily carry his point; so he commanded the soldiers to retire, and recommencing in an orderly manner, began to proceed to passing the decree. But the other side having recovered themselves, returned very boldly, and with loud shouting, insomuch that Metellus's adherents were

suzed with a panic, supposing them to be coming with a run forement of a rined run, field every one out of the place. They being thus dispersed, Cato came in again, and confirmed the courage, and commented the resolution of the people, so that now the majority were, by all means, for deposing Metellus from his office. The senate also being assembled, gave orders once runes for supporting Cato, and resisting the motion, as of a nature to exect sections and perhaps crit war in the city

But Metellus continued still very bold and resolute, and seeing his party stood greatly in lear of Cato, whom they looked upon as invincible, he hurried out of the senate into the forum. and assembled the people, to whom he made a bitter and to vidious speech against Cato, erying out, he was forced to fly from his tyranny, and this conspuracy against Pompey, that the city would soon repent their having dishonoured so great a man. And from hence he started to go to Asia, with the intention, as would be supposed, of laying before Pompey all the injuries that were done hira Cato was highly extelled for having delivered the state from this dangerous tribuneship, and having in some measure defeated, in the person of Metellus, the power of Pompey, but he was yet more commended when, upon the senate proceeding to disgrace Metallus and depose him from his office, he altogether opposed and at length diverted the design. The common people admired his moderation and humanity, in not trampling wantonly on an enemy whom he had overthrown, and wiser men acknowledged his prudence and policy in not exasperating Pompey

Lucullus soon after returned from the war in Asia, the finishing of which, and thereby the glory of the whole, was thus, in all annearance, taken out of his bands by Pompey And he was also not far from losing his troumph for Caust Memmius traduced him to the people, and fireatened to accuse han, rather, however, out of love to Pompey, than for any particular enmity to him But Cato, being allied to Lucullus, who had married his sister Servilia, and also thinking it a great mjustice, opposed Memmius, thereby exposing himself to much slander and mis representation, aromuch that they would have turned him out of his office, pretending that be used his power tyrannically, Yet at length Cate so lar prevailed against Kemm us that he was forced to let fall the accusations, and abandon the contest. And la collus having this obtained by traimph, yet more sedulously cultivated Cato's frendship, which he looked upon as a great guard and defence for him against Pompey's power

And now Pompey also returning with glory from the war, and confiding in the good-will of the people, shown in their splendid reception of him, thought he should be denied nothing, and scat therefore to the senate to put off the assembly for the election of consuls, till he could be present to assist Piso, who stood for that office. To this most of the senators were disposed to yield: Cato only not so much thinking that this delay would be of great importance, but, desiring to cut down at once Pompey's high expectations and designs, withstood his request, and so overruled the senate that it was carrried against him. And this not a little disturbed Pompey, who found he should very often fail in his projects unless he could bring over Cato to his interest. He sent, therefore, for Munatius, his friend; and Cato having two nieces that were marriageable, he offered to marry the eldest himself, and take the vouncest for his son. Some say they were not his nieces, but his daughters. Munatius proposed the matter to Cato, in presence of his wife and sisters; the women were full of joy at the prospect of an alliance with so great and important a person. But Cato, without delay or balancing, forming his decision at once, answered, "Go, Munatius, go and tell Pompey that Cato is not assailable on the side of the women's chamber; I am grateful indeed for the intended kindness, and so long as his actions are upright, I promise him a friendship more sure than any marriage alliance, but I will not give hostages to Powney's glory against my country's safety." This answer was very much against the wishes of the women, and to all his friends it seemed somewhat harsh and haughty. But afterwards, when Pompey, endeavouring to get the consulship for one of his friends, gave nay to the people for their votes, and the bribery was netorious, the money being counted out in Pompey's own gardens, Cato then said to the women, they must necessarily have been concerned in the contamination of these misdeeds of Pompey, if they had been allied to his family; and they acknowledged that he did best in refusing it. Yet if we may judge by the event, Cato was much to blame in rejecting that alliance, which thereby fell to Cresar. And then that match was made, which, uniting his and Pompey's power, had wellnigh ruined the Roman empire, and did destroy the commonwealth. Nothing of which, perhaps, had come to pass, but that Cato was too apprehensive of Pompey's least faults, and did not consider how he forced him into conferring on another man the opportunity of committing the greatest.

These things, however, were yet to come. Lucuilus and

Pompey, meantime, had a great dispute concerning their orders and arrangements in Pontiss, each endeavouring that his own ordinances might stand Cato took part with Luculius, who was manifestly suffering wrong, and Pompey, finding himself the weaker in the senate, had recourse to the people, and to gain notes he proposed a law for dividing the lands among the soldiers Cato opposing him in this also made the bill be rejected Upon this he joined himself with Clodius, at that time the most violent of all the demagogues, and entered also into friendship with Caesar, upon an occasion of which also Cate was the cause For Casar, returning from his government in Spain, at the same time sued to be chosen consul, and yet desired not to lose his triumph Now the law requiring that those who stood for any office should be present, and yet that whoever expected a triumph should continue without the walls, Casar requested the senate that his friends might be permitted to canvass for him in his absence Many of the senators were willing to consent to it, but Cato opposed it, and perceiving them inclined to favour Casar, spent the whole day in speaking, and so prevented the senate from coming to any conclusion Casar, therefore, resolving to let fall his pretensions to the triumph, came into the town, and immediately made a friendship with Pompey, and stood for the consulship As soon as he was declared consul elect, he married his daughter Julia to Pompey. And having thus combined themselves together against the commonwealth, the one pronoted laws for dividing the lands among the poor people, and the other was present to support the proposals Lumblus. Cicere, and their friends, joined with Bibulus, the other consulto hinder their passing, and, foremost of them all, Cato, who already looked upon the friendship and alliance of Pompey and Casar as very dangerous, declared he did not so much dislike the advantage the people should get by this division of the lands, as he feared the reward these men would gain, by thus courting and cozening the people. And in this he gained over the senate to his opinion, as likewise many who were not senators. who were offended at Casar's all conduct, that he, in the office of consul, should thus basely and dishonouraby flatter the people. practising, to win their favour, the same means that were wont to be used only by the most rash and rebellious tribunes Casar. therefore, and his party, fearing they should not carry it by fair dealing, fell to open force First a basket of dung was thrown upon Bibulus as he was going to the forum, then they set upon his lictors and broke their rods, at length

thrown, and many men wounded; so that all that were against those laws fiel out of the forum, the rest with what haste they could, and Cato, last of all, walking out slowly, often turning back and calling down vengeance upon them.

Thus the other party not only carried their point of dividing the lands, but also ordained that all the senate should swear to confirm this law, and to defend it against whoever should attempt to alter it, inflicting great penalties on those that should refuse the oath. All these senators, seeing the necessity they were in, took the oath, remembering the example of Metellus in old time, who, refusing to swear upon the like occasion, was forced to leave Italy. As for Cato, his wife and children with tears besought him, his friends and familiars persuaded and entreated him, to yield and take the eath; but he that principally prevailed with him was Cicero, the orator, who urged upon him that it was perhaps not even right in itself, that a private man should propose what the public had decreed; that the thing being already past altering, it were folly and madness to throw himself into danger without the chance of doing his country any good; it would be the greatest of all evils to emorace, as it were, the opportunity to abandon the commonwealth, for whose sake he did everything, and to let it fall into the hands of those who designed nothing but its rum, as if he were glad to be saved from the trouble of defending it. "For," said he, "though Cato have no need of Rome, yet Rome has need of Cato, and so likewise have all his friends," Of whom Cicero professed he himself was the chief, being at that time aimed at by Clodius, who openly threatened to fall upon him, as soon as ever be should get to be tribune. Thus Cato, they say, moved by the entreaties and the arguments of his friends, went unwillingly to take the oath, which he did the last of all, except only Favonius. one of his intimate acquaintance.

Cesar, exalted with this success, proposed another law, for dividing almost if the country of Campania among the poor and needy citizens. Notody durat speak against it but Cato, whom Cesar therefore pulled from the router and drugged to prince; yet Cato did not even thus remit his freedom of speech, but as he went along continued to speak against the law, and advised he people to put down all legislators who proposed the like. The senate and the best of the citizens followed him with said and dipleted locks, showing their grid and indignation by their silvere, so that Casar could not be ignorant how much they were offended; but for contention's sale he still prestrict, conceine Cato should either supplicate him, or make an appeal. But when he saw that he did not so much as think of doing either. ashamed of what he was doing and of what people thought of it, he himself privately hade one of the tribunes interpose and procure his release. However, having won the multitude by these laws and gratifications, they decreed that Cosar should have the government of Hlymcum, and all Gaul, with an army of four legions, for the space of five years, though Cato still cried out they were, by their own vote, placing a tyrant in their citade! Publius Clodius, a patrician, who illegally became a pleberan, was declared tribune of the people, as he had proroused precent, was occurred thoms on the people, as he had provided to do all things according to their pleasure, on condition he might banish Licero. And for consuls, they set up Calpurnus. Paso, the father of Canar's wife, and Aulus Gabinus, one of Pompey's creatures, as they tell us, who best knew his life and manners.

Yet when they had thus firmly established all things, having mastered one part of the city by favour, and the other by fear, they themselves were still afraid of Cato, and remembered with vexation what pains and trouble their success over him had cost them, and indeed what shame and distrace, when at last they were driven to use violence to him This made Clodius despair of driving Cicere out of Italy while Cato staved at home Therefore, having first laid his design, as soon as he came into his office, he sent for Cato, and told him that he looked upon him as the most incorrupt of all the Romans, and was ready to show he did so "For whereas," said he, "many have applied to be sent to Cyprus on the commission in the case of Ptolemy and have solicited to have the appointment, I think you alone are deserving of it, and I desire to give you the favour of the appointment" Cate at once cried out it was a mere design upon hum, and no favour, but an injury Then Clodins proudly and fiercely answered, " If you will not take it as a kindness, you shall go, though never so unwillingly," and unmediately going mto the assembly of the people be made them pass a decree, that Cato should be sent to Cyprus But they ordered him neither ship, nor soldier, nor any attendant, except two secretaries, one of whom was a third and a rascal, and the other a retainer to Clothus Besides, as if Cyprus and Ptolemy were not work sufficient, he was ordered also to restore the refugees of Byzantium For Clodius was resolved to keep him far enough off whilst himself continued tribune

Cato, being in this necessity of going away, advised Cicero.

who was next to be set upon, to make no resistance, lest he should throw the state into civil war and confusion, but to give way to the times, and thus become once more the preserver of his country. He himself sent forward Canidius, one of his friends, to Cyprus, to persuade Ptolemy to yield, without being forced; which if he did, he should want neither riches nor honour, for the Romans would give him the priesthood of the goddess at Paphos. He himself stayed at Rhodes, making some preparations, and expecting an answer from Cyprus. In the meantime, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, who had left Alexandria. upon some quarrel between him and his subjects, and was sailing for Rome, in hopes that Pompey and Casar would send troops to restore him, in his way thither desired to see Cato, to whom he sent, supposing he would come to him. Cato had taken purging medicine at the time when the messenger came, and made answer, that Ptolemy had better come to him, if he thought fit. And when he came, he neither went forward to meet him. nor so much as rose no to him, but saluting him as an ordinary person, bade him sit down. This at once threw Ptolemy into some confusion, who was surprised to see such stern and haughty manners in one who made so plaio and unpretending an appearance; but afterwards, when he began to talk about his affairs. he was no less astonished at the wisdom and freedom of his discourse. For Cate blamed his conduct, and pointed out to him what honour and happiness he was abandoning, and what humiliations and troubles he would run himself into; what bribery he must resort to, and what cupidity be would have to satisfy when he came to the leading men at Rome, whom all Egypt turned into silver would scarcely content. He therefore advised him to return home, and be reconciled to his subjects, offering to go glong with him, and assist him in composing the differences, And by this language Ptolemy being brought to himself, as it might be out of a fit of madness or delirium, and discerning the truth and wisdom of what Cato said, resolved to follow his advice; but he was again over-persuaded by his friends to the contrary, and so, according to his first design, went to Rome, When he came there, and was forced to wait at the gate of one of the magistrates, he began to lament his folly in having rejected, rather, as it seemed to him, the gracle of a god than the advice merely of a good and wise man,

In the meantime, the other Ptolemy, in Cyprus, very luckily for Cato, poisoned himself. It was reported he had left great riches; therefore, Cato designing to go first to Byzantium, sent his nephew Brutus to Cyrna, as he would not wholly trust Candiau. Then, having reconciled the traingers and the people of By nations, he left the cryst paces and questiests, and to stailed to Cyrnia, where he has at soul treasure of plate, tables, procoss accoss the board and then was to be turned unto ready money has he heard which was to be turned unto ready money and he may be the process of the process and to race the proc of everything with the greater exactions, and to race the proc of everything countries to the value of the carbon that the process of the ready with the process of the process

This mistrustfulness offended most of his friends, and in particular. Munatius, the most intimate of them all, became almost preconcilable And this afforded Casar the subject of his severest censures in the book he wrote against Cato Yet Munatus himself relates, that the quarrel was not so much occa-sioned by Cato's mistrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canadius For Munatius also wrote a book concerning Cato, which is the chief authority followed by Thrasea. Munatuus says, that coming to Cyprus after the other, and having a very poor lodging provided for him, he went to Cato's house, but was not admitted, because he was engaged in private with Canidus, of which he afterwards complained in very gentle terms to Cato, but received a very barsh answer, that too much love, according to Theophysitus, often causes harred; " and you," he said, " because you bear me much love, think you receive too little honour, and presently grow angry I emulay Canidius on account of his industry and his fidelity, he has been with me from the first, and I have found him to be trusted" These things were said in private between them two. but Cate afterwards told Canadius what had passed, on being informed of which, Munaturs would no more go to sup with him,

informed of which, Muratian would no more po to sup with him, and what he are swirted to gree he counter, fraction to come. Then Cato threatened to search he goods, as was the custom in the cast of these who were dashederart; but Muratims not regarding has "breats, returned to Kone, and continued a large time the discount. But alterwards, when Cato was continued by the charactery of the continued of the continued of the continued of the continued of the charactery when the continued to have them both anvited to make the great with him, continued to the have them both anvited to make the great with the continued to the continued of the present with the continued to the continued of the continued to the continued to the continued of the continued to the continued

saked, where he should be. Barea answered him, where he pheased; then looking about, in eard he would be near Munatius, and went and phosed himself next to him; yet he showed him no other mark of kindness all the fines they were at table of the contrast of Marcio, Cato wate to Munatius that he desired to speak with him. Munatius went, to his house in the morning, and was kept by Marcia till all the company was gene; then Cato cane, threw both his arms about him, and embraced him very kindly, and they were zeconciled. I have the more fully related this passage, for that I think the manner and tempers of men are more clarly discovered by things of this neture, than by great and conspicuour tetrom.

Cato got together little less than seven thousand talents of silver; but apprehensive of what might happen in so long a voyage by see, he provided a great many coffers that held two talents and five hundred drachmes apiece; to each of these he fastened a long rope, and to the other end of the rope a piece of cork, so that if the ship should miscarry, it might be discovered whereabout the chests lay under water. Thus all the money. except a very little, was safely transported. But he had made two books, in which all the accounts of his commission were carefully written out, and neither of these was preserved. For his freedman Philargyrus, who had the charge of one of them, setting sail from Cenchreae, was lost, together with the ship and all her freight. And the other Cato himself kept safe till he came to Corcyra, but there he set up his tent in the marketplace, and the sailors, being very cold in the night, made a great many fires, some of which caught the tents, so that they were burnt, and the book lost. And though he had brought with him several of Ptolemv's stewards, who could testify to his integrity, and stop the months of enemies and false accusers, yet the loss annoved him, and he was vexed with himself about the matter, as he had designed them not so much for a proof of his own fidelity, as for a patitum of exactness to others.

The new did not full to much kome that he was coming up the river. All the mugitarist, the prisst, and the whole scate, with great part of the people, went out to meet him; both be banks of the Tilber were covered with people; so that his entrace was in solemnity and become not interior to a trimmph. But it was thought somewhat strange, and holed like within ness and pride, that when the consults and pretary appeared, he did not disturback, nor stay to salute them, but reverd up the

stream in a royal galley of six banks of oars and stepped not till he brought his vessels to the dock. However, when the money was carned through the streets, the people much wond red at the vast quantity of it and the senate being assembled decreed him in honourable terms an extraordinary prætorship and also num in nonourance cerms an extraordinary precorains and also the pivil ge of appearing at the public spectacks in a robe faced with purple. Cath declared all these honours but declar ing what diligence and fidelity be had found in h cris the steward of Ptolemy he requested the senate to give him his freedom

Philippus the father of Marcia was that year consul and the authority and power of the office rested in a manner in Cato for the other consul paid him no less regard for his virtue a sake than Philippus did on account of the connection between them And C cero now being returned from his barushment into which he was driven by Clodius and having again obtained great credit among the people went in the absence of Clod us and by force took away the records of his tribuneship which had been laid up in the cap tol Hereupon the senate was assembled and Clodies complained of Cicero who answered that Clodius was never legally tribune and therefore whatever he had done was you and of no authority But Cate inter runted him while he snoke and at last standing up taid that ndeed he in no way justified or approved of Clodius a proceed ings but if they questioned the validity of what had been done in his tribuneship they might also question what himself had done at Cyprus for the expedition was unlawful if he that sent him had no lawful authority for himself he thought Clodius was legally made tubune who by permiss on of the law was from a patrician adopted into a pleberan family if he had done "Il in his office he goght to be called to account for it but the anthority of the magistracy ought not to suffer for the faults of the magnetrate Cicero took this ill and for a long time dis continued his friendship with Cato but they were afterwards reconciled

Pompey and Crassus by agreement with Casar who crossed the Alps to see them had formed a des gn that they two should stand to be chosen consuls a second time and when they should be in the roffice they would continue to Casar his government for five years more and take to themselves the greatest provances with armies and money to maintain them. This seemed a plain conspiracy to subvert the constitution and parcel out the empire Several men of high character had intended to stand to be consuls that year, but upon the appearance of these great competitors, they all desisted, except only Lucius Domitius, who had married Porcia, the sister of Cato, and was by him persuaded to stand it out, and not abandon such an undertaking, which, he said, was not merely to gain the consulship, but to save the liberty of Rome. In the meantime, it was the common topic among the more prudent part of the citizens, that they ought not to suffer the power of Pompey and Crassus to be united, which would then be carried beyond all bounds, and become dangerous to the state: that therefore one of them must be denied. For these reasons they took part with Domitius, whom they exhorted and encouraged to go on, assuring him that many who feared openly to appear for him, would privately assist him. Pompey's party fearing this, laid wait for Domitius, and set upon him as he was going before daylight, with torches, into the Field. First, he that bore the light next before Domirius was knocked down and killed; then several others being wounded, all the rest fled, except Cato and Domitius, whom Cate held, though bimself were wounded in the arm, and crying out, conjured the others to stay, and not, while they had any breath, forsake the defence of their liberty against those tyrants, who plainly showed with what moderation they were likely to use the power which they endeavoured to gain by such violence. But at length Domitius, also, no longer willing to face the danger, fled to his own house, and so Pomney and Crassus were declared elected.

Nevertheless, Cato would not give over, but resolved to stand himself to be prætor that year, which he thought would be some helo to him in his design of opposing them; that he might not act as a private man, when he was to contend with public magistrates. Pompey and Crasses apprehended this: and fearing that the office of prator in the person of Cato might be equal in authority to that of consul, they assembled the senate unexpectedly, without giving notice to a great many of the senators, and made an order, that those with were chosen protors should immediately enter mon their office, without attending the usual time, in which, according to law, they might be accured, if they had corrupted the people with rifts. When he this order they had not have to bribe freely, without being called to account, they set up their own friends and dependents to stand for the pratorship, giving money, and matching the people as they voted. Yet the virtue and reputation of Cate was "ke to triumph over all these stratagems; for the people

generally felt it to be shameful that a price should be paid for the rejection of Cate, who sught rather to be paid himself to take upon him the office So he carried it by the voices of the first tribe Hereupon Pompey immediately framed a he, crying out, it thundered, and straight broke up the assembly, for the Romans religiously observed this as a bad omen, and never concluded any matter after at had thundered Before the next time, they had distributed larger bribes, and driving also the best men out of the Field, by these foul means they procured Vatmus to be chosen pretor, instead of Cato It is said, that those who had thus corruptly and dishonestly given their voices harned, as if it were in flight, out of the Field The others staying together, and exclaiming at the event, one of the tribunes continued the assembly, and Cato standing up, as it were by inspiration, foretold all the misenes that afterwards befell the state, exhorted them to beware of Pompey and Crassus, who were guilty of such things, and had laid such designs, that they mucht well fear to have Cate practor When he had ended this speech, he was followed to his house by a greater number of people than all the new prators elect put together

Caus Trebonus now proposed the law for allotting provinces to the consult, one of whom was to have Spain and Africa, the other Egypt and Syna, with full power of making war, and carrying it on both by sea and land, as they should think fit. When this was proposed, all others despaired of putting any stop to it, and neither did nor said anything against it. But Cato, before the voting began, went up into the place of speaking, and desiring to be heard, was with much difficulty allowed two hours to speak. Having spent that time in informing them and reasoning with them, and in foretelling to them much that was to come, he was not suffered to speak any longer, but as he was going on, a serieant came and pulled him down, yet when he was down, he still continued speaking m a loud voice, and finding many to listen to him, and join in his indignation. Then the serjeant took him, and forced him out of the forum, but as soon as he got loose, he returned again to the place of speaking, crying out to the people to stand by him When he had done thus several times, Trebonius grew very angry, and commanded him to be carried to prison, but the multitude followed him, and listened to the speech which he made to them as he went along, so that Trebonius began to be afraid again, and ordered him to be released. Thus that day was expended, and the business staved off by C

days succeeding, many of the citizens being overawed by jears and threats, and others won by gitt sand farours, Angollius, one of the tributes, they kept by an armed force within the senate-house; Cato, who cried it thundered, they drove out of the form; many were wounded, and some slain; and at length by open force they passed the law. At this many were so incessed that they got together and were going to throw down the statutes of Pompey; but Cato went and diverted them from that design.

Again, another law was proposed, concerning the provinces and legions of Cesar. Upon this occasion Cato did out apply himself to the people, but appealed to Pompey himself; and told birth, he did not consider now that he was setting Cesar upon his own shoulders, who would shortly grow too weighty pon him; and at height, how she to lay down the burden, nor yet to hear it any longer, he would precipitate both it and thesaff with upon the commonwealthy; and then he would remember Cato's advise, which was no less advantageous to him than just and hoest in itself. This was Fompey offers warned, but still disregarded and slighted it, nover mistrutting Cosar's change, and always confiden in the own power and good fortune.

Cato was made practor the following year; but, it seems, he did not do more hopour and credit to the office by his signal integrity than he disgraced and diminished it by his strange behaviour. For he would often come to the court without his shoes, and sit upon the beach without any undergarment, and in this attire would give judgment in capital causes, and upon persons of the highest rank. It is said, also, he used to drink wine after his morning meal, and then transact the business of his office; but this was wrongfully reported of him. The people were at that time extremely corrupted by the gifts of those who sought offices, and most made a constant trade of selling their voices. Cato was eager utterly to root this corruption out of the commonwealth; he therefore persuaded the senate to make an order, that those who were chosen into any office, though nobody should accuse them, should be obliged to come into the court, and give account upon oath of their proceedings in their election. This was extremely obnoxious to those who stood for the offices, and yet more to those vast numbers who took the bribes. Insuranch that one morning as Caso was going to the tribunal, a great multitude of people flocked together, and with loud cries and maledictions reviled him, and throw stbim. Those that were about the tribunal presently

Cato himself being forced thesees, and justled about in the throng, very carros), excepted the stimes that were thrown at him, and with much difficulty got hald of the bothst, where, standing up with a bold and understuded counterance, he at once mastern the tumuls, and silenced the clamour, and addressing then in fit terms for the distinct of the beard with great attention, and perfectly quotied the scaling. Afterwards, on the senate pommending him for this, "Birt I," said he," fon not commending for a thandoning your pratter in danger, and bringing him in

In the meantime, the candidates were in great perplexity, for every one dreaded to give money himself, and yet feared lest his competitors should. At length they agreed to lay down one hundred and twenty five thousand drachunas apiece, and then all of them to canvass fairly and honestly, on condition, that if any one was found to make use of bribery he should forfer the money Being thus agreed, they chose Cato to keep the stakes, and arbitrate the matter, to him they brought the sum con cluded on, and before him subscribed the agreement. The money he did not choose to have paid for them, but took their securities who stood bound for them Upon the day of election. he placed himself by the tribune who took the votes, and very watchfully observing all that passed, be discovered one who had broken the agreement, and unmediately ordered him to pay his money to the rest They, however, commending his Justice highly, remitted the penalty, as thinking the discovery a suffi-cient punishment. It raised, however, as much envy against Cato as it gained him reputation, and many were offended at his thus taking upon himself the whole authority of the Senate. the courts of judicature, and the magistracies For there is no virtue, the honour and credit for which procures a man more odium than that of nustice, and this, because more than any other, it acquires a man power and authority among the common people For they only honour the valuant and admire the wise. while in addition they also love just men, and put entire trust and confidence in them They fear the bo'd man, and mistrust the clever man, and moreover think them rather beholding to their natural complexion, than to any goodness of their will, for these excellences, they look upon valour as a certain natural strength of the mind, and wisdom as a constitutional acuteness. whereas a man has it in his power to be just, if he have but the will to be so, and therefore injustice is thought the most dishonourable, because it is least excusable

Cato upon this account was opposed by all the great men; who thought themselves reproved by his virtue. Pompey especially looked upon the increase of Cato's credit as the ruin of his own power, and therefore continually set up men to rail against him. Among these was the seditions Clodus, now again united to Pompey, who declared openly, that Cato had conveyed away a great deal of the treasure that was found in Cyprus; and that he hated Pompey only because he refused to marry his daughter, Cato answered, that although they had allowed him neither horse nor man, he had brought more treasure from Cyprus alone, than Pompey had, after so many wars and triumphs, from the ransacked world: that he never sought the alliance of Pompey: not that he thought him unworthy of being related to him, but because he differed so much from him in things that concerned the commonwealth. "For." said he, "I laid down the province that was given me, when I went out of my pratorship; Pompey, on the contrary, retains many provinces for himself, and he bestows many on others; and but now he sent Casar a force of six thousand men into Gaul, which Casar never asked the people for, nor had Pompey obtained their consent to give. Mon. and horse, and arms, in any number, are become the mutual gifts of private men to one another; and Pompey, keeping the titles of commander and general, hands over the armies and provinces to others to govern, while he himself stays at home to preside at the contests of the canvass, and to stir un tumults at elections; out of the anarchy he thus creates amongst us, seeking, we see well enough, a monarchy for himself." Thus he retorted on Pompey.

He had an infirmate friend and admires of the name of Marcus Fravoulus, much be same to Clas as we are told Apollodorus, the Phalerian, was in old time to Secartes, whose words used to throw him into perfect transports and extastice, petting into his head, like strong wine, and intoxicating him to a sort of franzy. This Favoulus around the change of the control of the strong wine, and intoxicating him to a sort of franzy. This Favoulus was there to assist him, observed that till but works were written in one hand, and discovering the cheat, appealed to the tribunes, who storped the election. Favoulus was atterwards chose needing, and class, who assisted him in all things that belonged to his office, also undertook the care of the spectrost, not of gold, but of wild offer, such as prough a discovering the course, not of gold, but of wild offer, such as prough a discovering the course, not of gold, but of wild offer, such as prough the action of the course of the spectra of the spect

lettuces, radishes, and pears, and to the Romans earthen pots of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and httle faggots of wood Some ridiculed Cato for his economy, others looked with respect on this gentle relaxation of his usual rigour and austerity In fine, Favonus himself mingled with the crowd, and sitting among the spectators, clapped and applauded Cato, bade him bestow rewards on those who did well, and called on the people to pay their honours to him, as for himself he had placed his whole authority in Cato's hands At the same time, Curio, the colleague of Favonus, gave very magnificent entertainments in another theatre, but the people left his, and went to those of Favonus, which they much applauded, and joined heartily in the diversion, seeing him act the private man, and Cato the master of the shows, who, in fact, did all this in decision of the great expenses that others incurred, and to teach them, that in amusements men ought to seek amusement only, and the display of a deceot cheerfulness, not great preparations and costly magnificence, demanding the expenditure of endless care and trouble about things of little concern

After this, Scipio, Hypszus, and Milo, stood to be consuls, and that not only with the usual and now recognised disorders of bribery and corruption, but with arms and slaughter, and every appearance of carrying their audacity and desperation to the length of actual civil war Whereupon it was proposed that Pompey might be empowered to preside over that election This Cato at first opposed, saying that the laws ought out to seek protection from Pompey, but Pompey from the laws. Yet the confusion lasting a long time, the forum continually, as it were, besieged with three armies, and no possibility appearing of a stop being put to these disorders, Cato at length agreed that, rather than fall into the last extremity, the senate abould freely confer all on Pompey, since it was necessary to make use of a lesser illegality as a remedy against the greatest of all, and better to set up a monarchy themselves than to suffer a sedition to continue that must certainly end m one Bibulus, therefore, a friend of Cato's, moved the senate to create Pompey sole consul for that either he would re-establish the lawful government, or they should serve under the best master Cato stood up, and, contrary to all expectation, seconded this motion, concluding that any government was better than mere confusion, and that he did not question but Pompey would deal honourably, and Pompey being hereupon declared consul, invited Cato to see him in the suburbs. When he came, he saluted and embraced him very kindly, acknowledged the favour be had done him, and desired his counsel and assistance, in the management of this office. Cato made answer, that what he had spoken on any former occasion was not out of hate to Pompey, nor what he had now done out of love to him, but all for the good of the commonwealth; that in private, if he asked him, he would freely give his advice: and in public, though he asked him not, he would always speak his opinion. And he did accordingly. For first, when Pompey made severe laws, for punishing and laying great fines on those who had corrupted the people with gifts, Cato advised hito to let slone what was already passed, and to provide for the future: for if he should look up past misdemeanours, it would be difficult to know where to stop; and if he would ordain new penalties, it would be unreasonable to punish men by a law, which at that time they had not the opportunity of breaking. Afterwards, when many considerable men, and some of Pompey's own relations, were accused, and he grew remiss, and disinclined to the prosecution, Cate sharply reproved him, and urged him to proceed. Pompey had made a law, also, to forbid the custom of making commendatory orations in behalf of those that were accused: yet he himself wrote one for Munatius Plancus, and sent it while the cause was pleading; upon which Cato, who was sitting as one of the judges, stopped his ears with his hands, and would not hear it read. Whereupon Plancus, before sentence was given, excepted against him, but was condemned notwithstanding. And indeed Cato was a great trouble and perplexity to simost all that were accused of anything, as they feared to have him one of their judges, yet did not dare to demand his exclusion. And many had been condemned because, by refusing him, they seemed to show that they could not trust to their own innocence; and it was a reproach thrown in the teeth of some by their enemies, that they had not accented Cato for their judge.

In the meanwhile, Casas kept close with his forces in Gaul, and continued in arms; and at the same time employed his gifts, his riches, and his friends above all things, to increase his power in the city. And own Cato's old admonitions began to rouse Pempey out of the neplicant security in which he lay, into a tort of imagination of danger at hand, but steedy him slow and unwilling, and timocous to undertake any measures of prevention grainst Cases, Cat resolved himself to stand for the conclubing, and presently force Casar either to key down his arms or discover his intentions. Both Cato's competition were prevented were designed to the control of the conclusion of the control of the co

position: Sulpicius, who was one, owed much to Cato's credit and authority in the city, and it was thought unhandsome and ungratefully done, to stand against him, not that Cato himself took it ill, "For it is no wonder," said he, " if a man will not yield to another, in that which he esteems the greatest good" He had persuaded the senate to make an order, that those who stood for offices should themselves ask the people for their votes, and not solicit by others, nor take others about with them to speak for them in their capyass. And this made the common people very hostile to him, if they were to lose not only the means of receiving money, but also the opportunity of obliging several persons, and so to become by his means both poor and less regarded Besides this, Cato himself was by nature altogether unfit for the business of canvassing, as he was more anxious to sustain the dignity of his life and character than to obtain the office Thus by following his own way of soliciting, and not suffering his friends to do those things which take away the multitude, he was rejected and lost the consulship

But whereas, upon such occasions, not only those who missed the office, but even their friends and relations, used to feel themselves disgraced and humiliated, and observed a sort of mourning for several days after. Cato took it so unconcernedly that he anomited himself, and played at ball in the field, and after breakfasting, went into the forum, as he used to do, without his shoes or his tunic, and there walked about with his acquaintance Cicero blames him, for that when affairs required such a consulhe would not take more pains, nor condescend to pay some court to the people, as also because that he alterwards neglected to try again, whereas he had stood a second time to be chosen prator Cato answered that he lost the pratorship the first time, not by the voice of the people, but by the violence and corrupt dealing of his adversaries, whereas in the election of consuls there had been no foul play So that he plainly saw the people did not like his manners, which an honest man ought not to alter for their sake, nor yet would a wise man attempt the same thing again, while hable to the same prejudices

Cosar was at this time engaged with many wailite nations, and was subduring them at great hazards. Among the rest, it was believed he had set upon the German, in a time of truc, and had thus sians three hundred thousand of them. Upon which, some of his finestia moved the senate for a public thinks giving, but Cato declared they ought to deliver Cesar into the hands of those who had been thus unitedly triated, and on

expiate the offence and not bring a curse upon the city; "Yet we have reason," said he, "to thank the gods, for that they spared the commonwealth, and did not take vengeance upon the army, for the madness and folly of the general." Hereupon Casar wrote a letter to the senate which was read openly, and was full of reproachful language and accusations against Cato: who, standing up, seemed not at all concerned, and without any heat or passion, but in a calm and, as it were, premeditated discourse, made all Casar's charges against him show like mere common scolding and abuse, and in fact a sort of pleasantry and play on Casar's part; and proceeding then to go into all Casar's political courses, and to explain and reveal (as though he had been not his constant opponent, but his fellow-conspirator) his whole conduct and purpose from its commencement, he concluded by telling the senate, it was not the sens of the Britons or the Gauls they need fear, but Casar himself, if they were wise. And this discourse so moved and awakened the senate, that Casar's friends repented they had had a letter read, which had given Cato an opportunity of saying so many reasonable things, and such severe truths against him. However, nothing was then decided upon; it was merely said, that it would be well to send him a successor. Upon that, Casar's friends required that Pompey also should lay down his arms, and resign his provinces. or else that Cresar might not be obliged to either. Then Cate cried out, what he had foretold was come to pass; now it was manifest he was using his forces to compel their judgment, and was turning against the state those armies he had got from it by imposture and trickery. But out of the senate-house Cato could do but little, as the people were ever ready to magnify Casar: and the senate, though convinced by Cato, were afraid of the people.

But when the news was brought that Casar had seized Ariminum, and was marching with his army towned Kone, then all men, even Pompey, and the common people too, cast their eyes on Cito, who had nhow lorescen and first clearly declared Casar's intuitions. He therefore told them, "If you have been reduced to stand in fear of one man, or to put all your loops in one aform." Pompey acknowledged that Cato indeed had spoken most like a prophet, while he himself had acted too guard like a friend. And Cato advised the senate to put all into the kands of Pompey; "For those who can raise up great with," said for, "can best faller them." Pompey, finding he had not sufficient forces, and that those he could raise were not very resolute, for sook the city Cato, an court rate were not very training, and on the tracking to follow Tempry into easile, seat his younger son to Munaturs, who was there in the country of Brutum, and took his eldest son with him. but wanting somebody to keep his house and take care of his daughters, he took Marcia squat, who was now a rich widow, Hertensus being dead, and having now how as now a rich widow, Hertensus being dead, and having left her all his estate Casar afterward made use of this action also to reproach him with covetousness, and a mercenary design m his marriage "For," said he, "if he had need of a wife why did he part with her? And if he had not, why did he take her again? Unless he gave her only as a bast to Hortensius, and lent her when she was young, to have her again when she was rich" But in answer to this, we might fairly apply the saying of Europides-

"To meak of mysteries—the chief of these Sure'y were cowardies in Horcules."

For stan much the same thing to reproach Hercules for cowardice, and to accuse Cato of covetousness, though otherwise, whether he did altog ther right in this marriage, might be disconted. As soon, however, as he had again taken Marcia, he committed his house and his daughters to her, and himself followed Pompey And it is said, that from that day he never cut his hair, nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland, but was always full of sadness, grief and dejectedness for the calamines of his country. and continually showed the same feeling to the last, whatever party had musortone or success.

The government of Sirily being allotted to him, he passed over to Syracuse, where, understanding that Asinius Polico was arrived at Messens, with forces from the enemy, Cato sent to him, to know the reason of his coming thather Pollio, on the other side, called upon him to show reason for the present convulsions And being at the same time informed how Pompey had quite abandoned Italy, and lay encamped at Dyrthachium, he spoke of the strangeness and meomprehensibility of the divingovernment of thures, "Pompy, when he did nothing wisely nor honestly, was always successful, and now that he world preserve his country, and defend her Eberty, he is altogether unfortunate" As for Asians, he said, he could drive him out of Sicily, but as there were larger forces coming to his assistance, he would not engage the island in a war. He therefore advised the Syracustus to join the conquering party and provide for their own safety, and so set sail from thence

When he came to Pompey, he uniformly gave advice to protract the war; as he always hoped to compose matters, and was by no means desirous that they should come to action; for the commonwealth would suffer extremely, and be the certain cause of its own ruin, whoever were conqueror by the sword. In like manner, he persuaded Pompey and the council to ordain that no city should be sacked that was subject to the people of Rome; and that no Roman should be killed but in the heat of battle; and hereby he got himself great honour, and brought over many to Pompey's party, whom his moderation and humanity attracted. Afterwards being sent into Asia, to assist those who were raising men and preparing ships in those parts, he took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy whom she had by Lucullus. For since her widowhood, she had lived with her brother, and much recovered her reputation, having put herself under his care, followed him in his voyages, and complied with his severe way of living. Yet Casar did not fail to asperse him upon her account also.

Pompey's officers in Asia, it seems, had no great need of Cato; but he brought over the people of Rhodes hy his persuasions, and leaving his sister Servilla and her child there, he returned to Pompey, who had now collected very great forces both by eea and land. And here Pompey, more than in any other act, betraved his intentions. For at first he designed to give Cato the command of the navy, which consisted of no less than five hundred ships of war, besides a vast number of light gallays, scouts, and open boats. But presently bethinking himself, or out in mind by his friends, that Cato's principal and only aim being to free his country from all usurnation, if he were master of such great forces, as soon as ever Casar should be conquered, he would certainly call upon Pompey, also, to lay down his arms, and be subject to the laws, he changed his mind, and though he had already mentioned it to Cato, nevertheless made Bibulus admiral. Notwithstanding this, he had no reason to suppose that Cato's zeal in the cause was in any way diminished. For before one of the battles at Dyrrhachium, when Pompey himself. we are told, made an address to the soldiers and bade the officers do the like, the men listened to them but coldly and with silence. until Cato, last of all, came forward, and in the language of philosophy, spoke to them, as the occasion required, concerning liberty, manly virtue, denth, and a good name; upon all which he delivered himself with strong natural passion, and concluded with calling in the aid of the gods, to whom he directed his

speech, as if they were present to behold them fight for their country. And at this the army gave such a shout and showed such excitement that their officers led them on fall of hope and confidence to the danger. Casar's party were routed and put to flight, but his presiding fortune used the advantage of Pempey's cautour-ess and difficient to render the victory incomplete. But of this we have spoker in the life of Pempey. While, however, all the rist rejoiced, and magnified their success, Cato alone behalf of the country, and curried that fatal ambition which made

so many brave Romans murder one another

After this Pompey, following Casar into Thessaly, 1-ft at Dyrihachium a quantity of munitions, money, and stores, and many of his domestics and relations, the charge of all which he gave to Cato, with the command only of fifteen cohorts For though he trusted him much, yet he was afraid of him too, knowing full well, that if he had bad success, Cato would be the last to forsake hum, but if he conquered, would never let him use his victory at his pleasure. There were, likewise, many persons of high rank that stayed with Cato at Dyrrhathium When they heard of the overthrow at Pharsaka. Cato resolved with himself. that if Pompey were slam, he would conduct those that were with him into Italy, and then retire as far from the tyranny of Cassar as he could, and live in exile, but if Pempey were safe, he would keep the army together for him With this resolution he passed over to Corcyrs, where the navy lay, there he would have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul, and himself only a practor but Cicero refused it, and was roung for Italy At which Pomper's son being incensed, would rashly and in heat have purished all those who were exing away, and in the first place have laid hands on Cicero, but Cato spoke with him in private, and diverted him from that design. And thus he clearly saved the hie of Ciorro, and rescued several others also from all treatment

Conjecturing that Fempey the Great was field toward Egypt or Almos, GAD received of heaten durt hum, and having taken all his men aboard, he set sail, but first to those who were not acloud to contain the contest, he gives free theory to deput. When there came to the coast of Almos they met with Section, Pompey's younger son, who told then of the death of his father in Egypt, at which they were all ecocologie graved, and calcard that safter Pempey they would follow no other leader but CALO. Out of compassion, therefore, to so many worthy prepare who had given such settemones of their fieldlers, and

whom he could not for shame have in a desert country, mindst so many difficulties, he took upon him the command, and marched toward the city of Cyrene, which presently received himself, and the city of Cyrene, which presently received himself, and the heaves informed that Scripe, Pennye's father-in-law, was received by King John, and that Attius Varus, whom Pennye had made governor of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Caso therefore resolved to march toward them by land, it beling now winter; and got together a number of assess to carry water, and furnished himself likewise with planty of all other provision, and a number of carriages. He took also with him some of those they call Psylli, who care the bitting of serpents, by sucking out the potion with their mouths, and have likewise certain charms, by which they stupely and lay asleep the serpents:

Thus they marched seven days together, Cato all the time going on foot at the head of his men, and never making use of any horse or chariot. Ever since the battle of Pharsalia, he used to sit at table, and added this to his other ways of mourning,

that he never lay down but to sleen.

Having passed the winter in Africa, Cato drew out his army, which amounted to little less than ten thousand. The affairs of Scipio and Varus went very ill, by reason of their dissensions and quarrels among themselves, and their submissions and flatteries to King Inba, who was insupportable for his vanity. and the pride he took in his strength and riches. The first time he came to a conference with Cato, he had ordered his own seat to be placed in the middle, between Scipio and Cato; which Cato observing, took up his chair and set himself on the other side of Scinio, to whom he thus gave the honour of sitting in the middle, though he were his enemy, and had formerly published some scandalous writing against him. There are people who speak as if this were quite an insignificant matter. and who, nevertheless, find fault with Cato, because in Sicily, walking one day with Philostratus, he gave him the middle place, to show his respect for philosophy. However, he now succeeded both in humbling the pride of Juba, who was treating Sciolo and Varus much like a pair of satrans under his orders. and also in reconciling them to each other. All the troops desired him to be their leader; Scipio, likewise, and Varus gave way to it, and offered him the command; but he said he would not break those laws which he sought to defend, and he, being but proprietor, ought not to command in the presence of a proconsul (for Scipio had been created processul), besides that people took it as a good orner to see a Scipio command in Africa, and the very name inspired the soldiers with hopes of success

Scipio, having taken upon him the command, presently resolved, at the instigation of Juba, to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the sword, and to raze the city, for having, as they professed, taken part with Cesar. Cate would by no means suffer this, but invoking the gods, exclaiming and protesting against it in the council of war, he with much difficulty delivered the poor people from this cruelty. And afterwards, upon the entreaty of the inhabitants, and at the instance of Scipio, Cato took upon himself the government of Iltica, lest, one way or the other, it should fall into Crear's bands, for it was a strong place, and very advantageous for either party And it was yet better provided and more strongly fortified by Cato, who brought in great store of corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and made deep treaches and palsades around the town. The young men of Utics he lodged among these works, having first taken their arms from them, the rest of the inhabitants he kept within the town, and took the greatest care that no injury should be done nor affront offered them by the Romans From bence he sent great quantity of arms, money, and provision to the camp, and made this city their chief magazine

He advised Scipio, as he had before done Pompey, by no means to hazard a battle against a man experienced in war, and formidable in the field, but to use delay, for time would gradually abate the violence of the crisis, which is the strength of usurpation But Scipio out of pride rejected this counsel, and wrote a letter to Cato, in which he reproached him with cowardice, and that he could not be content to he secure himself within walls and trenches, but he must hinder others from boldly using their own good sense to seize the right opportunity, In answer to thu, Cato wrote word again, that he would take the horse and foot which he had brought into Africa, and go over into Italy, to make a diversion there, and draw Cesar off from them But Scipio derided this proposition also Then Cato openly let it be seen that he was sorry he had yielded the command to Scipio, who he saw would not carry on the war with any wisdom, and if, contrary to all appearance, he should succeed, he would use his success as unjustly at home. For Cate had then made up his mind, and so he told his friends, that he could have but slender hopes in those generals that had so much boldness and so little conduct; yet if anything should happen beyond expectation, and Casar should be overthrown. for his part he would not stay at Rome, but would retire from the cruelty and inhumenity of Scipio, who had already uttered

fierce and proud threats against many.

But what Cate had looked for, fell out somer than he expected. Late in the evening came one from the army, whence he had been three days coming, who brought word there had been a great battle near Thansus; that all was utterly lost; Casar had taken the camps. Scipio and Juba were fied with a few only, and all the rest of the army was lost. This news arriving in time of war, and in the night, so alarmed the people, that they were almost out of their wits, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls of the city. But Cato came forward, and meeting the people in this burry and clamour, did all he could to comfort and eucourage them, and somewhat appeared the fear and amazement they were in, telling them that very likely things were not so bad in truth, but much exaggerated in the report. And so he pacified the tumult for the present. The next morning he sent for the three hundred, whom he used as his council; these were Romans, who were in Africa upon business, in commerce and money-lending; there were also several senators and their sons. They were summoned to meet in the temple of Jupiter. While they were coming together, Cato walked about very quietly and unconcerned, as if nothing new had happened. He had a book in his hand. which he was reading; in this book was an account of what provision he had for war, armour, corn, ammunition, and When they were assembled, he began his discourse; first, as

regarded the three hundred themselves, and very much commended the courage and fidelity they had shown, and their having very well served their country with their persons, money, and counsel. Then he entreated them by no means to separate, as if each single man could hope for any safety in forsaking his companions; on the contrary, while they kept together, Casar would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more forward to pardon them, if they submitted to him. Therefore he advised them to consult among themselves, nor should be find fault whichever course they adopted. If they thought fit to submit to fortune, he would impute their change to necessity; but if they resolved to stand firm, and undertake the danger for the sake of liberty, he should not only commend, but admire their courage, and would himself be their leader and companion too, till they had put to the proof the utmost fortune of their country, which was not Utica or Adrumetum but Rome, and she had often, by her own greatness, raised herself after worse disasters Besides, as there were many things that would conduce to their safety, so chiefly this, that they were to fight against one whose affairs urgently claimed his presence in various quarters. Spain was already revolted to the younger Pompey, Rome was unaccustomed to the bridle, and impatient of it, and would therefore be ready to use in insurrection upon any turn of affairs As for themselves, they ought not to shrink from the danger, and in this might take example from their enemy, who so freely exposes his life to effect the most unrighteous designs, yet never can hope for to happy a conclusion as they may promise themselves, for notwithstanding the uncertainty of war, they will be sure of a most happy life if they succeed, or a most glorious death if they miscarry However, he said, they ought to deliberate among themselves, and he joined with them in praying the gods that m recompense of their former courage and good-will, they would prosper their present determinations When Cato had thus spoken, many were moved and encouraged by his arguments, but the greatest part were so animated by the sense of his intrepidity, generosity, and goodness, that they forget the present danger, and as if he were the only invincible leader, and above all fortune, they entreated him to employ their persons, arms, and estates, as he thought fit, for they esteemed it far better to meet death in following his counsel, than to find their safety in betraying one of so great virtue. One of the assembly proposed the making a decree to set the slaves at liberty, and most of the rest approved the motion Cato said that it ought not to be done, for it was neither just nor lanful, but if any of their masters would willingly set them free, those that were fit for service should be received. Many promised so to do, whose names be ordered to be enrolled, and then withdraw

Presently after this he received letters from Juba and Sopio Juba, with some few of his men, was returned to a mountain, where he waited to hear what Cato would resolve upon, and intended to stay there for him, if he thought fit to leave Unca, or to come to his and with his troops, if he were bestigged Scipio was on simploarity, near a certain promentory, not far from Utica executing an asswer upon the same accoming. But

should come to some resolution.

As for the senators that were there, they showed great forwardness, and at once set free their slaves, and furnished them with arms. But the three hundred being men occupied in merchandise and money-lending, much of their substance also consisting in slaves, the cothusiasm that Cato's speech had raised in them did not long continue. As there are substances that easily admit heat, and as suddenly lose it, when the fire is removed, so these men were heated and inflamed while Cato was present; but when they began to reason among themselves, the fear they had of Casar soon overcame their reverence for Cato and for virtue. "For who are we," said they, " and who is it we refuse to obey? Is it not that Casar who is now invested with all the power of Rome? and which of us is a Scipio. a Pompey, or a Cato? But now that all men make their honour give way to their fear, shall we alone engage for the liberty of Rome, and in Utica declare war against him, before whom Cato and Pompoy the Great fled out of Italy? Shall we set free our slaves against Casar, who have ourselves no more liberty than he is pleased to allow? No, let us, poor creatures, know ourselves, submit to the victor, and send deputies to implore his mercy." Thus said the most moderate of them; but the greatest part were for seizing the senators, that by securing them they might appease Casar's anger. Cato, though he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to Juba and Scipio to keep away from Utica, because he mistrusted the three hundred. A considerable body of horse, which had escaped from the

late fight, riding up towards Utica, sent three men before to Cato, who yet did not all bring the same message; for one party was for going to Juba, another for joining with Cato, and some again were afraid to go into Utica. When Cato heard this, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend upon the three hundred, and quietly take the names of those who, of their own accord, set their slaves at liberty, but by no means to force anybody. Then taking with him the senators, he went out of the town, and met the principal officers of these horsemen, whom he entreated not to abandon so many Roman senators, not to prefer Juba for their commander before Cato, but consult the common safety. and to come into the city, which was impregnable, and well furnished with corn and other provision, sufficient for many years. The senators likewise with tears besought them to stay, Hereupon the officers went to consult their soldiers, and Cato with the senators sat down upon an embankment, expecting In the meantime comes Rubrius in great distheir resolution order, crying out, the three bundred were all in commotion, and exciting result and tumult in the city At this all the rest fell into despair, lamenting and bewailing their condition Cato endeavoured to comfort them, and sent to the three hundred, desiring them to have patience. Then the officers of the horse returned with no very reasonable demands. They said, they did not desire to serve Joha for his pay, nor should they fear Carsar, while they followed Cato, but they dreaded to he shut up with the Uticans, men of traitorous temper, and Carthaginan blood, for though they were quiet at present, yet as soon as Casar should appear, without doubt they would consoure together, and betray the Romans Therefore, if he expected they should som with him, he must drive out of the town or destroy all the Uticans, that he might receive them into a place clear both of enemies and harbarians. This Cate thought utterly cruel and barbarous, but he mildly answered, he would consult the three bundred

Then he returned to the city, where he found the men, not framing excuses, or dissembling out of reverence to him, but openly declaring that no one should compel them to make war arainst Cesar, which, they said, they were neither able nor willing to do And some there were who muttered words about retaining the senators till Casar's coming, but Cato seemed not to hear this, as indeed he had the excuse of being a little deaf At the same time came one to him and told him the horse were going away. And now, fearing lest the three hundred should take some desperate resolution concerning the senators, he presently went out with some of his friends, and seeing they were gone some way, he took horse, and rode after them They, when they saw him coming, were very glad, and received him very kindly, entreating how to save himself with them At this time, it is said. Cato shed tears, while entreating them on behalf of the senators, and stretching out his hands in supplication. He turned some of their horses' heads, and laid hold of the men by their armour, till in fise he prevailed with them out of compassion, to stay only that one day, in procure a safe retreat for the senators Having thus persuaded them to go along with him, some he placed at the gates of the town, and to others gave the charge of the citadel The three hundred began to fear they should suffer for their moonstancy, and sent to Cato. entreating him by all means to come to them, but the senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said they would not trust their guardian and saviour to the hands of

perfidious traitors.

For there had never, perhaps, been a time when Cards witue appeared more manifestly; and every class of men in Utica could clearly see, with sornow and admiration, how entirely free was everything that he was doing from any secret motives or any mixture of self-regard; be, namely, who had long before resolved on his even death, was taking such extreme parant, toil, and care, only for the sake of others, that when he had secured their lives, he might put are and to his sow. For it was easily perceived that he land determined to die, though he did not let it appear.

re appea

Therefore, having pacified the senators, he complied with the request of the three hundred, and went to them alone without any attendance. They gave him many thanks, and entreated bim to employ and trust them for the future; and if they were not Catos, and could not aspire to his greatness of mind, they begged he would pity their weakness; and told bim they had determined to send to Casar and entreat him, chiefly and in the first place, for Cate, and if they could not prevail for him, they would not accept of pardon for themselves, but as long as they had breath, would fight in his defence. Cato commended their good intentions, and advised them to send speedily, for their own safety, but by no means to ask anything in his behalf: for those who are conquered, entreat, and those who have done wrong, beg pardon; for himself, he did not confess to any defeat in all his life, but rather, so far as he had thought fit, he had got the victory, and had conquered Casar in all points of justice and honesty. It was Casar that ought to be looked upon as one surprised and vanquished: for he was now convicted and found guilty of those designs against his country, which he had so long practised and so constantly denied. When he had thus spoken, he went out of the assembly, and being informed that Casar was coming with his whole army, "Ah," said he, "he expects to find us brave men." Then he went to the senators. and urged them to make no delay, but hasten to be gone, while the horsemen were yet in the city. So ordering all the gates to be shut, except one towards the sea, he assigned their several ships to those that were to depart, and gave money and provision to those that wanted; all which he did with great order and exactness, taking care to suppress all turnulus, and that no Grove should be done to the people.

Marcus Octavius, coming with two legions, now encamped near Utica, sent to Cato to arrange about the chief command. Cato returned him no answer, but said to his friends, "Can we wonder all has gone ill with us, when our love of office survives even in our very run?" In the meantime, word was brought him, that the horse were going away, and were beginning to spoil and plunder the citizens Cate ran to them, and from the first he met, snatched what they had taken, the rest threw down all they had gotten, and went away silent and ashamed of what they had done Then he called together all the people of Utica, and requested them, upon the behalf of the three hundred, not to exasperate Casar against them, but all to seek their common safety together with them After that, he went again to the port to see those who were about to embark; and there he embraced and dumined those of his friends and acquaintance whom he had persuaded to go As for his son, he did not counsel him to be gone, nor did he think fit to persuade him to forsake his father But there was one Statvillus, a young man. in the flower of his age, of a brave spirit, and very desirous to amitate the constancy of Cato Cato entreated him to go away. as he was a noted enemy to Casar, but without success Then Cato looked at Apollonides, the stoic philosopher, and Demetrius, the peripatetic, "It belongs to you to cool the fever of this young man's spirit, and to make him know what is good for hun." And thus, in setting his friends upon their way, and in despatching the business of any that applied to him, he spent that night and the greatest part of the next day

Locus Cesar, a handman of Cesar's, being appointed to go deputy for the three handed, and the second of deputy for the three handed, as massives peech for there, "And as to you yourself," saids, "is will be an honour for me to kiss the hands and fail at the law it will be an honour for me to kiss the hands and fail at the law it will be an honour for me to kiss the hands and fail at the law it will be an honour for me to kiss the hands and fail at the law it will be an honour for me to kiss the hands and fail at the law it will be an expected by the processed for "For as to myelf," and be, "if I would not be beholden to a tyrant for his very law in the processed for the processed for the processed and the processed for the processed for the processed for his will be a subject to the processed for the processed

and his friends, to whom he conversed on various subjects, among the rest he fortade his son to engage himself in the affairs of state. For to act therein as became him was now impossible; and to do otherwise, would be dishnourable. Toward evening he went into his bath. As he was plathing, he remembered Statyllius and called out leady, "Application," you traced the high spirit of Statyllius, and is he gone without bidding us farewell?" " "No," said Application," I have said much to him, but to little purpose; he is still resolute and unlearthal, and declarate he is determined to follow your example." At this, it is said, Cato smiled, and suswered, "That will soon bo tried."

After he had bathed, he went to supper, with a great deal of company; at which he sat up, as he had always used to do ever since the battle of Phursalia; for since that time he never lay down but when he went to sleep. There supped with him all

his own friends and the magistrates of Utica.

After supper, the wine produced a great deal of lively and agreeable discourse, and a whole series of philosophical questions was discussed. At length they came to the strange dogmas of the stoics, called their Paradoxes; and to this in particular. That the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves. The peripatetic, as was to be expected, opposing this, Cate fell upon him very warmly; and somewhat ruising his voice, he arrued the matter at great length, and uroud the point with such vehemence, that it was apparent to everybody he was resolved to put an end to his life, and set himself at liberty. And so, when he had done speaking, there was a great silence and evident dejection. Cato, therefore, to divert them from any suspicion of his design, turned the conversation, and began again to talk of matters of present interest and expectation, showing great concern for those that were at sea, as also for the others, who, travelling by land, were to pass through a dry and barbarous desert.

When the company was broke up, he walked with his friends, as he used to do after supper, gave the necessary orders to the officers of the watch, and going into his chamber, he embraced his son and every one of his friends with more than usual warnth, which again remend their suspicion of his design. Then laying himself down, he took into his hard Plato's discussionable to soul. Having rend more than half the look, he looked up, and making his swortly which his son had taken away wifile he was at supper, he called his eryunt, and

asked who had taken away his sword. The servant making no answer, he fell to reading again, and a little after, not seeming importunate, or hasty for it, but as if he would only know what had become of it, be hade it be brought. But having waited some time, when he had read through the book, and still nobody brought the sword, he called up all his servants, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. To one of them he gave such a blow in the mouth, that he burt his own hand, and now even more angry, exclaiming that he was betrayed and delivered naked to the enemy by his son and his servants Then his son, with the rest of his friends, came running into the room, and falling at his feet, began to lament and beseech him. But Cato raising himself, and looking fiercely, "When," said he, " and how did I become deranged, and out of my senses, that thus no one tres to persuade me by reason, or show me what is better, if I am supposed to be ill-advised? Must I be disarmed, and hindered from using my own reason? And you, young man, why do you not hind your father's hands behind him that, when Costar comes, he may find me unable to defend myself? To despatch myself I want no sword. I need but hold my breath awhile, or strike my head against the wall."

When he had thus spoken, his son went weeping out of the chamber, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides, to whom, being left alone with him, he began to speak more calmly "And you," said he, "do you also think to keep a man of my age abve by force, and to ut here and silently watch me? Or do you harrg me some reasons to prove, that it will not be base and unworthy for Cato, when he can find his safety no other way, to seek it from his eremy? If so, adduce your arguments, and show cause why we should now unlearn what we formerly were taught, in order that rejecting all the convictions in which we heed, we may now by Casar's help grow wiser, and be yet more obliged to him than for life only Not that I have determined aught concerning myself. but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve, and I shall not fail to take you as my advisers, in holding counsel, as I shall do, with the doctrines which your philosophy teaches, in the meantime, do not trouble yourselves. but go tell my son that he should not compel his father to what he cannot persuade him to " They made him no answer, but went weeping out of the chamber Then the sword being brought in by a little boy, Cato took it, drew it out, and looked at it: and when he saw the point was good, " New," Said he, " I am master of myself;" and laying down the sword, he took his book again, which, it is related, he read twice over. After this he slept so soundly that he was heard to snore by those that were without.

About midnight, he called up two of his freedmen, Cleanthes, his physician, and Butas, whom he chiefly employed in public business. Him he sent to the purt, to see it all his friends had sailed; to the physician he gave his hand to be dressed, as it was swollen with the blew he had struck one of his servants. At this they all recioused, hopping that now he designed to live.

Butas, after a while, returned, and brought word they were all gone except Crassus, who had stayed about some brainess, but was just ready to depart, he said, also, that the wind was high, and the sea very rough. Cato, on hearing this, sighed, out of compassion to those who were at sea, and sent Butas again to see if any of them should honone to return for anything they

wanted, and to acquaint him therewith.

Now the birds began to sing, and he again fell into a little slumber. At langth Butas came back, and told him all was quiet in the port. Then Cato, laying himself down, as if he would steen out the rest of the night, bade him shut the door after him. But as soon as Butas was gone out, he took his sword, and stabbed it into his breast; yet not being able to use his hand so well, on account of the swelling, he did not immediately die of the wound; but struggling, fell off the bid, and throwing down a little mathematical table that stood by, made such a noise that the servants, hearing it, cried out. And immediately his son and all his friends came into the chamber. where, seeing him lie weltering in his blood, great part of his bowels out of his body, but himself still alive and able to look at them, they all stood in horror. The physician went to him. and would have put in his bowels, which were not pierced, and sewed up the wound; but Cato, recovering himself, and understanding the intention, thrust away the physician, plucked out his own bowels, and tenting open the wound, immediately expired.

In less time than one would think his own family could have known this necident, all the three hundred were at the door. And a little after, the people of Ulties flocked ditther, crying out with one voice, he was their benefactor and their saviour, the only free and only undefeated man. At the very same time, they had news that Cesar was coming; yet neither fear of the present danger, nor desire to flatter the conquerior, nor the commotions and discord among themselves, could direct them from doing borour to Cato. For they sumptioned by set cut his body, made him a magnificent funeral, and burned him by the seaside, where now stands his statue, bolding a sword. And only when this had been done, they returned to consider of preserving

themselves and their city

Cases had been informed that Cato stayed at Ulico, and didnot seek to fly, that he had sent away the rest of the Romans, but himself, with his son and a few of his frends, continued there very unconcernedly, so that he could not imagine what might be his design. But having a great consideration for the man, he hastened thither with his army. When heard of his death, it is related he said these words, "Cato, I grudge you your death as you have grangled me the pre-avaition of your lite. And, indeed if Cato would have suffered himself to one hall lite to Casas, he would not nomet impaired him own honour, an augmented the other globy. What would have been done, as may give hat you have the life."

we may guess to at was most nacely
Cate was forty-eight years old when he died

His son suffered
no mjury from Cesar, but, it is said, he grew idle, and was
thought to be disspated smoong women. In Cappadona, he
sawed at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family
there, who had a very handsome wife, and continuing his vast
longer than was situable, he made himself the subject of vanous
eugernms, such as, for examples.

To-morrow (being the thirtieth day)
Cato its thought, will go away

" Perciss and Marphadates tri-ads so true, One Soul they say suffices for the two

that being the name of the woman, and so again,-

To Cate s greatness every one confesses, A royal Soul he certainly possesses.

But all these stams were entirely suped off by the bravery of bar death. For in the battle of Padleys, where he lought for his country alberty squared Cears and Antony, when the ranks were breaking he, Somet house of the part of the stamp of out to the enemy, showed have left to them in front, and en courtiged those of his party who stayed, and at length fell, and left has remnes full of admination of his valour.

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Nor was the daughter of Cato infector to the rest of her family for sober living and greatness of spirit. She was married to Brutus, who killed Casar; was acquainted with the conspiracy, and ended her life as became one of her birth and virtue. All which is related in the life of Brutus.

Statyllius, who said he would imitate Cato, was at that time bundered by the philosophers, when he would have put an end to his life. He afterwards followed Brutus, to whom he was very faithful and very serviceable, and died in the field of Philippi.

AGIS

The fable of Ixion, who, embracing a cloud instead of Juno, begot the Centuars, has been fingenously enough supposed to bear been into the small proposed to have been invented to represent to us ambitious men, whose minds, doing on glovy, which is a mere image of virtue, produce nothing that is genuine or uniform, but only, as might be expected of such a conjunction, misshapen and unnatural actions. Running after this emulations and passions, and carried away by the impulses of the moment, they may say with the herdsman in the transed of Sobnobles.

"We follow those, though been their rightful lords, And they command us, though they speak no words."

For this is indeed the true condition of men in public life, who, to gain the vain title of being the people's leaders and governors, are content to make themselves the slaves and followers of all the people's humours and caprices. For as the lookout men at the ship's prow, though they see what is ahead before the men at the helm, yet constantly look back to the pilots there, and ohey the orders they give; so these men, steered, as I may say, by nonular applicate, though they bear the name of governors. are in reality the mere underlines of the multitude. The man who is completely wise and virtuous has no need at all of glory. except so far as it disposes and eases his way to action by the greater trust that it procures him. A young man, I grant, may be permitted, while yet eager for distinction, to pride himself a little in his good deeds; for (as Theophrastus says) his virtues. which are yet tender and, as it were, in the blade, cherished and supported by praises, grow stronger, and take the deeper root.

Plutarch's Laves

84

the confusion

But when this passion is exorbitant, it is dangerous in all men, and in those who govern a commonwealth, utterly destructive For in the possession of large power and authority, it transports men to a degree of mariners, so that now they no more tank what is good, glonous, but will have those actions only esteemed good that are glorious As Phocion, therefore, answered King Antipater, who sought his approbation of some unworthy action, "I cannot be your flatterer, and your friend," so these men should answer the people, "I cannot govern and obey you" For it may happen to the commonwealth, as to the servent in the fable, whose tail, rising in rebellion against the head, complamed, as of a great grayance, that it was always forced to follow, and required that it should be permitted by turns to lead the way. And taking the command accordingly, it soon inflicted, by its senseless courses, muschiels in abundance upon stacif, while the head was torn and lacerated with following. contrary to nature, a guide that was deaf and blind And such we see to have been the let of many, who, submitting to be guided by the inclinations of an uninformed and unreasoning multitude, could neither stop, nor recover themselves out of

This which has occured to us to any of that glory which depends on the voice of large numbers, conndering the and depends on the voice of large numbers, conndering the and expends of the voice of the large sensions in natural dispositions of the large sensions in natural dispositions were improved by the best offer sensions, and who came to the administration of after swith the designations, and who came to the administration of after swith the sensitive of polymers they were reunded, I cannot any by an immorbable attentions, yet they were reunded, I cannot any by an immorbable accessively believed and favoured by the people, they thought a discretified to them not to make full repsystem, endeadquart a discretified to them not to make full repsystem, confidence of the contraction o

This the reader will easily gather from the story I will now compare with them two Lacedzmonous popular leaders, the kings App and Gloomens For they, being desirous also to raise the people, and to restore the noble and just form of government, now long fallen mto dause, incurred the latred of the rich and powerful, who could not endore to be deprived of the rich and powerful, who could not endore to be deprived of

the selfish enjoyment to which they were accustomed. These were not indeed brothers by nature, as the two Romans, but they had a kind of brotherly resemblance in their actions and designs, which took a rise from such beginnings and occasions as I am now about to relate.

When the love of gold and silver had once gained admittance into the Lacedemonian commonwealth, it was quickly followed by avarice and baseness of spirit in the pursuit of it, and by luxury, effeminacy, and prodigality in the use. Then Sparta fell from almost all ber former virtue and repute, and so continued till the days of Agis and Loonidas, who both treether

were kings of the Lacedemonians.

Agis was of the royal family of Eurypon, son of Eudamidas, and the sixth in descent from Agesilus, who made the expedition into Asis, and was the greatest mun of his time in Green. Agesilual self-beind him a son called Archidamy, the same who was slain at Mandonium, in Intity, by the Messapinas, and who was then succeeded by his dieste son Agis. He bring Slind by Actipater user Megalopolis, and leaving no issue, was areceded by his others Eudamidas; be by a son called Archidamus; and Archidamus by another Eudamidas, the father of this Agis of whom we now treat.

Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, was of the other royal house of the Agiadm, and the eighth in descent from Pausapias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Platzea. Pausanias was succeeded by a son called Plistoanax; and he by another Pausanias who was banished, and lived as a private man at Tegea, while his eldest son, Agesipolis, reigned in his place. He, dying without issue, was succeeded by a younger brother, called Cleombrotus, who left two sons; the elder was Agesipolis, who reigned but a short time, and died without issue; the younger, who then became king, was called Cleomenes, and had also two sons, Acrotatus and Cleonymus. The first died before his father, but left a son called Arens, who succeeded, and being slain at Corinth, left the kingdom to his son Acrotatus. This Acrotatus was defeated, and slain near Megalopolis, in a battle against the tyrant Aristodemus; he left his wife his with child, and on her being delivered of a son, Leonidas, son of the above-named Cleonymus, was made his guardian, and as the young king died before becoming a man, he succeeded in the kingdom.

Leonidas was a king not particularly suitable to his people. For though there were at that time at Sparta a general decline in manners, yet a greater revolt from the old habits appeared in

him than in others. For having lived a long time among the great lords of Persia, and been a follower of King Seleucus, he upadvisedly thought to imitate, among Greek institutions and in a lawful government, the pride and assumption usual in those courts Agis, on the contrary, in fineness of nature and elevation of mind, not only far excelled Leonidas, but in a manner all the kings that had regreed since the great Agesilaus For though he had been bred very tenderly, in abundance and even in luxury, by his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the wealthest of the Lacedemonians, yet, before the age of twenty, he renounced all indulgence in pleasures Withdrawing himself as far as possible from the gaiety and ornament which seemed becoming to the grace of his person, he made it his pride to appear in the coarse Spartan coat. In his meals. his bathings, and in all his exercises, he followed the old Laconian usage, and was often heard to say, he had no desure for the place of king, if he did not hope by means of that authority to restore their ancient laws and discipline.

The Lacedemonians might date the beginning of their corruption from their conquest of Athens, and the influx of gold and silver among them that thence ensued Yet, nevertheless the number of houses which Lycurgus appointed being still maintained, and the law remaining in force by which every one was obliged to leave his lot or portion of land entirely to his son, a hand of order and equality was thereby preserved, which still in some decree sustained the state amidst its errors to other respects But one Epitadeus happening to be ephor, a man of great influence, and of a wilful, violent spirit, on some organia of a quarrel with his son, proposed a decree, that all men should have liberty to dispose of their land by gift in their lifetime, or by their last will and testament. This being promoted by him to satisfy a passion of revenge, and through covetousness consented to by others, and thus enacted for a law, was the rum of the best state of the commonwealth. For the rich men without scruple drew the estate into their own hands, excluding the rightful hears from their succession, and all the wealth being centred upon the lew, the generality were poor and mucrable Honograble pursuits, for which there was no longer lessure, were neglected, the state was filled with sorded business, and with hatred and envy of the nich There did not remain above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, one hundred might have estates in land, the rest were destricte alike of wealth and of honour, were tardy and unperforming in the defence of their country against its enemies abroad, and eagerly watched the opportunity for change and revolution at home.

Agis, therefore, believing it a glorious action, as in truth it was, to equalise and repeople the state, began to sound the inclinations of the citizens. He found the young men disposed beyond his expectation; they were eager to enter with him upon the contest in the cause of virtue, and to fling aside, for freedom's sake, their old manner of life, as readily as the wrestler does his garment. But the old men, habituated and more confirmed in their vices, were most of there as alarmed at the very name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive slave to be brought back before his offended master. These men could not endure to hear Aris continually deploring the present state of Sparta, and wishing she might be restored to her ancient glory. But on the other side. Lysander, the son of Libys, Mandroclidas, the son of Ecohanes, together with Agestlauz, not only approved his design. but assisted and confirmed him in it. Lysander had a great authority and credit with the people; Mandroclidas was esteemed the ablest Greek of his time to manage an affair and put it in train, and, joined with skill and cunning, had a great degree of boldness. Agestiaus was the king's uncle, by the mother's side: an eleguent man, but covetous and voluntuous, who was not moved by considerations of public good, but rather seemed to be persuaded in it by his son Hippomedon, whose courage and signal actions in war had gained him a high esteem and great influence among the young men of Sparts, though indeed the true motive was, that he had many debts, and hoped by this means to be freed from them As soon as Axis had prevailed with his uncle, he endeavoured

The score is again on gain his noticer also, who had many friends by an including to gain his noticer also, who had many friends under the property of the score of the score and the score of the score and the score of the score and the score of the sco

their luxury and abundance, if he could restore their former equality to the Spartans, then he should be a great king indeed In conclusion, the mother and the grandmother also were so taken, so carried away with the inspiration, as it were, of the young man's noble and generous ambition, that they not only constitted, but were ready on all occasions to spur him on to a rerreverance, and not only sent to speak on his behalf with the perseverance, and not only sent to speak on its behalf with the men with whom they had an interest, but addressed the other women also, knowing well that the Lacedemonian wives had always a great power with their husbands, who used to impart to them their state effaurs with greater freedom than the women would communicate with the men in the private business of their families. Which was indeed one of the greatest obstacles to this design, for the money of Sporta being most of it in the women's hands, it was their interest to oppose it, not only as depriving them of those superfluous trafes, in which, through want of better knowledge and experience, they placed their chief felicity, but also because they knew their riches were the main support of their power and credit.

Those, therefore, who were of this faction, had precurse to Leondar, spreerings to him how it was his part, as the cider and more experienced, to put a top to the the advanced projects of a rash young man. Leondars, shough of himself sufficiently inclused to eppose Arga, fours not openly, for fear of the people, who were mannfarty deserous of their change, but understand he did all he rould no deserved; and them it has project, and to prejude the chain measurement of the it was fit the proof teleting him surpressed that it was fit the proof teleting him surpressed to the chain of the proof teleting him surpressed to the roll among the power, and but the object of the measurement of the roll among the power, and but the object of the measurement of the roll among the power, and but the object of the measurement of the roll among the power, and but the object of the measurement of the roll among the power, and but the object of the measurement of the roll among the power, and but the object of the measurement of the roll among the power and the three power of the roll among the power and the temperature of the power of the roll among the power of the power of

Ags, nevertheless, httle regarding these running, promete Lyander's electron as ephor, and then solve the first recession of proposing through him her Rhetra to the enjurid, the chief articles of which were these. That every one should be free from their daits aff the lands to be devided unto equal portions, though the property of the expect (Males and Selasas), into four Lyangeria, and as if an at the quested Males and Selasas), into four thousand for a humanide on the remained my to fifteen informating the second of the second second second of the control who were fit for service as heavy-samed andders, the first integer the pastural-board Sportans, and their number is she should be the pastural-board Sportans, and their number is she should be Agis

supplied from any among the country people or strangers who had received the proper breeding of freemen, and were of vigorous body and of age for military service. All these were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, and some of two, with a diet and discipline agreeable to the laws of Lycurous.

This decree being proposed in the council of Elders met there with opposition: so that Lysander immediately convoked the great assembly of the people, to whom he, Mandroclidas, and Agesilaus made orations exhorting them that they would not suffer the majesty of Sparta to remain abandoned to contempt, to gratify a few rich men, who lorded it over them; but that they should call to mind the gracles in old times which had forewarned them to beware of the love of money, as the great danger and probable ruin of Sparta, and, moreover, those secently brought from the temple of Pasiphac. This was a famous temple and oracle at Thalama; and this Pasiphae, some say, was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Juniter a son called Ammon: others are of opinion it was Cassandra, the daughter of King Priam, who dving in this place, was called Pasiphae, as the revealer of oracles to all men. Phylarchus says, that this was Daphne, the daughter of Amyclas, who, flying from Apollo, was transformed into a laurel, and honoured by that god with the gift of prophecy. But be it as it will, it is certain the people were made to apprehend that this oracle had commanded them to return to their former state of equality settled by Lycurgus. As soon as these had done speaking. Agis stood up, and after a few words, told them he would make the best contribution in his nower to the new legislation, which was proposed for their advantage. In the first place, he would divide among them all his patrimony, which was of large extent in tillage and pasture: he would also give six hundred talents in ready money, and his morher, grandmother, and his other friends and relations, who were the richest of the Lacedemonians, were ready to follow his examule.

The neonle were transported with admiration of the young man's renerosity, and with joy that, after three hundred years' interval, at last there had ampeared a king worthy of Sparta. But, on the other side, Leonidas was now more than over averse being sensible that he and his friends would be obliged to contribute with their riches, and yet all the honour and obligation would redound to Agis. He asked him then before them all. whether Lycurgus were not in his opinion a wise man, and a TIL 409

lover of his country Agis answering he was, "And when did Lycurgus," replied Leonidas, "cancel Achts, or admit strangers to catagoship—he who thought the commonwealth not secure unless from time to time the city was cleared of all strangers? To this Agis replied, "It is no wonder that Leonidas, who was brought up and married abroad, and has children by a wife taken out of a Persian court, should know little of Lacurrus of his laws Lycurgus took away both debts and bans, by taking away money, and objected underd to the presence of men who west foreign to the manners and customs of the country, not in any case from an ill will to their persons, but lest the example of their less and conduct should infect the city with the love of rches, and of delicate and luxumous habits. For it is well known that he himself gladly Lept Terpander, Thales, and Phercoydes though they were strangers, because he perceived they were in their poems and in their philosophy of the same mind with time. And you that are went to praise Ecprepes, who, being ophor, cut with his hatchet two of the nine strings from the instrument of Phryaus the musician, and to commend those who afterwards unitated hum, in cutting the strings of Timotheus's barp, with what face can you blame us for dengn ing to get off superfluty and hixury and display from the commonwealth? Do you think those men were so concerned only about a lute-string, or intended anything else than to check m music that same excess and extravarance which rule in our present lives and manners, and have disturbed and destroyed all the harmony and order of our caty?"

From this time forward, as the common phople followed Anys, so the not bire adhered to Leanchas. They become them to forsice their cause, and with permatons and entreaties to to forsice their cause, and with permatons and entreaties to far prevaled with the council of Edders, whose prover consisted an preparing all laws before they were proposed to the people, that the designed Rherta was rejected, hough but by only one work. Whreupon Lysander, who was still ephor, resolving to ever. Whreupon Lysander, who was still ephor, resolving to be reveriged on two old laws. the one forbids any of the blood of Hercules to make up chaldras by a foreign woman, and the other makes it capital for a Lacedemonian to laws his committee that the continuous continuous

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silence, and watch the sky. And if they chance to see the shooting of a star, they presently pronounce their king guilty of some offence against the gods, and thereupon he is immediately suspended from all exercise of regal power, till he is relieved by an oracle from Delbio of Olympia.

Lysander, therefore, assured the people he had seen a star shoot, and at the same time Leonidas was cited to answer for himself. Witnesses were produced to testify he had married an Asian woman, bestowed on him by one of King Seleucus's lieutenants: that he had two children by her, but she so disliked and hated him, that against his wishes, fiving from her, he was in a manner forced to return to Sparta, where his prodecessor dving without issue, he took moon him the government, Lysander, not content with this, persuaded also Cleombrotus to lay claim to the kingdom. He was of the royal family, and sonin-law to Leonidas: who, fearing now the event of this process, fled as a suppliant to the temple of Minerva of the Brazen House, together with his daughter, the wife of Cleombrotus; for she in this occasion resolved to leave her husband, and to follow her father. Leonidas being again cited, and not appearing, they pronounced a sentence of deposition against him, and made

Cleomorotus king in his place.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander, his year expiring, went out of his office, and new ephors were chosen, who gave Leonidas assurance of safety, and cited Lysander and Mandroclidas to answer for having, contrary to law, cancelled debts, and designed a new division of lands. They, seeing themselves in danger, had recourse to the two kings, and represented to them how necessary it was for their interest and safety to act with united authority, and bid defiance to the enhors. For, indeed, the nower of the enters, they said, was only supunded on the dissensions of the kings, it being their privilege, when the kings differed in opinion, to add their suffrace to whichever they indeed to have given the best advice; but when the two kines were unanimous, none ought or durst resist their authority. the magistrate, whose office it was to stand as umpire when they wore at variance, had no call to interfere when they were of one mind. Agis and Cleombrotus, thus persuaded, went together with their friends into the market-place, where removing the cohors from their seats, they placed others in their many of whom Acesilaus was one; proceeding then to arm a company of young men, and releasing many out of prison; so that those of the contrary faction began to be in great fear of their li

but there was no blood spatt. On the contrary, Agrs, having notice that Agrahaus had ordered a company of soliciers to lie in wast for Localdas, to Lills have as to field to Teges, immediately sent some of his followers to defend him, and to convey him safely into that city

Thus far all thmes proceeded prosperously, none daring to oppose, but through the sorded weakness of one man, these promising beginnings were blasted, and a most noble and truly Spartan purpose overthrown and named by the love of morey. Agesilaus, as we said, was much in debt, though in possession of one of the breest and best estates in land, and while he gladly squed in this design to be quit of his debts, he was not at all willing to part with his land Therefore he persuaded Agis, that if both these things should be but in execution at the same time, so erreat and so studden an afteration morbt cause some dancerous commotion, but if debts were in the first place cancelled, the nch men would afterwards more easily be presailed with to part with their land Lysnader, also, was of the same opinion, being deceived in like manner by the eraft of Agesslaus, so that all men were presently commanded to hone in their bouds, or deeds of obligation, by the Lacedemonians called Claria, into the market place, where being laid together in a heap, they set fire to them. The wealthy, money lending people, one may easily magne, beheld it with a heavy beart, but Agesilaus told them scoffingly, his eyes had never seen so bright and so ours a flame

And now the people pressed earnestly for an immediate division of lands, the kings also had ordered it should be done. but Agesilaus, sometimes pretending one difficulty, and sometimes another, delayed the execution, till an occasion happened to call Ages to the wars The Athrens, in virtue of a defensive treaty of alliance, sent to demand succours, as they expected every day that the Ætobans would attempt to enter Peloponnesus, from the termtory of Megara. They had sent Aratus, their general, to collect forces to harder this incursion. Aratis wrote to the ephors, who munediately gave order that Age should hasten to their assistance with the Lacedamonian auxilianes Ares was extremely pleased to see the real and bravery of those who went with him upon this expedition. They were for the most part young men, and poor, and being just released from their debts and set at aberty, and boning on their return to receive each man his lot of land, they followed their king with wonderful slacerty The caties through which they passed were m admiration to see how they marched from one end of Peloponness to the other, without the least disorder, and, in a manner, without being heard. If gave the Greeks occasion to discourse with one anesther, how great might be the temperance and modesty of a Loronian zaray in old time; under their famous captains Agesilius, Lysander, or Loronidas, since they saw such discipline and exacte obscilience under a leader who parhaps was the youngest man in all the srawy. They saw also how he was they going the control of the start o

Agis joined Aratus near the city of Corinth, where it was still a matter of debate whether or no it were expedient to give the enemy battle. Agis, on this occasion, showed great forwardness and resolution, yet without temerity or presumption. He declared it was his opinion they ought to fight, thereby to hinder the enemy from passing the gates of Peloponnesus, but nevertheless he would submit to the judgment of Aratus, not only as the elder and more experienced captain, but as he was general of the Achmans, whose forces he would not pretend to command, but was only come thither to assist them. I am not ignorant that Baton of Sinope relates it in another manner: he says. Aratus would have fought, and that Agis was against it; but it is certain he was mistaken, not having read what Aratus himself wrote in his own justification, that knowing the people had well-nigh got in their barvest, he thought it much better to let the enemy pass than put all to the hazard of a battle. And, therefore, giving thanks to the confederates for their readiness, he dismissed them. And Agis, not without having gained a great deal of honour, returned to Sparta, where he found the people in disorder, and a new revolution imminent, owing to the ill-government of Agesilaus.

For he, being now one of the ephons, and freed from the fear which formerly kept him is some centraint, forbore no kind of oppression which might bring in gain. Among other things, he exacted a thirteenth month's tax, whereas the usual cycle required at this time no such addition to the year. For these and other reasons fearing these whom he injured, and knowing how he was lasted by the people, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard, which always accompanied him to the magistratie's office And presuming now on his power, he was grown to intolent, that of the two langs, the one he openly contenned, and it he showed any respect towards Ages, would have it thought rather an effect of his near relationship, than any duty or submission to the royal sutherity. He gas at to ut also that he

was to continue ephor the ensuing year

Bis enemies, therefore, alarmed by this report, lost no time in risking an attempt against him, and openly bringing back Leonidas from Teges, re-established him in the kingdom, to which even the people, highly accensed for having been definated in the promised deviation of lands, willingly consented. Agasiliass himself would hardly have escaped their fury, it has soo, Hippomedon, whose many virtues made han dear to all, had not saved him out of their hands, and then privately convered him from the city

During the commotion, the two kings fied, Agis to the temple of the Brazen House, and Cleombronus to that of Neptune. For Leonidas was more meensed against his son in law, and leaving Agis alone, went with his soldiers to Cleombrotus a sanctuary, and there with great passion reproached him for having, though he was son in law, conspired with his enemies, usurped he throne, and forced him from his country. Clearmhentus. having little to say for himself, sat silent. His wife, Chilonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had chosen to follow her father in his sufferings, for when Cleombrotus usurped the Lingdom, she forsook bun, and wholly devoted berself to comfort ber father in his affliction, whilst he still remained in Sparta, she remained also, as a suppliant, with him, and when he fled, she fled with him, bewaiting his mufortune, and extremely displeased with Cleombrotus But now, upon this turn of fertune, she changed m like manner, and was seen a time now, as a suppliant, with her husband, embracing him with her aims, and baying her two lettle children beside her All men were full of wonder at the piety and tender affection of the young woman, who pointing to her robes and her han, both slike neglected and unattended to, and to Leoudas, "I am not brought, my father, to this condition you see me in, on account of the present misfortunes of Geombrotus, my mourning habit is long since familiar to me It was put on to condole with you in your bankhment, and now you are restored to your country, and to your kingdom. must I still remain in grief and misery? Or would you have me attred in my royal ornaments, that I may rejoice with you. when you have killed, within my arms, the man to whom you, gave me for a wife? Either Cleombrotus must appease you by mine and my children's tears, or he must suffer a punishment greater than you propose for his faults, and shall see me, whom he loves so well, die before him. To what end should I live, or how shall I appear among the Spartan women, when it shall so manifestly be seen, that I have not been able to move to compassion either a husband or a father? I was born, it seems, to participate in the ill-fortune and in the discrace, both as a wife and a daughter, of those nearest and dearest to me. As for Cleombrotus, I sufficiently surrendered any honograble plea on his behalf, when I forsook him to follow you; but you yourself offer the fairest excuse for his proceedings, by showing to the world that for the sake of a kingdom, it is just to kill a son-inlaw, and be regardless of a daughter." Chilonis, having ended this lamentation, rested her face on her husband's head, and looked round with her weeping and woe-begone eyes upon those who stood before her.

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Leonidas, touched with compassion, withdrew a while to advise with his friends: then returning, hade Geombrotus leave the sanctuary and go into banishment; Chilonis, he said, ought to stay with him, it not being just she should forsake a father whose affection had granted to her intercession the life of her husband. But all he could say would not prevail. She rose up immediately, and taking one of her children in her arms, gave the other to her husband; and making her reverence to the altar of the goddess, went out and followed him. So that, in a word, if Cleombrotus were not utterly blinded by ambition, he must surely choose to be banished with so excellent a woman rather than without her to possess a kinedom.

Cleombrotus thus removed, Leonidas proceeded also to displace the cohors, and to choose others in their room; then he began to consider how he might entrap Agis. At first, he endeavoured by fair means to persoade him to leave the sanctuary. and partake with him in the kingdom. The people, he said, would easily pardon the errors of a young man, ambitious of glory, and deceived by the graft of Agesilaus. But finding Agis was suspicious, and not to be prevailed with to quit his sanctuary, he gave up that design: yet what could not then be effected by the dissimulation of an enemy, was soon after brought to pass by the treachery of friends,

Amphares. Damochares, and Arcesilaus often visited Agis. and he was so confident of their fidelity that after a while he was prevailed on to accompany them to the baths, which were not far distant, they constantly returning to see him safe again m the temple They were all three his familiars, and Amphores had borrowed a great deal of plate and such household stuff from Acesistrata, and boped if he could destroy her and the whole family, he might peacesbly enjoy those goods. And he, it is said, was the read est of all to serve the purposes of Leonidas, and being one of the ephors, did all he could to incense the rest of his colleagues against Agis. These men, therefore, finding that Ages would not quit his sanctuary, but on occasion would venture from it to go to the bath, resolved to seize him on the opportunity thus given them And one day as he was returning, they met and saluted him as formerly, conversing pleasantly by the way, and jesting, as yo sthful friends might, till coming to the number of a street which led to the prison, Amphares, by virtue of bis office, laid his hand on Agis, and told him. " You must go with the, Agis, before the other ephors, to answer for your misdemeanours" At the same time Damochares, who was a tall, strong man, drew his cloak night round his neck, and dragged him after by it, whilst the others went behind to thrust hun on So that none of Agus's friends being near to assist him. not any one by, they easily got hun into the prison, where Leonidas was already arrayed, with a company of soldiers, who strongly guarded all the evenues, the enhors also came in, with as many of the Elders as they knew to be true to their party, being destrous to proceed with some semblance of justice.

And thus they bade him give an account of his actions. To which Agu, striling at their dissimulation, answered not a word. Amphares told him it was more reasonable to ween, for now the time was come in which he should be punished for his pre rumption Another of the ephora, as though he would be more las ourable, and offering as it were an excuse, asked bum whether he was not forced to what he did by Agestlaus and Lysander. But Agis answered, he had not been constrained by any man, nor had any other intent in what he did but only to follow the example of Lycorrus, and to govern conformably to his laws The came ephor asked him whether now at least he did not repent his rathness. To which the young man answered that though he were to rufler the extrement penalty for it, yet he could never repent of so just and so glorious a design Upon this they passed sentence of death on him, and bade the officers carry him to the Dechas, as it is called, a place in the proton where they strangle malefactors And when the officers would not venture to lay hands on him, and the very mercenary soldiers declined it, believing it an illegal and a wicked act to lay violent hands on a king, Demochares, threatening and reviling them for it, himself thrust him into the room.

For by this time the news of his being seized had reached many parts of the city, and there was a concurse of posewith lights and octobes about the prison gates, and in the midst of them the mother and the grandmother of Agis, crying out with a loud vious that their king ought to appear, and to be heard and judged by the people. But this clamour, instead of preventing, hastened his death; his enemies fearing, if the turnult should increase, he might be rescued during the night out of their hands.

Agis, being now at the point to die, perceived one of the officers bitterly hewaiting he misfortune; "Weep not, frend," acid he, "for rne, who die innocent, by the lawlees act of wicked men. My condition is much better than theirs." As soon as he had sooken these words, not showing the least sign of farr, be

offered his neck to the nuose.

Immediately after he was dead, Amphares went out of the prison gate, where he found Agesistrata, who, believing him still the same friend as before, threw herself at his jest. He gently raised her up, and assured her, she need not fear any further violence or danger of death for her son, and that if she pleased she might go in and see him. She begged her mother might also have the favour to be admitted, and he replied, nobody should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate should again be locked, and Archidamia, the grandmother, to be first introduced. She was now grown very old, and had lived all her days in the highest repute among her fellows. As soon as Amphores thought she was despatched. he told Agesistrata she might now go in if she pleased. She entered, and beholding her son's body stretched on the ground. and her mother hapging by the neck, the first thing she did was, with her own hands, to assist the officers in taking down the hody: then covering it decently, she laid it out by her son's. whom then embracing and kissing his cheeks, "O my son," said she, "it was thy too great mercy and goodness which brought thee and us to ruin." Amphares, who stood watching behind the door, on hearing this, broke in, and said angrily to her, "Since you approve so well of your son's actions, it is fit you should partake in his reward." She, rising up to offer herself to the noose, said only, "I pray that it may redund to the good of Sparta."

The three bodies being now exposed to view, and the fact divulged, no fear was strong enough to hinder the people from expressing their abhorrence of what was done, and their detestation of Leonidas and Amphares, the contrivers of it So wicked and barbarous an act had never been committed in Sparia since first the Dorsans inhabited Peloponnesus, the very enemies in war, they said, were always cautious in spilling the blood of a Lacedamonian king, insomuch that in any combat they would decline, and erdeavour to avoid them, from feelings of respect and reverence for their station. And certainly we see that in the many battles fought betweet the Lacedamonians and the other Greeks, up to the time of Philip of Macedon, not one of their kings was ever killed, except Geombrotus by a taxelin-wound at the hattle of Leuctra. I am not ignorant that the Messenians affirm. Theopompus was also slam by their Aristomenes, but the Lacedemonians deny it, and say he was only wounded

Be it as it will, it is certain at least that Agu was the first king put to death in Lacedamon by the sphort, for having understaken a design noble in itest and worthy of his country, at a time of life when men's errors usually meet with an easy pardon. And if errors he did commit, has enemies certainly had less reason to blame him than had his friends for that centle and

compassionate temper which made him save the life of Leonidas

CLEOMONES

Trues fell Ages His brother Archelamus was too quick for Leonades, and saved humself by a timely retreat. But his wick, then mather of a young child, he forced from he rown bouse, and compiled Agustis, for that was her name, to marry his son Geomenes, though at that time too young for a wife, because he was unrelling that any one che should have her, bring heteres to was unrelling that any one che should have her, bring heteres to her father Gylpupus great estate, in person the most youthing and beautiful woman in all Greece and well-conducted in her habits of life. And therefore, they say, the dial sine could that she might not be compelled to this new marriage. But being thus untied to Chounees, she mided hated Loudids, but to the youth showed herself a kind and chiping wife. He, as soon as they came together, began to love her tery much and the constant kindness that she still retained for the memory of Agis brought somewhat of the like feeling in the young man for him, so that he would often inquire of her concerning what had passed, and attentively listen to the story of Agis's purpose and diesign. Now Chomeness had a generous and great soul; he was as temperate and moderate in his pleasures as Agis, but not so scrupulous, circumspeet, and genelle. There was something of heat and passion always goading him on, and an impetuosity and violence in his eageness to pursue anything which be thought good and just. To have men obey him of their own free-will, he concived to be the best discipline; but likewise, but sold the resistance, and force them to the better course was, in his orlinion commendable and brave.

This disposition made him dislike the management of the city. The citizens lay dissolved in supine idleness and pleasures, the king let everything take its own way, thankful if nobody gave him any disturbance, nor called him away from the enjoyment of his wealth and luxury. The public interest was neglected, and each man intent upon his private gain. It was dangerous, now Agis was kifled, so much as to name such a thing as the exercising and training of their youth: and to speak of the ancient temperance, endurance, and equality, was a sort of treason against the state. It is said also that Cleomanes. whilst a boy, studied philosophy under Sphærus, the Borystenite, who crossed over to Sparta, and spent some time and trouble in instructing the worth. Spheros was one of the first of Zeno the Citican's scholars, and it is likely enough that he admired the manly temper of Cleomenes and inflamed his generous ambition. The ancient Leonidas, as story tells, being asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtmus, replied, " Good to what young men's courage;" for being filled with a divine fury by his poems, they rushed into any danger. And so the Stoic philosophy is a dangerous incentive to strong and fiery dispositions, but where it combines with a grave and gentle temper, is most successful in leading it to its proper good.

Upon the death of his father Leonidas, he succeeded, and observing the citizens of all sorts to be debuseded, the rich neglecting the public good, and intent on their private gain and pleasure, and the poor distressed in their own homes, and therefore without either spirit for war or ambition to be trained up as Spartane, that had only the name of king, and the ephores all the power, he was resolved to change the posture of affairs. He had a fixed whose name was Konnea, his lower fauch an affection the Spartans express by the term, being institued, or imbreathed with), him he sounded, and of him he would commonly inquire what manner of king Agis was, by what means and by what assistance be began and pursued his designs Xenares, at first, willingly complied with his request, and told him the whole story, with all the particular circumstances of the actions But when he observed Cleomenes to be extremely affected at the relation, and more than ordinarily taken with Agus's new model of the government, and begging a repetition of the story, he at first severely chud him, told him he was frantic, and at last left off all sort of familianty and intercourse, yet he pever told any man the cause of their disagreement, but would only say, Cleomenes knew very well Cleomenes, finding Xenares averse to his designs, and thinking all others to be of the same disposition, consulted with none, but contrived the whole business by himself And considering that it would be easier to bring about an alteration when the city was at war than when in peace, he ergaged the commonwealth in a quarrel with the Acheans, who had given them fair occasions to complain For Aratus, a man of the greatest power amongst all the Acheans, designed from the very beginning to bring all the Peloponnesians into one common body. And to effect this was the one object of all his many commanderships and his long political course, as be thought this the only means to make them a matth for their foreign enemies Pretty nearly all the rest agreed to his proposals, only the Lacedimonians, the Eleans, and as many of the Arcadians as inclined to the Sportan interest, remained unpersuaded. And so as soon as Leonidas was dead, he began to attack the Arcadians, and wasted those especially that bordered on Achiea, by this means designing to try the melinations of the Spartans, and despising Cleomenes as a youth, and of no experience in affairs of state of war Upon this, the ephors sent Cleomenes to surprise the Athenaum, near Bellima, which is a pass commanding an entrance into Laconia, and was then the subject of bugation with the Megalopolitans Cleomenes possessed humself of the place, and fortified it, at which action Aratus showed no public resentment, but marched by might to surprise Teges and Orchomenus The design failed, for those that were to betray the cities into his hands turned afraid, so Aratus retreated, smagning that his design had been undiscovered. But Cleomenes wrote a sarcastic letter to him. and desired to know, as from a friend, whither he intended to march at might, and Aranus answering, that having heard of his design to fortify Belbina, he meant to march thither to oppose him, Cleomenes rejoined that he did not dispute it, but begged to be informed, if he might be allowed to ask the question, why

be carried those torches and ladders with him. Aratus laughing at the jest, and asking what manner of youth this was, Damocrates, a Spartan exile, replied, "If you have any designs upon the Lacediumonians, begin before this young eagle's talons are grown." Presently after this, Cleomenes, encamping in Arcadia with a few horse and three hundred foot. received orders from the ephors, who feared to engage in the war, commanding him to return home; but when upon his retreat Arabus took Caphyae, they commissioned him again. In this expedition he took Methydrium, and overran the country of the Argives; and the Acheans, to oppose him, came out with an army of twenty thousand fort and one thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes faced them at Pallantium, and offered battle, but Aratus, being cowed by his brayery, would not suffer the general to engage, but retreated. amidst the reproaches of the Achieans and the derision and scorn of the Spartans, who were not above five thousand. Cleamenes, encouraged by this success, began to speak boldly among the citizens, and reminding them of a sentence of one of their ancient kings, said, it was in vain now that the Spartage asked not how many their enemies were, but where they were, After this, marching to the assistance of the Eleans, whom the Achmans were attacking, falling upon the enemy in their retreat near the Lyceum, he put their whole army to flight, taking a great number of captives, and leaving many dead upon the place; so that it was commonly reported amongst the Greeks that Aratus was slain. But Aratus, making the best advantage of the opportunity, immediately after the defeat marched to Mantinea, and before anybody suspected it, took the city, and put a garrison into it. Upon this, the Lacedemonians being quite discouraged, and opposing Cleomenes's designs of carrying on the war, he now exerted himself to have Archidamus, the brother of Agis, sent for from Messene, as he, of the other family, had a right to the kingdom; and besides, Cleamones thought that the power of the cohors would be reduced, when the kingly state was thus filled up, and raised to its proper position. But those that were concerned in the murder of Asis, perceiving the design, and fearing that upon Archidamus's return that they should be called to an account, received him on his coming privately into town, and joined in bringing him home, and

presently after murdered him. Whether Cleomenes was against it, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether he was persuaded by his friends, or let him fall into their hands, is uncertain, however,

they were most blamed, as having forced his consent.

He, still resolving to new model the state, bribed the ephors to send ium out to war; and won the affections of many others by means of his mother Cratesicles, who spared no cost and was very zealous to promote her son's ambition, and though of herself she had no inclination to marry, yet for his sake she accepted, as her husband, one of the chiclest citizens for wealth and power Cleomenes, marching forth with the army now under his command, took Leuctra, a place belonging to Megalopolis, and the Achmans queckly coming up to resist him with a good body of men commanded by Aratus, m a battle under the very walls of the city, some part of his army was routed But whereas Aratus had commanded the Acheans not to pass a deep watercourse, and thus put a stop to the pursuit, Ly diadas, the Magalopolitan, fretting at the orders, and encouraging the horse which he led, and following the routed enemy, got into a place full of vines, hedges, and ditches, and being forced to break his ranks, began to retire in disorder Cleomenes, observing the advantage, commanded the Tarentmes and Cretars to engage him, by whom, after a brave defence, he was routed and slain The Lacedemonians, thus ercouraged, fell with a great shout upon the Achgars, and routed their whole army slam, who were very many, the rest Cleomenes delivered up, when the enemy retitioned for them, but the body of Lydiadas he commanded to be brought to him, and then putting on it s purple robe, and a crown upon its bead, sent a convoy with it to the gates of Megalopolis This is that Lydiadas who resigned his power as tyrant, restored liberty to the citizens, and pomed the city to the Achean interest

Cleometes, being very much elated by this success, and pertunded that if matters were wholly at its disposal he about come be too hard for the Achesian, personated Magnitomic, his matter's Ludward, that it was expedient for the state to shake off the power of the chord, and to put all their verball histoons common itself for the whole body, that Sparta, being retiored to us all equality, might supre again to the command of all Greece Megasterius liked the design, and expert two or three more of his freeds. About that then, one of the cybers, sleeping in Pasipha's temple, dreamed a very surprising dram, for the thoughthess who fore than removed out of the place where the sphors used to sit und do the business of their office, and one only set there; and whigh be wonderd, he heard a voice out of the temple, saying, "This is best for Sparta." The person tell ing Clomenes that Greun, he was a title throubled if first, fasting Clomenes that Greun, he was a title throubled if first, fasting that he used this as a trick to sift him, upon some suspicion of his design, but when he was satisfied that the relater spoke truth, he took heart again. And carrying with him those whom thought would be most against his project, he took Herea and Aliesa, two towns in league with the Achesan, furnished Orchomous with provisions, ensemped helsen Martines, and with long marches a part down a banesach the Locademenius that many of them at their own request were left behind that fartadis, wille be with the mecranistic sents on toward Sparta, and by the way communicated his design to those whom he hought frieted for his purpose, and marched slowly, that la

might catch the ophors at supper. When he was come near the city, he sent Euryclidas to the public table, where the ephors supped, under pretence of carrying some message from him from the army; Therycion, Phoebis, and two of these who had been bred up with Cleomenes, whom they call motheres, followed with a few soldiers; and whilst Euryclidas was delivering his message to the ophora, they ran upon them with their draws swords, and slew them. The first of them, Agylaus, on receiving the blow, fell, and lay as dead; but in a little time quietly raising himself, and drawing himself out of the room, he crept, without being discovered, into a little building which was dedicated to Fear, and which always used to be shut, but then by chance was open; and being got in, he shut the door, and lay close. The other four were killed, and above ten more that came to their assistance: to those that were quiet they did no harm, stopped none that fled from the city, and spared Agyleus when he came out of the temple the next day.

The Licedamonians have not only second places dedicated to Fear, but also to Death, Langhete, and the like Pasions. Now they worship Fear, not as they do supernatural powers which they dread, etterming it hurtisk, but thinking their polity is chiefly kept up by fear. Therefore the sphore, Aristoth is my author, when they extered upon their government, made proclamation to the prophs that they should shave their mustaches and be obedient to be along, that the learn might not be hard and the obedient to be along, the the learn might not be hard their youth to obedience even in the smallest matters. And the receives I think off the office however to be pain fearlies.

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ness, but a cautious fear of blame and disgrace For those that show most timulity towards the laws are most hold against their enemies, and those are least aloud of any danger who are most afraid of a just reproach Therefore it was well said that-

" A reverence still attends on feat "

and by Homer,-

" Feared you shall be, dear father and revered "

and agur,--

" In silence fearing those that bore the sway, "

for the generality of men are most ready to reverence those whom they fear And, therefore, the Lacedemonnans placed the temple of Fear by the Sysutium of the ephors, having raised

that magistracy to almost royal authority The next day. Geomenes prescribed eighty of the cruzens whom he thought necessary to bansh, and removed all the seats al the enhors, except one, in which he himself designed to sit and give audience, and calling the citizens together be made an spology for his proceedings, saying, that by Lycurgus the counsel of Elders was joined to the kings, and that that model of covern ment had continued a long time, and no other sort of magus trates had been wanted But afterwards, in the long was with the Messenans, when the kings, having to command the Army, found no time to administer justice, they chose some of their friends, and left them to determine the suits of the estreens in their stead. These were called ephors, and at first behaved themselves as servants to the Lings, but afterwards, by degrees, they appropriated the power to themselves, and erected a distinet magistracy. An evidence of the gruth of this was the custom still observed by the kings, who, when the ephors send for them, rejuse, upon the first and the second summons, to go, has onen the third rise up and attend them. And Asteropus, the first that rused the ephors to that height of power, lived a great many years after their institution. So long, therefore, he continued, as they contained themselves within their own proper sphere, it had been better to bear with them than to make a disturbance But that an upstart miroduced power should to far subvert the ancient form of government as to banish some kings, murder others, without hearing their defence, and threaten those who desired to see the best and most divine constitution restored in Sparta, was not to be borne. Therefore, if it had been notable for him without bloodshed to free Landsman

from those foreign plagues, luxury, sumptuosity, debts, and usury, and from those yet more ancient evils, poverty and riches, he should have thought himself the happiest king in the world, to have succeeded, like an expert physician, in curing the diseases of his country without pain. But now, in this necessity. Lycurgus's example favoured his proceedings, who being neither king nor magistrate, but a private man, and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into the market-place, so that King Charillus fied in alarm to the altar. He, being a good man, and a lover of his country, readily concurred in Lycurgus's designs, and admitted the revolution in the state. But, by his own actions. Lycurgus had nevertheless borne witness that it was difficult to change the government without force and fear, in the use of which he himself, he said, had been so moderate as to do no more than put out of the way those who opposed themselves to Sparta's happiness and safety. For the rest of the nation, he told them, the whole land was now their common property: debtors should be cleared of their debts, and examination made of those who were not citizens, that the bravest men might thus be made tree Spartans, and give aid in arms to save the city, and "wo," he said, "may no fonger see Laconia, for want of men to defend it, wasted by the Ætolians and Illuriani "

Then he himself first, with his step-father, Megistonus, and his friends, gave up all their wealth into one public stock, and all the other citizens followed the example. The land was divided, and every one that he had banished had a share assigned him; for he promised to restore all as soon as things were settled and in quiet. And completing the number of citizens out of the best and most promising of the country people, he raised a body of four thousand men; and instead of a spear, taught them to use a sariera, with both hands, and to carry their shields by a band, and not by a handle, as before. After this he began to consult about the education of the youth, and the Discipline, as they call it: most of the particulars of which Spherus, being then at Sparta, assisted in arranging; and in a short time the schools of exercise and the common tables recovered their ancient decency and order, a few out of necessity, but the most voluntarily, returning to that generous and Laconic way of living. And, that the name of monarch might give them no jealousy, he made Euclidas, his brother, partner in the throne; and that was the only time that Sparta had two kings of the same family.

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Then, understanding that the Acheans and Aratus imagined that this change had disturbed and shaken his affairs, and that he would not venture out of Sparta and leave the city now unsettled in the midst of so great an alteration, he thought it great and serviceable to his designs to show his enemies the real and forwardness of his troops. And, therefore, making an incursion into the territories of Megalopolis, he wasted the country far and wide, and collected considerable booty And at last, taking a company of actors as they were travelling from Messene, and building a theatre in the enemy's country, and offering a prize of forty mina in value, he sat spectator a whole day, not that he either desired or needed such amusement, but wishing to show his disregard for his enemies, and by a display of his contempt, to prove the extent of his superiority to them For his alone, of all the Greek or royal armies, had no stageplayers, no jugglers, no dancing or singing women attending it but was free from all sorts of looseness, wantonness, and festivity the young men being for the most part at their exercises, and the old men giving them lessons, or, at lessure times, diverting themselves with their native jests, and quick Laconian answers, the good results of which we have noticed in the life of Lycurgus He himself instructed all by his example; he was a houng

pattern of temperance before every man's eves; and his course of hving was neither more starely, nor more expensive, nor in any way more pretentious, than that of his people. And this was a considerable advantage to him in his designs on Greece For men when they waited upon other kings did not so much admire their wealth, costly furniture, and numerous attendance, as they hated their pride and state, their difficulty of access, and imperious answers to their addresses But when they came to Cleomenes, who was both really a king and bore that title, and saw no purple, no robes of state upon him, no couches and litters about him for his ease, and that he did not receive requests and return answers after a long delay and difficulty, through a number of messengers and door-keepers, or by memorials, but that he rose and came forward in any dress he might happen to be wearing, to meet those that came to wait upon him, stayed, talked freely and affably with all that had business, they were extremely taken, and won to his service, and professed that he alone was the true son of Herryles His common every-day's meal was in an ordinary room, very spating. and after the Laconic manner, and when he entertained ambassadors, or strangers, two more couches were added, and a little better dinner provided by his servants, but no savouring sauces or sweetmeats; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more plentiful. For he reproved one of his friends for entertaining some strangers with nothing but barley bread and black broth. such diet as they usually had in their phidilia; saying that upon such occasions, and when they entertained strangers, it was not well to be too exact Laconians. After the table was removed, a stand was brought in with a brass vessel full of wine, two silver bowls, which held about a pint apiece, a few silver cups, of which he that pleased might drink, but wine was not unged on any of the guests. There was no music, nor was any required; for he entertained the company himself, sometimes asking questions, sometimes telling stories; and his conversation was neither too grave or disagreeably serious, nor yet in any way rude or ungraceful in its pleasantry. For he thought those ways of entrapping men by gifts and presents, which other kings use, dishonest and artificial; and it seemed to him to be the most noble method, and most suitable to a king, to win the affections of those that came near him, by personal intercourse and agreeable conversation, since between a friend and a mercenary the only distinction is, that we gain the one by one's character and conversation, the other by one's money.

The Mantineans were the first that requested his aid: and when he entered their city by night, they aided him to expel the Achean garrison, and put themselves under his protection. He restored them their polity and laws, and the same day marched to Texes; and a little while after, fetching a compass through Arcadia, he made a descent upon Phere, in Achea, intending to force Aratus to a battle, or bring him into disrepute for refusing to engage, and suffering him to waste the country. Hyperbatas at that time was general, but Aratus had all the power amongst the Achgans, marching forth with their whole strength, and encamping in Dymas, near the Hecatombraum. Cleomenes came up, and thinking it not advisable to pitch between Dyme, a city of the enemies, and the camp of the Acheans, he boldly daved the Acheans, and forced them to a hattle, and routing their phalanx, slew a great many in the fight, and took many prisoners, and thence marching to Lauren. and driving out the Achican garrison, he restored the city to the Eleans.

The affair of the Achaems being in this unfortunate condition, Aratus, who was wont to take the office every other year, refused the command, though they entreated and urged him to 108 Plutarch's Lives

accept it. And this was ill-done, when the storm was high, to put the power out of his now hands, and set another to the him. Geometes at first proposed fair and easy conditions by his antissasdors to the Achaesis, but afterwards he sent others, and required the chief command to be settled upon him, in other matters differing to agree to reasonable turns, and to restore their captures and their country. The Achaesis were villing to come to an agreement upon those terms, and mysted Cloemetes to Lerms, where as assembly was to be held, but it happened that Cloemese, bastily marching on, and drinking water as a wong time, brought up a quantity of blood and lost his voice, therefore being shadle to continue his journey, he sent the challest of the captures to the Achaesis, and, putting off the meeting for some time, returned to Lacedemon. This ruinted the affairs of Greece, which was just beginning in

some sort to recover from ats disasters, and to show some capability of delivering itself from the insolence and sapacity of the Macedonians For Arstus (whether fearing or distrusting Gleomenes, or envying his unlooked for success, or thinking it a disgrace for him who had commanded thirty three years to have a young man succeed to all his glory and his power, and he head of that government which he had been raising and actiling so many years), first endeavoured to keep the Acheans from closing with Cleomenes, but when they would not hearken to him, fearing Cleomenes' daring spirit, and thinking the Lacedemonians' proposals to be very reasonable, who desumed only to reduce Peloponnesus to its own model, upon this he took his last refuse in an action which was unbecoming any of the Greeks, most dishonourable to him, and most unworthy his former brayery and exploits For he called Antironus into Greece and filled Peloconnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself, when a youth. having beaten their garrison out of the castle of Corunth, had driven from the same country. And there had been constant susp cion and variance between him and all the kines, and of Antigonus, in particular, he has said a thousand dishonourable things in the commentaries he has left behind him. And though he declares himself how he saffered considerable losses, and underwent great dangers, that he might free Athens from the garrison of the Maccdonians, yet, afterwards, he brought the very same men armed mto his own country, and his own house. even to the women's apartment. He would not endure that one of the lamily of Hercules, and king of Sparta, and one that reformed the polity of his country, as it were, from a disordered

harmony, and returned it to the plain Doric measure and rule of life of Lycurgus, should be styled head of the Tritgans and Sicvonians; and whilst he fied the barley-cake and coarse coat. and, which were his chief accusations against Cleomenes, the extirpation of wealth and reformation of poverty, he basely subjected himself, together with Achara, to the diadem and purple, to the imperious commands of the Macedonians and their satraps. That he might not seem to be under Geomenes, he offered sacrifices, called Antigonea, in honour of Antigonus, and sang pages himself, with a garland on his head, to the praise of a wasted, consumptive Macedonian. I write this not out of any design to disgrace Aratus, for in many things he showed himself a true lover of Greece, and a great man, but out of pity to the weakness of human nature, which, in characters like this, so worthy and in so many ways disposed to virtue, cannot maintain its honours unblemished by some envious fault.

The Achanan meeting again in assembly at Argos, and Gamene having ones from Tegas, there were great hopes that all differences would be composed. But Aratus, Antiquous and having already spreed upon the chief atteless of their league, fearing that Camenes would carry all before him, and either win or force the multimete to comply with his demands, proposed that, having these handres hertages put into his hands, he should come alone his to twom, or bring his army to the place of exercise, called the Cyllarabism, outside that city, and treat

there. Cleomenes, hearing this, said that he was unjustly dealt with: for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now he was come even to their doors, show their jealousy and deny him admission. And writing a letter to the Achinans about the same subject, the greatest part of which was an accusation of Aratus, while Aratus, on the other side, spoke violently against him to the assembly, he hastily dislodged, and sent a trumpeter to denounce war against the Achgans, not to Argos, but to Agium, as Aratus writes, that he might not give them notice enough to make provision for their defence. There had also been a movement among the Acheans themselves, and the cities were eager for revolt; the common people expecting a division of the land, and a release from their debts, and the chief men being in many places ill-disposed to Aratus, and some of them angry and indignant with him for having brought the Macedonians into Pelopounesus. Encouraged by these misunderstandings. Cleamones invaded Aches, and first to '

surprise, and beat out the Achean garrison, and afterwards brought over Pheneus and Pentelleum to his side Now the Achieans, suspecting some treatherous designs at Corinth and Sievon, sent their horse and mercenanes out of Argos, to have an eye upon those cities, and they themselves went to Argos to celebrate the Nemean games Cleomenes, advertised of this march, and hoping, as it afterwards fell out, that upon an unexpected advance to the city, now busied in the solemnity of the games, and thronged with numerous spectators, he should raise a considerable terror and confusion amongst them by night, marched with his army to the walls, and taking the quarter of the town called Aspis, which lies above the theatre, well fortified, and hard to be approached, he so terrified them that none offered to resist, but they agreed to accept a garrison, to give twenty citizens for hostages, and to assist the Lacedamonians, and that he should have the chief command

This action considerably increased his reputation and his power, for the ancient Spartan kings, though they in many ways endeavoured to effect it, could never bring Argos to be permanently theirs And Pyrrhus, the most experienced captain, though be entered the city by force, could not keep possession, but was slain himself, with a considerable part of his army Therefore they admired the despatch and contrivance of Cleomenes, and those that before derided him, for unitating, as they said, Solon and Lycurgus, in releasing the people from their debts, and in equalising the property of the citizens, were now fam to admit that this was the cause of the change to the Spartans For before they were very low in the world, and so unable to secure their own, that the Atolians, in adjing Laconia, brought away fifty thousand slaves, so that one of the elder Spartans is reported to have said, that they had done Laconia a kindness by unburdening it, and yet a little while after, by merely recurring once again to their native customs, and re entering the track of the ancient discipline, they were able to give, as though it had been under the eyes and conduct of Lycurgus hauself, the most again instances of courage and obedience, raising Sparts to her ancient place as the commanding state of Greece, and recovering all Pelopounesus

When Argos was captured, and Geome and Philus came over, as they did at ours, to Geomens, Antus was at Cornth, searching after some who were reported to favour the Sparian neters. The news, being brought to ham, disturbed him very much, if the perceived the city mediums to Geomens, and willing to the

rid of the Achgans. Therefore he summoried the citizens to meet in the Council Hall, and slipping away without being observed to the gate, he mounted his horse that had been brought for him thither, and fled to Sicyon. And the Corinthians made such haste to Cleomenes at Argos, that, as Aratus says, striving who should be first there, they spoiled all their horses; he adds that Cleomenes was very anery with the Corinthians for letting him escape; and that Megistonus came from Cleomenes to him. desiring him to deliver up the castle at Corinth, which was then garrisoned by the Achgans, and offered him a considerable sum of money, and that he answered that matters were not now in his power, but he in theirs. Thus Aratus himself writes. But Cleomenes, marching from Argos, and taking in the Troggenians. Epidaurians, and Hermioneans, came to Corinth, and blocked up the castle, which the Acheans would not surrender: and sending for Aratus's friends and stewards, committed his house and estate to their care and management: and sent Tritymallus. the Messenian, to him a second time, desiring that the castle might be equally garrisoned by the Spartans and Achgans, and promising to Aratus himself double the pension that he received from King Ptolemy. But Aratus, refusing the conditions, and sending his own son with the other hostages to Antigonus, and persuading the Achacans to make a decree for delivering the castle into Antigonus's hands, upon this Cleomenes invaded the territory of the Sicyonians, and by a decree of the Corinthians. accepted Aratus's estate as a gift.

In the meantime Antigonus, with a great army, was passing Geranea; and Cleomenes, thinking it more advisable to fortify and garrison, not the isthmus, but the mountains called Onea, and by a war of posts and positions to weary the Macedonians, rather than to venture a set battle with the highly disciplined phalanx, but his design into execution, and very much distressed Antigonus. For he had not brought victuals sufficient for his army! nor was it easy to force a way through whilst Cleomenes guarded the pass. He attempted by night to pass through Lechaum, but failed and lost some men; so that Cleomenes and his army were mightily encouraged, and so flushed with the victory, that they went merrily to supper; and Antigonous was very much dejected, being driven, by the necessity he was in, to most unpromising attempts. He was proposing to march to the promontory of Herseum, and thence transport his army in boats to Sicvon, which would take up a great deal of time, and require much preparation and means. But when it was now evening.

some of Aratu's functs came from Arges by sea, and invited him to return, for the Arges would resolt from Cloomers. Aratoteles was the man draw wrught the revolt, and he had no hard task to persuade the common popple, for they were all surgy with Universe for not releasing them from their debts as they expressed and the state of the surgest of the comtant post of the common for the common popple, for they were all Articoast's state of the common popple, for they were all Articoast's state of the common popple from their debts as they expressed Arcordingly, obsuming fiften bunder of a Articoast staying for his coming, drive out the citzens, and cought against the garness of the castle, and Timosenus, with the Arbeits from Sicropa, came to his assistance.

Cleamenes heard the news about the second watch of the night, and sending for Megistonus, anguly commanded him to go and set things right at Argos Megistenus had passed his word for the Argives' loyalty, and had persuaded him not to banish the suspected Therefore, despatching him with two thousand soldiers, he himself kept watch upon Antigonus, and encouraged the Counthians, presending that there was no great matter in the commotions at Argos, but only a little disturbance raised by a lew inconsiderable persons But when Megistonus, entering Argos, was slain, and the garrison could scarce hold out, and frequent messengers came to Cleomenes for succours, he fearing lest the enemy, having taken Argos, should shut up the passes and securely waste Laconia, and benege Sparta itself which he had kit without forces, dislodged from Cornth, and immediately lost that city; for Anticonus entered it, and garrisoned the town He turned saids from his direct march. ard assaulting the walls of Argos, endeavoured to carry it by a sudden attack, and then, having collected his forces from their march, breaking into the Aspis, he joined the garnson, which still held out against the Achicans, some parts of the city he scaled and took, and his Cretan archers cleared the streets But when he saw Antigonus with his obalany descending from the mountains mto the plain, and the horse on all sides entering the netv. he thought it impossible to maintain his post, and, gathermg together all his men, came safely down and made his retreat under the walls, having in so short a time possessed himself of great power, and in one journey, so to say, having made himself master of all Pelopomesus, and now lost all again in as short a time For some of his allies at once withdrew and forsook him. and others not long after put their trues under Antigonus's protection. His hopes thus defeated, as he was leading back the rehes of his forces, messengers from Lacedemon met him in the evening at Teges, and brought him news of as great a mislortune as that which he had lately suffered, and this was the death of his wife, to whom he was so attached, and thought so much of her, that even in his most successful expeditions, when he was most prosperous, he could not refrain, but would every now and then come home to Sparts, to visit Agiatis.

This news afficted him extremely, and be grieved, as a young man would do, for the best of a very beautiful and excellent wife; you he did not let his passion disgrace him or impair the greatment of his mind, but keeping his usual voice, his countenance, and his halti, he gave necessary orders to his captains, and took the presentations required for the safety of Tegat. Not morning he came to Sparta, and having at home, with his mother and diltem, hewside the best, and finished his mountine, be at once

devoted himself to the public affairs of the state.

Now Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, promised him assistance, but demanded his mother and children for hostages. This, for some considerable time, he was ashamed to discover to his mother; and though he often went to her on purpose, and was just upon the discourse, yet he still refrained, and kept it to himself; so that she began to suspect, and asked his friends, whether Cleomenes had something to say to her, which be was afraid to speak. At last, Cleomenes venturing to tell her, she laughed aloud, and said, "Was this the thing that you had so often a mind to tell me, and were afraid? Make hasts and put me on ship-board, and send this carcase where it may be most serviceable to Sparta, before age destroys it unprofitably here." Therefore, all things being provided for the voyage, they want by land to Tenarus, and the army waited on them. Cratesicles, when she was ready to go on board, took Cleomenes aside into Neptune's temple, and embracing him, who was much dejected and extremely discomposed, she said, "Go to, King of Sparta; when we come forth at the door, let none see us ween, or show any passion that is unworthy of Sparta, for that alone is in our own nower: as for success or disappointment, those wait on us as the deity decrees." Having thus said, and composed her countenance, she went to the ship with her little grandson, and bade the pilot put at once out to sea. When she came to Egypt, and understood that Ptolemy entertained proposals and overtures of peace from Antigonus, and that Cleomenes, though the Acheans invited and urged him to an agreement, was afraid, for her sake, to come to any, without Ptolemy's consent, she wrote to him, advising him to do that which was most becoming and most profitable for Sparta, and not, for the sales of an old

woman and a little child, stand always in fear of Ptolemy. This

character she maintained in her misfortunes Antigonus, having taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomenus and Mantinez, Cleomenes was shut up within the narrow bounds of Lacoura, and making such of the helots as could pay five Attic pounds free of Sparts, and, by that means, getting

together five hundred talents, and arming two thousand after the Macedonian fashion, that he might make a body fit to oppose Antigonus's Leucaspides, he undertook a great and unexpected enterprise Megalopolis was at that time a city of itself as great and as powerful as Sparta, and had the forces of the Acheans and of Antigonus encamping beside it, and it was chiefly the Megalopolitans' doing, that Antigonus had been called in to assist the Achieuns Cleomenes, resolving to snatch the city (no other word so well suits so rapid and so surprising an action), ordered his men to take five days' provision, and marched to Sellana, as if he intended to ravage the country of the Argues, but from thence making a descent into the territories of Megalopolis, and refreshing his army about Rhoeteum, he suddenly took the road by Helicus, and advanced directly upon the city. When he was not far off the town, he sent Panteus, with two regiments, to surprise a portion of the wall between two towers, which he learnt to be the most unguarded quarter of the Megalopohtans' fortifications, and with the rest of his forces he followed leisurely Panteus not only succeeded at that point, but finding a great part of the wall without goards, he at once proceeded to pull it down in some places, and make openings through it in others, and killed all the defenders that he found Whilst he was thus busied. Cleomenes came up to him, and was got with his army within the city, before the Meralopolitans knew of the surprise When, after some time, they learned their mufortune, some left the town immediately, taking with them what property they could, others armed and engaged the enemy, and though they were not able to beat them out, yet they gave their citizens time and opportunity safely to retire, so that there were not above one thousand persons taken in the town, all the rest flying, with their wives and children, and escaping to Messene The greater number, also, of those that armed and fought the enemy were saved, and very lew taken, amongst whom were Lysandridas and Theardas, two men of great power and reputation amongst the Megalopolitans, and therefore the soldiers, as soon as they aero

taken, brought them to Cleomenes And Lysandridas, as soon

as he saw Cleomenes afar off, cried out, "Now, King of Sparta, it is in your power, by doing a most kingly and a nobler action than you have already performed, to purchase the greatest glory." And Cleomenes, guessing at his meaning, replied, "What, Lysandridas, you will not surely advise me to restore your city to you again?" "It is that which I mean," Lysandridas replied: " and I advise you not to min so brave a city. but to fill it with faithful and steadfast friends and allies, by restoring their country to the Megalopolitans, and being the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused a while, and then said: "It is very hard to trust so far in these matters; but with us let profit always yield to glory." Having said this. he sent the two men to Messene with a herald from himself, offering the Megalopolitans their city again, if they would forsake the Achman interest, and be on his side. But though Cleomenes made these generous and humane proposals, Philoptemen would not suffer them to break their league with the Acheans; and accusing Cleamenes to the people, as if his design was not to restore the city, but to take the citizens too, he forced Thearidas and Lysandridas to leave Messene.

This was that Philopoemen who was afterwards chief of the Acheens and a man of the greatest reputation amongst the Greeks, as I have related in his own life. This news coming to Cleomenes, though he had before taken strict care that the city should not be plundered, yet then, being in anger, and out of all nationce, he despoiled the place of all the valuables, and sent the statues and pictures to Sparta; and demolishing a great part of the city, he marched away for lear of Antigonus and the Acheans: but they never stirred, for they were at Assign, at a council of war. There Aratus mounted the speaker's place, and went a long while, holding his mantle before his face; and at last, the company being amazed, and commanding him to speak, he said, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes." The assembly instantly dissolved, the Achgans being astounded at the suddenness and greatness of the loss; and Antigonus, intending to send speedy succours, when he found his forces gather very slowly out of their winter-quarters, sent them orders to continue there still; and he himself marched to Argos with a small body of men. And now the second enterprise of Cleomenes. though it had the look of a desperate and feartic adventure, yet in Polybius's opinion, was done with mature deliberation and great foresight. For knowing very well that the Macedonians were dispersed into their winter-quarters, and that Anticonus

with his friends and a few mercenaries about him wintered in Argos, upon these considerations he savaded the country of the Argues, hoping to shame Antigonis to a battle upon imequal terms, or else if he did not dare to fight, to bring bim into distenute with the Achgans And this accordingly happened For Cleamenes wasting, plandering, and spoiling the whole country, the Argives, in greef and anger at the loss, gathered in crowds at the king's gates, crying out that he should either fight, or surrender his command to better and braver men But Antigonus, as became an experienced captain, accounting it rather dishonourable tookship to hazard his army and out his security, than merely to be sailed at by other people, would not much out against Cleamenes, but stood firm to his convictions Ocomenes, in the meantime, brought his army up to the very walls, and having without opposition spoiled the country, and minited over his enemies, drew off again. A little while after, being informed that Antigonus designed

a new advance to Teges, and thence to invade Laconia, he rapidly took his soldiers, and marching by a side-road, appeared early in the morning before Argos, and wasted the fields about The corn be did not cut down, as is usual, with reaning hooks and knives, but heat it down with great wooden stayes made like broadswords, as if, in mere contempt and wanton scorn, while travelling on his way, without any effort or trouble, he spoiled and destroyed their harvest. Yet when his soldiers would have set Cyllabars, the exercise ground, on fire, he stopped the attempt, as if he felt that the muchief he had done at Meralopolis had been the effects of his passion rather than his wisdom And when Antigonus, first of all, came hastily back to Argos, and then occupied the mountains and passes with his posts, he professed to duregard and despise it all, and sent heralds to ask for the keys of the temple of Juno, as though be proposed to offer sacrifice there and then return And with this scornful pleasantry upon Antigonus, having exercised to the goddess under the walls of the temple, which was shut, he went to Phlius, and from thence driving out those that parrisoned Ouryrtus, he marched down to Orchomenus And these enterprises not only encounged the cruseus, but made him appear to the very enemies to be a man worthy of high command, and canable of great things For with the strength of one city, not only to fight the power of the Macedonians and all the Peloponnesums, supported by all the royal treasures, not only to preserve Laconia from being spoiled, but to waste the memy's country, and to take so many and such considerable cities, was an argument of no common skill and genius for command

But he that first said that money was the sinews of affairs, seems especially in that saying to refer to war. Demades, when the Athenians had voted that their galleys should be launched and equipped for action, but could produce no money, told them, "The baker was wanted first, and the pilot after," And the old Archidamus, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the amount of their contributions should he determined, is reported to have answered, that war cannot be fed upon so much a day. For as wrestlers, who have thoroughly trained and disciplined their bodies, in time tire down and exhaust the most agile and most skilful combatant. so Antigonus, coming to the war with great resources to spend from, were out Cleomenes, whose poverty made it difficult for him to provide the merest sufficiency of pay for the mercenaries. or of provisions for the citizens. For, in all other respects, time favoured Cleomencs: for Antigonus's affairs at home began to be disturbed. For the barbarians wasted and overran Macedonia whilst be was absent, and at that particular time a vast army of Illyrians had entered the country; to be freed from whose devastations, the Macedonians sent for Antigonus, and the letters had almost been brought to him before the hettle was fought: upon the receipt of which he would at once have marched away home, and left the Acheans to look to themselves. But Fortune, that loves to determine the greatest affairs by a minute, in this conjuncture showed such an exact niceness of time, that immediately after the battle in Sellasia was overand Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, the messengers came up and called for Antigonus. And this above everything made Cleomenes's misfortune to be pitied; for if he had gone on retreating and had forborne fighting two days longer, there had been no need of hazarding a battle; since upon the departure of the Macedonians, he might have had what conditions he pleased from the Achgans. But now, as was said before, for want of money, being necessitated to trust everything to arms. he was forced with twenty thousand (such is Polybius's account) to engage thirty thousand. And approving himself an admirable commander in this difficulty, his citizens showing an extraordinary courage, and his mercenaries bravery enough, he was overborne by the different way of fighting, and the weight of the heavy-armed phalanx. Phylerchus also affirms that the treachery

of some about him was the chief cause of Cleamenes's min

For Antigonus gave orders that the Illyrians and Acamanians should march round by a secret way, and encompass the other wing, which Euclidas, Cleomenes's brother, commanded, and then drew out the rest of his forces to the battle. And Cleamenes. from a convenient rising, viewing his order, and not seeing any of the Illymans and Acarmanians, began to suspect that Antigonus had sent them upon some such design, and calling for Damoteles, who was at the head of those specially appointed to such ambush duty, he bade him carefully to look after and discover the enemy's designs upon his year. But Damoteles. for some say Antigonus had bribed him, telling him that he should not be solicitous about that matter, for all was well enough, but mind and fight those that met him in the front, he was satisfied, and advanced against Anticopus, and by the vigorous charge of his Spartans, made the Macedonian phalanx give ground, and pressed upon them with great advantage about ball a mile, but then making a stand, and seeing the danger which the surrounding wing, commanded by his brother Euclidas. was in, he cried out, " Thou art lost, dear brother, thou art lost, thou brave example to our Spartan youth and theme of our matrons' songe ' And Euclidas s wing being cut in pieces, and the conquerors from that part falling upon him, he perceived his soldiers to be disordered, and unable to maintain the fight. and therefore provided for his own safety. There fell, we are told, in the battle, besides many of the mercenary soldiers, all the Spartans, six thousand in number, except two hundred

When Cleamenes came into the city, he advised those citizens that he met to receive Antigonus, and as for himself, he said, which should appear most advantageous to Sparta, whether his life or death, that he would choose Seeing the women running out to those that had fied with him, taking their arms, and hranging dunk to them, he entered into his own house, and his servant, who was a freeborn noman, taken from Megalopolis after his wife's death, offenng, as usual, to do the service he needed on returning from war, though he was very thursty, be refused to drink, and though very weary to sit down, but in his corselet as he was, he laid his arm sideway against a pillar, and kearing his forthead upon his cibow, he rested his body a little while, and ran over in his thoughts all the courses he could take. and then with his friends set out at once for Gythium, where, finding ships which had been got ready for this very purpose, they embarked Antiguous, taking the city, treated the Lacedemonians courteously, and in no way offering any mank or

offence to the dignity of Sparts, but permitting them to enjoy their own laws and polity, and scarffong to the gods, disloding the third day. For lee heard that there was a great war in Mincolonis, and that the country was devented by the barbarian. Besides, his madedy had now thoroughly settled into a consumption and continual extents. Yet the still kept up, and managed to return and offerthe mountry, and must there a consumption and continual extents. Yet the still kept up, and had been considered to the still be still be the still be still be still be the still be still be

Clearmenes, sailing from Cythera, touched at another island called Ægialia, whence as he was about to depart for Cyrene, one of his friends, Therycion by name, a man of a noble spirit in all enterprises, and bold and lofty in his talk, came privately to him, and said thus: "Sir, death in battle, which is the most giorious, we have let go; though all heard us say that Antigonus should never tread over the King of Sparta, unless dead. And now that course which is next in honour and virtue is presented to us. Whither do we madly sail, flying the evil which is near, to seek that which is at a distance? For if it is not dishonourable for the race of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall save a long voyage by delivering ourselves up to Antigonus, who, probably, is as much better than Ptolemy, as the Macedonians are better than the Egyptians: but if we think it meen to submit to those whose arms have conquered us, why should we choose him for our master, by whom we have not yet been beaten? Is it to acknowledge two superiors instead of one, whilst we run away from Antigonus, and firster Ptolemy? Or, is it for your mother's sake that you retreat to Egypt? It will indeed by a very fine and very desirable sight for her to show her son to Ptolemy's women, now changed from a prince into an exile and a slave. Are we not still masters of our own swords? And whilst we have Laconia in view, shall we not here free parselves from this discraceful misery, and clear ourselves to those who at Sellasia died for the honour and defence of Sparta? Or, shall we six lazily in Egypt, inquiring what news from Sports, and whom Antigonus hath been pleased to make governor of Lacedemon?" Thus spoke Therycion; and this was Cleomenes's reply: "By seeking

death, you coward, the most easy and most ready refuge, you innoy that you thall appear courageous and brace, though this that than the former. Better men than we have given way to their remest, having been herrayed by fortune, or operated by multitude, but he that gives way under labour or distresses, under the ill-opmons or reports of ment, yields the victory to he own effectionary. For a voluntary death ought not to be chosen as a rehelf from action, but as an exemplary account resil, and it is have either to hire or to the only to our selves. That death to which you now invite us, is proposed only as a release from our present missens, but carries nothing of mobileness or profit int. And I think it becomes both me and you not to despit of our courty, but when there are no hoped of that left, those that have an inclusion may quickly die." To this Theryon tritured no answer, but is soon as he had an opportunity of learing Comment's company, went aside on the seabore, and an humself through

But Cheomenes sailed from Acralia, landed in Libva, and, being honourably conducted through the king's country, came to Alexandra. When he was first brought to Prolymy, no more than common civilities and usual attentions were paid him, but when, upon trial, he found him a man of deep sense and great mason, and that he plain Laconic way of convenation carned with it a noble and becoming grace, that he did nothing unbecoming his birth, nor bent under fortune, and was evidently a more faithful counsellor than those who made it their business to please and flatter, he was ashamed, and repented that he had neglected so great a man, and suffered Astrgonus to get so much power and reputation by running him. He now offered him many marks of respect and kindness, and gave him hopes that he would furnes's him with ships and money to return to Greece, and would reinstate him in his Lingdom. He granted him a yearly rension of four and twesty talents, a little part of which sum supplied his and his inends thrifty temperance, and the rest was employed in doing good offices to, and in relieving the necessities of, the refugees that had fled from Greece, and retired into Fgypt.

But the cldrr Ptolemy dying before Chomenes a affairs had received a full dispatch, and the successor being a loose, volutroops, and efformate prince, tuder the power of his pleanies and his women, his business was neglected. For the king was so besofted with his women and his wine, that the employments of his most busy and serious hours consisted at the stimest in celebrating religious feasts in his palace, carrying a timbrel, and taking part in the show; while the greatest affairs of state were managed by Agathoelea, the king's mistress, her mother, and the pimp (Enanthes. At the first, indeed, they seemed to stand in need of Cleomenes; for Ptolemy, being afraid of his brother Magas, who by his mother's means had a great interest among the soldiers, gave Cleonienes a place in his secret councils, and acquainted him with the design of taking off his brother. He, though all were for it, declared his opinion to the contrary, saying, "The king, if it were possible, should have more brothers for the better security and stability of his affairs." And Sesibius, the greatest favourite, replying that they were not secure of the mercenaries whilst Magas was alive, Cleomenes returned. that he need not trouble himself about that matter; for amongst the mercenaries there were above three thousand Pelenonnesians, who were his fast friends, and whom he could command at any time with a nod. This discourse made Cleomenes for the present to be looked upon as a man of great influence and assured fidelity; but afterwards, Ptolemy's weakness increasing his fear, and he, as it usually happens, where there is no judgment and wisdom, placing his security in general distrust and suspicion, it rendered Cleomenes suspected to the courtiers, as having too much interest with the mercenaries; and many had this saving in their mouths, that he was a lion amidst a flock of sheep. For, in fact, such he seemed to be in the court, quietly watching and keeping his eye upon all that went on. He therefore gave up all thought of asking for ships and

soldiers from the king. But receiving news that Antigonus was dead, that the Achmans were engaged in a war with the Ætolians. and that the affairs of Peloponnesus, being now in very great distraction and disorder, required and invited his assistance, he desired leave to depart poly with his friends, but tould not obtain that, the king not so much as hearing his petition, being shut up amongst his women, and wasting his hours in bacchanalian rites and drinking parties. But Sosibius, the chief minister and counsellor of state, thought that Cleomenes, being detained against his will, would grow ungovernable and dangerous, and yet that it was not safe to let him go, being an aspiring, daring man, and well acquainted with the diseases and weakness of the kingdom. For neither could presents and gifts contiliate or content him; but even as Apis, while living in all possible plenty and apparent delight, yet desires to live as nature would provide for him, to range at liberty, and bound about the fields, and can [22 scarre

scarce endure to be under the pnests' keeping, so he could not brook their courtship and soft entertainment, but sat like Achilles—

" and languished far Desiring battle and the shout of war

His affairs standing in this condition, Micagoras, the Mes seman, came to Alexandra, a man that deeply hated Cleomeres, yet pretended to be his friend, for he had formerly sold Cleomenes a fair estate, but pever received the money because Cleomenes was either unable, as it may be, or else, by reason of his engagement in the wars and other distractions, had no oppor tunity to pay him Geomenes, seeing him landing, for he was then walking upon the quay, kindly saluted him, and asked what business brought him to Egypt. Nicagoras retirmed his compliment, and told him that he came to bring some excellent war horses to the Ling And Cleomenes, with a smile, subjoined, "I could wish you had rather brought young boys and musicguls. for those now are the king's chief occupation." Nicagoras at the moment smiled at the concest, but a few days after, he p t Cleamenes in mund of the estate that he had bought of him. and desired his money, protesting that he would not have troubled him, if his merchandise had turned out as profitable as he had thought it would Geomenes replied, that he had nothing left of all that had been given him. At which snawer, Nicacoras, being nettled, told Sosibius Cleamenes's scoff upon the Ling He was delighted to receive the information, but desiring to have some greater reason to excite the king against Cleoments, persuaded hicagoras to leave a letter written against Geomenes, supporting that he had a design, if he could have gotten ships and solders, to surprise Cyrene Nicagoras wrote such a letter, and left Egypt. Four days after, Sosibius brought the letter to Ptolemy, pretending it was just then delivered him, and excited the young mans lear and anger, upon which it was agreed that Geomenes should be invited into a large house, and treated as formerly, but not suffered to go out again

This usage was graves to Clemence, and another incident that coursed made has feel has hope to be yet more entirely overest. Policy, the sun of Largerman, a favourite of the king's, had always shown or whity to Geomens, there may a considerable number between them, and they had been used to talk freely together about the state. He, upon Geomen's, desert came to him, and stopk had been me fair terms, softeners and their man of the state of the contract of the state of

down his asspicious and excussing the king's conduct. But as beware out again, not knowing that Chomense followed him to the door, he severely reprimanted the keepers for their carelesses in looking after "so great and or furines a with electrical to the door, he severely reprimanted the keepers for their carelessess. This Cleomens himself heard, and returing before Poolemy perceived it, told his friends what had been said. Upon this they care of all former hopes and determined for violent proceedings, readving to be revenged on Pholomy for his base and unjust dealing, to have satisfaction for the afforms, to die as it hecane Spartans, and not say till, like fatted scrifters, they were butthered. For it was both growns and dishonamble for Cleomens, who had scorned to come to terms with Antigous, a trave warrier, and a man of action, to wait an effeminate king's lature, till he should lay aside his dimbrel and end his dance, and then fill him.

These courses being resolved on, and Ptolemy happening at the same time to make a progress to Canopus, they first spread abroad a report that his freedom was ordered by the king, and, it being the custom for the king to send presents and an entertainment to those whom he would free, Cleomenes's friends made that provision, and sent it into the prison, thus imposing upon the keepers, who thought it had been sent by the king. For he sacrificed, and gave them large portions, and with a garland upon his head, feasted and made merry with his friends. It is said that he baran the action sooner than he designed, baying understood that a servant who was privy to the plot had gone out to visit a mistress that he loved. This made him afraid of a discovery; and therefore, as soon as it was full noon, and all the keepers sleeping off their wine, he put on his coat, and opening his seam to bare his right shoulder, with his drawn sword in his hand, he issued forth, together with his friends provided in the same manner, making thirteen in all. One of them, by name Hippitas, was lame, and followed the first onset very well, but when he presently perceived that they were more slow in their advances for his sake, he desired them to run him through, and not ruin their enterprise by staying for a useless, unprofitable man. By chance an Alexandrian was then riding by the door; him they threw off, and setting Hippitas on horseback, ranthrough the streets, and preclaimed liberty to the people. But they, it seems, had courage enough to praise and admire Clcomenes's daring, but not one had the heart to follow and assist him. Three of them fell on Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermas. as he was coming out of the palace, and killed him. Another

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Ptolemy the officer in charge of the city advancing against them in a char of they set upon dispersed he guards and attendants and pulling him out of the char of killed him upon the place Then they made toward the eastle des gn ng to break open the prison release those who were confined and avail themselves of their numbers but the keepers were too quick for them and secured the passages Be ng baffled in this attempt Clearenes with his company roamed about the city none Jun ing with him but all retreating from and flying his approach. Therefore despairing of specess and saying to his ir ends that was no wonder that women ruled over men that were afraid of liberty he bade them all de as bravely as became his followers and their own past actions. This said H pp tas was first as he desired run through by one of the younger men and then each of them readily and resolutely fell upon his own sword except Fanteus the same who first surpr sed Megalopolis This man being of a ery handsome person and a great lover of the he now bade him when he had seen him and the rest fallen die by their example. Fanteus walked over them as they lay and pricked every one with his darger to try whether any was al ve when he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle and saw him turn bron his back he kused him sat down by him and when he was qu te dead covered up the body and then killed himself over it. Thus fell Cleomenes after the life which we have parrated

hay ng been King of Sparts sixteen years. The news of their fall being no ed through the city Crates clea though a woman of a great spir t could not bear up against the weight of this affi cuon but embracing Cleomenes s children broke out into lamentations But the eldest boy none suspecting such a spirit in a child threw himself headlon, from the top of the house He was bruised very much but not killed by the fall and was taken up cry ng and expressing his resentment for not being permitted to destroy himself Ptolemy as soon as an account of the act on was brought him gave order that Geomenes s body should be flayed and hurg up and that his children mother and the women that were with her should be I lled Amongst these was Panteus s wife a beaut ful and noble-looking woman who had been but lately married and suffered these disors ere in the height of her love. Her parents would not have her embark with Panteus to shortly after they were marr ed though she eagerly desired t but shut her up and kept her forcibly at home But a few days after she procured a horse and a little money, and escaping by night, made speed to Tenarus, where she embarked for Egypt, came to her husband, and with him cheerfully endured to live in a foreign country. She gave her hand to Cratesiclea, as she was going with the soldiers to execution, held up her robe, and berged her to be courageous: who of herself was not in the least afraid of death, and desired nothing else but only to be killed before the children. When they were come to the place of execution, the children were first killed before Cratosicien's eyes, and afterwards she herself, with only these words in her mouth, "O children, whither are you gone?" But Panteus's wife, fastening her dress close about her, and being a strong woman, in silence and perfect composure, looked after every one that was slain, and laid them decently out as far as circumstances would permit; and after all were killed, rearraving her dress, and drawing her clothes close about her, suffering none to come near or be an eye-witness of her fall, besides the executioner, she courageously submitted to the stroke, and wanted nobody to look after her or wind her up after she was dead. Thus in her death the modesty of her mind appeared, and set that guard upon her body which she always kent when alive. And she, in the declining age of the Spartans, showed that women were no unequal rivals of the men, and was an instance of a courage superior to the affronts of fortune.

A few days after, those that watched has hanging body of Chemmen, saw a large sanke vinding about his band, and covering his face, so that no bird of prey would fly at it. This made the king representations are the some extraordinary boing, and one beloved by the gods, that had been slain. And the Alexandrians under processions to the place, and gave Cromenes the title of hero, and son of the gods, till the philosophers satisfied them by saving, that a sewa freed bees, purifying horse bred wasps, and beetles rise from the carcauses of dead asses, so the humours and pixes of the marrow of a marks body, coagulating, produce screents. And this the aucients observing, appropriate a segment, rather than any other creature. To hereas.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

HAVING completed the first two narratives, we now may proceed to take a view of misfortunes, not less remarkable, in the Roman couple, and with the lives of Agis and Cleomenes, compare these of Tiberrus and Carus They were the sons of Tiberrus Gracellus, who though he had been once censor, twice consul, and twice had trumphed, yet was more renowned and esteemed for his virtue than his honours Upon this account, after the death of Scape who overthrew Hannibal, he was thought worthy to match with his daughter Cornelia, though there had been no friendship or familiarity between Scipio and him, but rather the contrary There is a story told that he once found in his fedthamber a couple of snakes, and that the soothsavers, being consulted concerning the prodigy, advised that he should neither kill them both nor let them both escape; adding, that if the male servent was killed, Tiberius should die, and if the fervale, Corpelia. And that therefore Tiberius, who extremely leved his wife, and thought, besides, that it was much more his part, who was to old man, to die, than it was bers, who as wat was but a young woman, killed the male sement, and let the female escape, and soon after hanself died, leaving behind him twelve children borne to hun by Cornelia.

Cornels, taking upon kernell all the care of the household and the education of her children, approved hersell to discrete a matten, so affectionate a mother, and so positiont and policies as well as the policies of the princied a wadow, that Theraiss secured in all men is have doon nothing mareasonable in choosing to die for such a woman, who, when Kang Pichorny himself spowdered har his strony, and a solid have married her, refused it, and chose rather to leve a wolow in the state the continued, and lost the light rolling except one duplities, who was married to Scipto the younger, and two ²⁰¹⁸, Therms and Cause, whose leve are now writing to

These she brought up with such are, that though they were without depute in natural endowments and depositions the first among the Romans of their time, yet they seemed to one their various even not to their education than to their both. And as, in the status and perturn pands of Castor and Follow, though the brothers resemble one another, yet there is a difference to be personed in their consequence, between the 'one, or

who delighted in the castus, and the other, that was famous in the course, so between these two noble youths, though there was a strong general likeness in their common love of fortitude and temperance, in their liberality, their debuguence, and their greatness of mind, yet in their actions and administrations of public dilars, a considerable variation showed itself. It will not be units before we proceed to mark the difference between them.

Tiberius, in the form and expression of his countenance, and in his gesture and motion, was gentle and composed; but Caius, carnest and vehement. And so in their public speeches to the people, the one spoke in a quiet, orderly manner, standing throughout on the same spot; the other would walk about on the hustings, and in the heat of his orations pull his gown off his shoulders, and was the first of all the Romans that used such gestures; as Cleon is said to have been the first prator among the Athenians that pulled off his cloak and smote his thich. when addressing the people. Caius's oratory was impetuous and passionate, making everything tell to the utmost, whereas Tiberius was gentle and persuasive, awakening emotions of pity. His diction was pure and carefully correct, while that of Caius was vehement and rich. So likewise in their way of living and at their tables, Tiberius was frugal and plain, Caius, compared with other men, temperate and even austere, but contrusting with his brother in a fondness for new lashions and rarities, as appears in Drusus's charge against him, that be had bought some silver dolphins, to the value of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas for every pound weight. The same difference that appeared in their diction was ob-

servable also in their tempors. The one was mild and reasonable, the other rough and passionate, and to that degree, that oftens, the other rough and passionate, and to that degree, that oftens, in the milst of speaking, he was to burried every by his passion against his judgment, that he worke lost its one, and he began to pass into mere abusive talking, gooling his whole speech. As a remedy to this excess, he made use of an ingenious servant of his, one Licinius, who stood constantly behind him with a sort of pitchpipe, or instrument to regulate the vote by, and whenever he previewed his macrier's fooe after and break with anger, he struck a soft note with his pipe, on hearing which Calis immediately checked the whenence of his passion and his vote, grew quieter, and allowed himself to be retailed to tempor. Sorth are the differences between the two brothers; but their valour in war against their country's enumies, their justice in the government of its subjects, their cate and industry in office,

and their self-command in all that regarded their pleasures, were

equally remarkable in both

Therms was the elder by mme years, owing to which iffelf
actions as public men were divided by the difference of the unit
in which those of the one and those of the other were performed.
And one of the ounguing causes of the failure of their other performed.

And one of the principal causes of the failure of their enterprises was this interval between their cauters, and the wain of commission of their efforts. The power they would have exercise to had they fourshed both together, could scarcely have failed to overcome all resistance. We must therefore give an account of

each of them singly, and first of the eldest.

Tiberrus, immediately on his attaining manhood, had such # reputation that he was admitted rate the college of the august, and that in consideration more of his early virtue than of his noble birth. This appeared by what Appear Claudius did, "ho though he had been consul and censor, and was now the Head of the Roman senate, and had the highest sense of his own place and ment, at a public least of the augurs, addressed hirself openly to Tiberius, and with great expressions of kindless, offered him his daughter in marriage And when Tiberius gradly sccepted, and the agreement had thus been completed, Arpus returning home, in scorner had reached his door, but he called to his wife and cried out in a loud voice, ' O Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudes to a hurband ' She, peing amazed, answered, 'But why so suddenly, or what means this haste? Unless you have provided Tiberius Gracehus for her hasband. I am not guorant that some apply this story to Tiberius, the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africanus, but most relate it as we have done And Polybius writes, that after the death of Scipio Africanus, the nearest relations of Cornelia, preferring Tiberius to all other competitors, gave her to him in marriage, not having been engaged or promised to any one by her father

This young Therms, accordingly, serving in Airna under the younger Supo, who had married by uster, and Jirng there younger Supo, but but with a soon learned to atmade the noble port of his certain and the property of the p

with great affection; and left behind him on his departure a

strong desire for his return.

After that expedition, being chosen paymester, it was his fortune to serve in the war against the Numantines, under the command of Caius Mancions, the consul, a person of no had character, but the most unfortunate of all the Roman generals. Notwithstanding, amidst the greatest misfortunes, and in the most unsuccessful enterprises, not only the discretion and valour of Tiberius, but also, which was still more to be admired, the great respect and honour which he showed for his general, were most eminently remarkable; though the general himself, when reduced to straits, forgot his own dignity and office. For being beaten in various great battles, he endeavoured to dislodre by night and leave his camp; which the Numantines perceiving, immediately possessed themselves of his camp, and oursuing that part of the forces which was in flight, slew those that were in the rear, hedged the whole army in on every side, and forced them into difficult ground, whence there could be no possibility of an escape. Maneinus, despairing to make his way through by force, sent a messenger to desire a truce and conditions of peace. But they refused to give their confidence to any one except Tiberius, and required that he should be sent to treat with them. This was not only in regard to the young man's own character, for he had a great reputation amongst the soldiers, but also in remembrance of his father Tiberius, who, in his command against the Spaniards, had reduced great numbers of them to subjection, but granted a peace to the Numantines, and prevailed upon the Romans to keep it punctually and inviolably.

Therius was accordingly despectabed to the enemy, whom he pertuaded to accept of several conditions, and he binself complied with others; and by this meant, it is beyond a question, had been than he saved twenty themsend of the Reman citizens, bovides attendants and comp followers. However, the Numarines testinated pessession of all the praperty they had found and plandered in the encampanent; and amongst other things were therefore the perfusive them to be concerned to the continuing the whole transactions of his questionship, which he was extremely auxious to recover, And therefore, when the army were already upon their march, he returned to Numantine, accompanied with only three of long to this friends; and making his application to the offeres of the Numantines, he entreated that they would return him his books, the this memorial perfusions and the strength of the control of

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with not being able to give an account of the moneys intrusted to him. The Numantines joyfully embraced this opportunity of obliging him, and invited him into the city, as he stood hesitating, they came up and took him by the hands, and begged that he would no longer look upon them as enemies, but believe them to be his friends, and treat them as such. Tiberius thought it well to consent, desirous as he was to have his books returned, and was afraid lest he should disablige them by showing any distrust As soon as he entered into the city, they first offered him food, and made every kind of entreaty that he would sit down and cat something in their company Afterwards they returned his books, and gave him the liberty to take whatever he wished for in the remaining spoils He, on the other hand, would accept of nothing but some frankincense, which he used in his public sacrifices, and bidding them farewell with every expression of kindness, departed.

When he returned to Rome, he found the whole transaction censured and repreached, as a proceeding that was base and scandalous to the Romans But the relations and friends of the soldiers, forming a large body among the people, came flocking to Tiberius, whom they acknowledged as the preserver of so many citizens, imputing to the general all the miscarriages which had happened Those who ened out against what had been done, urged for mutation the example of their ancestors, who stroped and handed over to the Samutes not only the generals who had consented to the terms of release, but also all the questors, for example, and indunes, who had in any way im placated themselves in the agreement, laying the guilt of perpure and breach of conditions on their heads But, in this affair, the populace, showing an extraordinary kindness and affection for Tiberus, mdeed voted that the consul should be stripped and nut in irons, and so delivered to the Numantines, but, for the sake of Tiberius, spared all the other officers. It may be probable, also, that Scipio, who at that time was the greatest and most powerful man among the Romans, contributed to save him, though indeed he was also consured for not protecting Mancinus too, and that he did not exert himself to maintain the observance of the articles of peace which had been agreed upon by his kinsman and friend Tiberius But it may be presumed that the difference between them was for the most part due to ambitious feelings, and to the friends and reasoners who urged on Tiberius, and, as it was, it never amounted to anything that might not have been remedied, or that was really bad Aor can I think that Tiberius would ever have met with his misfortunes, if Scipio had been concerned in dealing with his mensures; but he was away fighting at Numantia when Tiberius, upon the following occasion, first came forward as a legislator.

Of the land which the Romans gained by conquest from their neighbours, part they sold publicly, and turned the remainder into common; this common land they assigned to such of the citizens as were poor and indigent, for which they were to pay only a small acknowledgment into the public treasury. But when the wealthy men began to offer larger rents, and drive the poorer people out, it was enacted by law that no person whatever should enjoy more than five hundred acres of ground. This act for some time checked the avarice of the richer, and was of great assistance to the poorer people, who retained under it their respective proportions of ground, as they had been formerly rented by them. Afterwards the rich men of the neighbourhood contrived to get these lands again into their possession, under other people's names, and at fast would not stick to claim most of them publicly in their own. The poor, who were thus deprived of their farms, were no longer either ready. as they had formerly been, to serve in war or careful in the education of their children; insomuch that in a short time there were comparatively few freemen remaining in all Italy, which swarmed with workhouses full of foreign-born slaves. These the rich men employed in cultivating their ground of which they dispossessed the citizens. Cains Ladius, the intimate friend of Sciplo, undertook to reform this abuse; but meeting with opposition from men of authority, and fearing a disturbance, he spon desisted, and received the name of the Wise or the Prudent. both which meanings belong to the Latin word Sapiens.

But Tibertis, being elected tribune of the people, entered upon that design without delay, at the institution, as is most commonly started, flow flowpoints, the relateristica, and Blossius, the philosopher. Disphanes was a refuge from Mitylene, the other was an Italian, of the city of Curas, and was educated there under Antipater of Tausats, who afterwards did him the hount to decline some of his obligatoristical lectures to him.

Some have also charged Comella, the mother of Therius, with outributing towards it, because she frequently upbraided her sons, that the Romano as yet rather called her the daughter of Scipis, than the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that Spurius Portunius was the chief occasion. He was a man of the same age with Thirrins, and his rival for reputation as a public speaker, and when Themus, at his retigm from the campaign, found him to have got far bewond him in fame and influence, and to be much looked up to, he if which to outdo him, by attemping a populse actempose of this difficulty and of such great consequence. But his howher Causs has left it us in writing, that when Themus went through Tuenapt to Nimantius, and found the country almost depopulated, there being hardly any free hubidandess or skepbership, but for the most part only bathanas, imported stave, he then first concent of the course of policy which in the sequel proved on fatal to his family. Though it is also most certain that the people themselves chiefly excited his read and determination in the provinction of it, by setting up writings upon the porthes, walls, and monuments, calling upon him to reinstate the poor though the toolseason.

However, he did not draw up his law without the advice and assistance of those citizens that were then most eminent for their virtue and authority, amongst whom were Crassus, the high priest. Mucius Scavola, the lawyer, who at that time was consul, and Claudius Appius, his father in law Never did any law appear more moderate and gentle, especially being enacted against such great oppression and avance. For they who ought to have been severely punished for transgressing the former laws. and should at least have lost all their titles to such lands which they had unjustly usurped, were notwithstanding to receive a price for quitting their unlawful claims, and grying up their lands to those fit owners who stood in need of help But though this reformation was managed with so much tenderness that, all the former transactions being passed over, the people were only thankful to prevent abuses of the like nature for the future, yet, on the other hand, the moneyed men, and those of great estates, were exasperated, through their covetous feelings against the law itself, and against the lawgiver, through anger and partyspint. They therefore endeavoured to seduce the people, declamps that Tiberius was designing a general redivision of lands, to overthrow the government, and put all things into confusion

But they had no success For Tibernous maintaining an honourable and just cause, and possessed of logicarce sufficient to have made a less creditable action appear plausibly, was no safe or easy antagonist, when, with the people growing around the hustings, be took his place, and spoke in behalf of the poor "The savage beasts," said he, "in Tally, have their particular dens, they have their places of repose and riving, but the men who bear arms, and expose their laves for the safety of their

country, enjoy in the meantime nothing more in it but the air and light; and, having no houses or settlements of their own, are constrained to wander from place to place with their wives and children." He told them that the commanders were mility of a ridiculous error, when, at the head of their armies, they exharted the common soldiers to fight for their sepulchres and altars; when not any amongst so many Romans is possessed of either altar or monument, neither have they any houses of their own, or hearths of their ancestors to defend. They fought indeed and were slain, but it was to maintain the luxury and the wealth of other men. They were styled the masters of the world, but in the meantime had not one foot of ground which they could call their own. An harangue of this nature, spoken to an enthusiastic and sympathising audience, by a person of commanding spirit and genuine feelings, no adversaries at that time were competent to oppose. Forbearing, therefore, all discussion and debate, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, his fellow-tribune, who being a young man of a steady, orderly character, and an intimate friend of Tiberius, upon this account declined at first the task of opposing him; but at length, over-persuaded with the repeated importunities of numerous considerable persons, he was prevailed upon to do so, and hindered the passing of the law; it being the rule that any tribune has a power to hinder an act, and that all the rest can effect nothing, if only one of them dissents. Tiberius, irritated at these proceedings, presently laid aside this milder bill, but at the same time preferred another: which, as it was more grateful to the common people, so it was much more severe against the wrongdoers, commanding them to make an immediate surrender of all lands which, contrary to former laws, had come into their possession. Hence there arose daily contentions between him and Octavius in their orations. However, though they expressed themselves with the utmost heat and determination, they yet were never known to descend to any personal reproaches, or in their passion to let slip any indepent expressions, so as to derogete from one another.

For not sione-

"In revellings and Bacchie play."

but also in contentions and political animosities, a noble nature and a temperate education stay and compose the mind. Observing that Octavius himself was an offender equinst this law, and detained a great quantity of ground from the commonalty, Tiberius desired him to forbear opposing him any further, and proffered, for the public good, though he hunself had but an indifferent estate, to pay a price for Octavius's share at his own cost and charges But upon the refusal of this proffer by Octavius, he then interposed an edict, prohibiting all magis trates to exercise their respective functions till such time as the law was either rainfed or rejected by public votes. He further scaled up the gates of Saturn's temple, so that the treasurers could neither take any money out from thence, nor put any in He threatened to impose a severe fine upon those of the practors who presumed to disobey his commands, insorruch that all the officers for fear of this penalty, intermitted the exercise of their several jurisdictions Upon this the rich proprietors put them selves into mourning, and went up and down melancholy and dejected, they entered also into a conspiracy against Tiberius, and procured men to murder but, so that he also, with all men's knowledge, whenever he went abroad, took with him a sword-staff, such as robbers use, called in Latin a dolo

When the day appointed was come, and the people summoned to give their votes the rich men seized upon the voting urns and carned them away by force, thus all things were in con fusion. But when Tiberrus's party appeared strong enough to oppose the contrary faction, and drew together in a body, with the resolution to do so, Manhus and Fulyius, two of the consular quality, threw themselves before Tiberrus, took him by the hand, and with tears in their eyes, begged of him to desist Tiberius considering the mischiefs that were all but now occur ring, and having a great respect for two such emment persons, demanded of them what they would advise him to do. They acknowledged themselves unfit to advise in a matter of so error importance, but earnestly entreated him to leave it to the deter mination of the senate But when the senate assembled, and could not bring the business to any result, through the preva lence of the rich faction, he then was driven to a course nextler leval nor fair, and proposed to deprive Octavius of his tribuneship it being impossible for him in any other way to get the law brought to the vote. At first he addressed him publicly. with entreaties couched in the kindest terms, and taking him by his hands, besought him, that now, in the presence of all the people he would take this opportunity to oblige them, in gran ing only that request which was in itself so just and reasonable. being but a small recompense in regard of those many dangers and hardships which they had undergone for the public safe'v

Octavius, however, would by no means be persuaded to compliance; upon which Tiberius declared openly, that, seeing they two were united in the same office, and of equal authority, it would be a difficult matter to compose their difference on so weighty a matter without a cell'd war, and that the only remedy which he knew must be the deposing one of them from their office. He desired, therefore, that Octavius would summon the people to pass their verdict upon him first, averring that he would willingly relinquish his authority if the citizen desired it, Octavius refused; and Tiberius then said he would himself put to the people the question of Octavius's deposition, if upon mature deliberation he did not after his mind; and after this declaration he addourned the assembly till the next day.

When the people were met together again, Tiberius placed himself in the rostra, and endeavoured a second time to persuade Octavius. But all being to no purpose, he referred the whole matter to the people, calling on them to vote at once, whether Octavius should be deposed or not; and when seventeen of the thirty-five tribes had already voted against him, and there wanted only the votes of one tribe more for his final deprivation, Tiberius put a short stop to the proceedings, and once more renewed his importunities; he embraced and kissed him before all the assembly, begging with all the carnestness imaginable, that he would neither suffer himself to incur the dishonour, nor him to be reputed the author and promoter of so odious a measure. Octavius, we are told, did seem a little softened and moved with these entreaties; his eyes filled with tears, and he continued silent for a considerable time. But presently looking towards the rich men and proprietors of estates, who stood gathered in a hody together, partly for shame, and partly for fear of disgracing himself with them, he boldly bade Tiberius use any severity he pleased. The law for his deprivation being thus voted. Tiberius ordered one of his servants, whom he had made a freeman, to remove Octavius from the rostra, employing his own domestic freed servants in the stead of the public officers. And it made the action seem all the sadder, that Octavins was dragged out in such an ignominious manner. The people immediately assaulted him, whilst the rich men ran in to his assistance. Octavius, with some difficulty, was snatched away and safely conveyed out of the crowd; though a trusty servant of his, who had placed himself in front of his master that he might assist his escape, in keeping off the multitude, had his eyes struck out, much to the displeasure of Tiberius, who ran with

all haste, when he perceived the disturbance, to appeare the noters

This being done, the law concerning the lands was ratified and confirmed, and three commissioners were appointed, to make a survey of the grounds, and see the same equally divided These were Thenus himself, Claudius Appius, his lather in law, and his brother, Cams Gracehus, who at this time was not at Rome. but in the army under the command of Scipio Africanus before Numantia These things were transacted by Tiberius without any disturbance, none daring to offer any resistance to him, bes des which, be cave the appointment as tribune in Octavius's place, not to any person of distinction, but to a certain Muchus. one of his own clients. The great men of the city were therefore utterly offended, and, fearing lest he grew yet more popular. they took all opportunities of affronting him publicly in the senate house. For when he requested, as was usual, to have a tent provided at the public charge for his use, while dividing the lands, though it was a favour commonly granted to persons employed in business of much less importance, it was peremptorily refused to him, and the allowance made him for his daily expenses was fixed to nine obols only. The chief promoter of these affronts was Publius Nasica, who openly abandoned himsell to his feelings of hatred against Tiberius, being a large holder of the public lands, and not a little resenting now to be turned out of them by force The people, on the other hand, were still more and more excited, insomuch that a little after this, it happening that one of Tiberius's friends died suddenly, and his body being marked with malignant looking spots, they ran, in a tumultuous manner, to his funeral, crying aloud that the man was poisoned They took the bier upon their shoulders, and stood over it, while it was placed on the pile, and really seemed to have fair grounds for their suspicion of foul play For the body burst open, and such a quantity of corrupt humours sessed out, that the funeral fire was extinguished, and when it was again kindled, the wood still would not burn, insomuch that they were constrained to carry the corpse to another place. where with much difficulty it took fire Besides this, Tiberius, that he might incense the people yet more, put himself into mourning, brought his children amongst the crowd, and en treated the people to previde for them and their mother, as if he now despaired of his own security.

About this time king Attalus, surnamed Philometor, died, and Eudemus, a Pergammenian, brought his last will to Rome, by which he had made the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, to please the people, iramediately proposed making a law, that all the money which Attalus left should be distributed amongst such poor citizens as were to be sharers of the public lands, for the better enabling them to proceed in stocking and cultivating their ground; and as for the cities that were in the territories of Attalus, he declared that the disposal of them did not at all belong to the senate, but to the people, and that he himself would ask their pleasure herein. By this he offended the senate more than ever he had done before, and Pompeius stood up and acquainted them that be was the next neighbour to Tiberius, and so had the opportunity of knowing that Eudemus, the Pergamenian, had presented Tiberius with a royal diadem and a purple robe, as before long he was to be king of Rome. Quintus Metellus also unbraided him, saving, that when his father was censor, the Romans, whenever he happened to be going home from a supper, used to put out all their lights, lest they should be seen to have indulged themselves in feasting and drinking at unseasonable hours, whereas now the most indigent and audacious of the people were found with their torches at night. following Tiberius home. Titus Annius, a man of no great repute for either justice or temperance, but famous for his skill in putting and answering questions, challenged Tiberius to the proof by wager, declaring him to have denosed a magistrate who by law was sacred and inviolable. Loud clamour cusued, and Tiberius, quitting the senate hastily, called together the people, and summoning Annius to appear, was proceeding to accuse him. But Annius, being no great speaker, nor of any repute compared to him, sheltered himself in his own particular art, and desired that he might propose one or two questions to Tiberius before he entered upon the chief argument. This liberty being granted, and silence proclaimed. Annus proposed his question, "If you," said he, "had a design to disgrace and defame me, and I should apply myself to one of your colleagues for redress, and he should come forward to my assistance, would you for that reason fall into a passion, and depose him?" Tiberius, they say, was so much disconcerted at this question, that, though at other times his assurance as his readiness of speech was always remarkable. yet now he was silent and made no reply.

For the present he dismissed the assembly. But beginning to understand that the course he had taken with Octaviss had created offence even among the populace as well as the nobility, because the dignity of the tribunes seemed to be violated, which had always continued till that day sacred and bonourable, he made a speech to the people in justification of himself, out of which it may not be improper to collect some particulars, to give an impression of his force and persuisaveness in speaking "A tribune," he stud," of the people, is sacred indeed, and ough

to be inviolable, because in a manner consecrated to be the guardian and protector of them; but if he degenerate so far as to oppress the people, abridge their powers, and take away their liberty of voting, he stands deprived by his own act of honours and immunities, by the neglect of the duty for which the honour was bestowed upon him Otherwise we should be under the obligation to let a tribune do this pleasure, though he should proceed to destroy the capitol or set fire to the arsenal He who should make these attempts would be a bad tribune He who assails the power of the people is no longer a tribune at all not inconcervable that a tribune should have power to imprign a consul, and the people have no authority to degrade him when he uses that honour which he received from them, to their detriment? For the tribunes, as well as the consuls, hold office by the people's votes The kingly government, which comprehends all sorts of authority in itself alone, is moreover elevated by the greatest and most religious solemnity imaginal-itinto a condition of sanctity But the citizens notivithetand this, deposed Tarquin, when he acted wrongfully, and for the crume of one single man, the ancient government under which Rome was built was abolished for ever What is there in all Rome so sacred and venerable as the vental vargins, to where care alone the preservation of the eternal fire is committed? set if one of these transgress she is buried alive, the sanctity which for the gods' sales is allowed them, is forfeited when they offend against the gods So likewise a tribune retains not his invitability, which for the people's sake was accorded to him, when he offends against the people, and attacks the foundations of that authority from whence he derwed his own We esteem him, to be legally chosen tribune who is elected only by the majority of votes, and is not therefore the same person much more lawfulle deeraded when, by a general consent of them all, they agree to depose hun? Nothing is so sacred as religious offerings, yet the people were never prohibited to make use of them, but suffered to remove and carry them wherever they pleased, so likewise, as it were some sacred present, they have lawful power to transfer the tribuneship from one man s hands to another Nor can that authority be thought inviolable and irremovable which many of those who have held it, have of their own act surrendered and desired to be discharged from."

These were the principal heads of Tiberius's apology. But his friends, apprehending the dangers which seemed to threaten him, and the conspiracy that was gathering head against him. were of opinion that the safest way would be for him to petition that he might be continued tribune for the year ensuing. Upon this consideration he again endeavoured to secure the people's good-will with fresh laws, making the years of serving in the war fewer than formerly, granting liberty of appeal from the judges to the people, and joining to the senators, who were judges at that time, an equal number of citizens of the horsemen's degree. endeavouring as much as in him lay to lessen the power of the senate, rather from passion and partisanship than from any rational regard to equity and the public good. And when it came to the question whether these laws should be passed, and they perceived that the opposite party were strongest, the people as yet being not got together in a full body, they began first of all to gain time by speeches in accusation of some of their fellow-magistrates, and at length adjourned the assembly till the day following.

Tiberius then went down into the market-place amongst the people, and made his addresses to them humbly and with tears in his eyes; and told them he bad just reason to suspect that his adversaries would attempt in the night-time to break open his house and murder him. This worked so strongly with the multitude, that several of them pitched tents round about his house, and kept guard all night for the security of his person. By break of day came one of the southsavers, who promosticate good or bad success by the pecking of fowls, and threw them something to eat. The soothsaver used his utmost endeavours to fright the fewls out of their coon; but none of them except one would venture out, which fluttered with his left wing, and stretched out its leg, and ran back again into the coon, without eating anything. This put Tiberius in mind of another ill-omen which had formerly happened to him. He had a very costly beadniere, which he made use of when he engaged in any battle. and into this piece of armour two serpents crawled, kild eggs, and brought forth young ones. The remembrance of which made Tiberius more concerned now than otherwise he would have been. However, he went towards the capitol as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there; but before he got out of the house he stumbled upon the threshold with

such violence, that he broke the nail of his great toe, insomuch that blood gushed out of his shoes He was not gone very far before he saw two ravens fighting on the top of a house which stood on his left hand as he passed along, and though he was surrounded with a number of people, a stone struck from its place by one of the ravens, fell just at his foot. This even the boldest men about him felt as check. Bat Blossius of Cuma, who was present, told him that it would be a shame and an ignominious thing for Tiberius, who was a son of Gracchus, the grandson of Sop o Africanus, and the protector of the Roman people to refuse, for fear of a sally bard, to answer when his countrymen called to him, and that his adversaries would represent it not as a mere matter for their ridicule, but would declaim about it to the people as the mark of a tyrannical temper, which felt a pride in taking liberties with the people, At the same time several messengers came also from his friends, to desire his presence at the capital, saving that all things went there according to expectation. And indeed Tiberius , first entrance there was in every way successful. as soon as ever he appeared, the people welcomed him with loud acclamations, and as he went up to his place, they repeated their expressions of toy, and gathered in a body around him, so that no one who was not well known to be his friend might approach. Mumus then began to put the business again to the vote, but nothing could be performed in the usual course and order, because of the disturbance caused by those who were on the nutside of the crowd, where there was a struggle going on with those of the opposite party, who were pushing on and trying to force their way in and establish themselves among them

What things were in that confusion, Favius Flarcus, a senator, stuning in a place where he could be seen, but at such adultance from The place where he could not make ham been, and at such adultance from The place where he could not make ham been, applied to bin by motions of law may be a fine the wished to impart semithing of consequence to him my bather means, though not without some difficulty. Flavors got him, and informed him that the next mean through the state of the law with the law wit

which the officers used to keep the crowd off into pieces, and distributed them among themselves, resolving to resist the attack with these. Those who stood at a distance wondered, and asked what was the occasion: Tiberius, knowing that they could not hear him at that distance. lifted his hand to his head wishing to intimate the great danger which he apprehended himself to be in. His adversaries, taking notice of that action, ran off at once to the senate house, and declared that Tiberius desired the people to bestow a crown upon him, as if this were the meaning of his touching his head. This news created general confusion in the senators, and Nasica at once called anon' the consul to punish this tyrant, and defend the government. The consul mildly replied, that he would not be the first to do any violence; and as he would not suffer any freeman to be put to death, before sentence had lawfully passed woon him, so neither would he allow any measure to be carried into effect, if by oprausion or compulsion on the part of Tiberius the people had been induced to pass an unlawful vote. But Nasica, rising from his seat, "Since the consul," said he, "regards not the safety of the commonwealth, let every one who will defend the laws, follow me." He then, casting the skirt of his gown over his head, hastened to the capitol; those who bore him company, wrapped their cowns also about their arms, and forced their way after him. And as they were persons of the greatest authority in the city, the common people did not venture to obstruct their passing, but were rather so eager to clear the way for them, that they tumbled over one another in haste. The attendants they brought with them had furnished themselves with clubs and stayes from their houses, and they themselves picked up the feet and other fragments of stools and chairs, which were broken by the hasty flight of the common people. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius, knocking down those whom they found in front of him, and those were soon wholly dispersed and many of them slain. Tiberius tried to save himself by flight. As he was running, ite was stopped by one who caught hold of him by the gown: but he threw it off, and fled in his under-garment only. And stumbling over those who before had been knocked down, as he was endeavouring to get up again. Publius Saturcius. a tribune, one of his colleagues, was observed to give him the first fatal stroke, by lutting him upon the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was claimed, as though it had been a deed to be proud of, by Lucius Rufus. And of the rest there

fell above three hundred killed by clubs and staves only, none by an iron weapon

This, we are told, was the first sedition amongst the Romans, since the abrogation of Lingly government, that ended in the effusion of blood All former quarrels which were neither small per about trivial matters, were always amicably composed, by mutual concessions on either side, the senate yielding for fear of the commons, and the commons out of respect to the senate And it is probable indeed that Tiberius himself might then have been easily induced, by mere persuasion, to give way, and certainly, if attacked at all, must have yielded without any recourse to violence and bloodshed, as he had not at that time above three thousand men to support him But it is evident, that this conspiracy was formented against him, more out of the hatred and makes which the rich men had to his person. than for the reasons which they commonly pretended against him In testimony of which, we may adduce the cruelty and unnatural insults which they used to his dead body. For they would not suffer his own brother, though he earnestly begged the favour, to bury him in the night, but threw him, together with the other corpses, into the nyer. Neither did their animosity stop here, for they banished some of his friends without legal process, and slew as many of the others as they could lay their hands on, amongst whom Diophanes, the orator, was slain, and one Caius Villius cruelly murdered by being shut un in a large tun with vipers and serpents Blosnus of Cuma, undeed, was carried before the consult, and examined touching what had happened, and freely confessed that he had done, without scruple, whatever Tiberrus bade him "What," cried Nasica, "then if Tiberius had bidden you burn the capitol. would you have burnt it?" His first answer was, that Tiberius never would have ordered any such thing, but being pressed with the same question by several, he declared," If Tiberius had commanded it, it would have been right for me to do it, for he never would have commanded it, if it had not been for the people's good" Blossus at this time was pardoned, and afterwards went away to Aristonicus in Asia, and when Aristonicus was overthrown and rumed, killed himself

The senate, to soothe the people after these transactions, did not oppose the division of the poblic leads, and permitted them to choose another commissioner as the room of Thermis So they elected Publius Crassus, who was Gracchius's near comnection, as his daughter Leanan was married to Caius Gracchius although Cornelius Nepos says, that it was not Crassus's daughter whom Caius married, but Brutus's, who triumphed for his victories over the Lusitanians; but most writers state it as we have done. The people, however, showed evident marks of their anger at Tiberius's death; and were clearly waiting only for the opportunity to be revenged, and Nasica was already threatened with an impeachment. The senate, therefore, fearing lest some mischief should befall him, sent him ambassador into Asia, though there was no occasion for his going thither. For the people did not conceal their indignation, even in the open streets, but railed at him, whenever they met him abroad calling him a murderer and a tyrant, one who had polluted the most hely and religious spot in Rome with the blood of a sacred and inviolable magistrate. And so Nasica left Italy, although he was bound, being the chief priest, to officiate in all principal sacrifices. Thus wandering wretchedly and ignominiously from one place to enother, he died in a short time after, not far from Pergamus. It is no wonder that the people had such an aversion to Nasica, when even Scipio Africanus, though so much and so deservedly beloved by the Romans, was in danger of quite losing the good opinion which the people had of him, only for repeating, when the news of Tiberius's death was first brought to Numantia. the were out of Homer-

"Rven so perish all who do the same."

And afterwards, being asked by Calus and Fulvius, in a great namenbly, what he thought of Thorius's death, he gave an answer advers to Theirus's public actions. Upon which account, the prople theneforth used to interrupt him when he spoke, which, until that time, they had never done, and he, on the other hand, was induced to speak ill of the prople. But of this the particulars are given in the life of Scipio;

CAIUS GRACCHUS

CAUS GENERALIZATION, WHERE HE HE FOR THE INSTRUMENT STREET, OF ORDER THE MENT AND T

In some lattle tume, however, he quetly let hus semper appear, which was one of an unter antipathy to a law returnment and effermancy, and not the least fairly to be contexted with a life of eating distincting, and money-terming. He gave great pains to the study of eloquence, as wings upon which he might appear to pilote bysiness, and it was a very appearent that he did not intend to pass his days in obscurity. When Yettinis, a firmed of mixed to pass his days in obscurity. When Yettinis, a firmed of mixed to pass his days in obscurity. When Yettinis, a firmed of the mixed to the contract of the days and transported with yoy, firsting him master at man estatay, and transported with yoy, firsting him master at the object metric seemed like children in companion, and poliumer and ferm on the other hand begin to be fifty bythe powerful otherws, and it was agentarily spoken of amongst them that they must hander Causa from being made tobuse.

But soon after, it halpspred that he was elected quantor, and obliged to strend develope, the cound, into Sarkana. This, as is pleased his continue, so it was not suggested in the method by the continue of the method of the method in the ser of war as in that of pleading. And, hernics, as yet he very much decaded medding with size afture, and appearing publicly in the restrict, which, hernics of the importancy of the people and his finestic, he credit continues out than by taking this pourse. He was therefore more thankful for the approximately of scheming hisman Misterhalmania which, it is the prevailing opinion that China was a far more thorough changings, and more ambiguous than ever Thermis had been, of popular applause, yet at it certain that he was horner rather by a not not discussy than he was purpose of the pown atto public.

others are obliged to serve only ten that he had continued quantor to the general three years whereas he month by law have returned at the end of one year and also no fall who weat on the expect ten he had carried out a full and had brought home an empty purse while others after dunking up the wine they had earned out with them, brought back the wine parties of the had been after dunking up the wine they had earned out with them, brought back the wine parties.

filled a am with gold and a liver from the war

After this they brought other secusations and write against him for exciting insurrection amongst the all es and being engaged in the conspiracy that was discovered about Fregelia But having cleared hunseli of every susp con and proved his entire innocence he now at once came forward to ask for the tr'buneship in which though he was universally opposed by all persons of distinct on yet there came such infin to numbers of people from all parts of Italy to vote for Gu us that lodgings to them could not be supplied in the city and the F eld being not large enough to contain the assembly there were numbers who climbed upon the roofs and the things of the rouses to use their voices in his favour. However, the full in so far forced the people to their pleasure and disappointed Casus a hope that he was not returned the first as was expected but the fourth inbone But when he came to the execution of his off ce it was seen presently who was really first tr bune as he was a better orator that any of his contemporaries and the pass on with which he still lamented his brother's death made him the bolder in speaking. He used on all occas ons to remind the people of what had happened in that tumult and laid before them the examples of their ancestors how they declared war arguest the Faliscans only for g ving scurrious langua, e to one Genue us a enhance of the people and sentenced Carus Veturnis to death for refusing to give way in the forum to a tribune Whereas said he these men did in the presence of you all murder Therms with clubs and dragged the slaughtered body through the m ddle of the city to be cost into the r er Even his friends as many as could be taken were put to death immed ately without any trial notwithstanding that just and ancient custom which has always been observed in our city that when ever any one is accused of a cap tal crime, and does not make his personal appearance in court a trumpeter is sent in the morning to his lodging to summon him by sound of trumpet to annear and before this ceremony is performed the judges do not proceed to the vote so cantious and reserved were our ancestors about business of life and dooth

Having moved the people's passion with such addresses (and his voice was of the loudest and strongest), he proposed two laws. The first was, that wheever was turned out of any public office by the people, should be thereby rendered incapable of bearing any office afterwards; the second, that if any negistrate condemn a Roman to be banished without a legal trial, the people be authorised to take cognisance thereof.

One of these laws was manifestly levelled at Marcus Octavius. who, at the instination of Tiberius, had been deprived of his tribuneship. The other touched Popilius, who, in his praytorship, had banished all Tiberius's friends; whereupon Popilius, being unwilling to stand the hazard of a trial, fled out of Italy. As for the former law, it was withdrawn by Cajus himself, who said he yielded in the case of Octavius, at the request of his mother Cornelia. This was very acceptable and pleasing to the people, who had a great veneration for Cornelia, not more for the sake of her father than for that of her children; and they afterwards erected a statue of brass in honour of her, with this inscription, Cornelia, the mother of the Graceki. There are several expressions recorded, in which he used her name perhaps with too much rhetoric, and too little self-respect, in his attacks upon his adversaries. "How," said he, "date you presume to reflect upon Cornelia, the mother of Tiberius?" And because the person who made the reflections had been suspected of effeminate courses, "With what face," said he, "can you compare Cornella with yourself? Have you brought forth children as she has done? And yet all Rome knows that she has refruined from the conversation of men longer than you yourself have done." Such was the bitterness he used in his language; and numerous similar expressions might be adduced from his written remains.

Of the laws which he now proposed, with the object of gratifying the people and obridging the power of the season, the first was concerning the proble lands, which were to be divided monogate the port critizens; another was concerning the common soldiers, that they should be deduced at the public charge, without any diministron of their per, and that none should be obliged to serve in the army who was not full seventeen years old; another gave the same right to all the Italians in general, of voling at elections, as was enjoyed by the critizens of Rome, a court of the price of corn, which was to be sold at an owner need to the price of corn, which was to be sold at an owner need to the control of justice, greatly reducing the power of the sensions.

therefore much dreaded by the Roman knights and the people But Casus joined three hundred ordinary citizens of equestrian rank with the senators, who were three bundred likewise in number, and ordained that the judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred. While he was arguing for the mufication of this riw, his behaviour was observed to show m many respects unusual earnestness, and whereas other popular leaders had always hitherto, when speaking, turned their faces towards the senate house, and the place called the comitium, he, on the contrary, was the first man that in his harangue to the people turned himself the other way, towards them, and continued after that time to do so An insignificant movement and change of posture, yet it marked no small revolution in state affairs, the conversion, in a manner, of the whole goverment from an aristocracy to a democracy, his action intimating that public speakers should address themselves to the people, not the senate

When the commonalty ratified this law, and gave him power to select those of the knights whom he approved of, to be judges, he was invested with a sort of a kingly power, and the senate itself submitted to receive his advice in matters of difficulty. nor did he advise any thing that might derogate from the honour of that body As, for example, his resolution about the corn which Fabius the proprietor sent from Spain, was very jur and honoumble, for he persuaded the senate to sell the copy and return the money to the same provinces which had fraished them with it, and also that Fabius should be consured for ren dering the Roman government odious and insupportable This got him extraordinary respect and layour among the provinces Besides all this, he proposed measures for the colonisation of several cities, for making roads, and for building public granaries . of all which works he himself undertook the management and superintendence, and was never wanting to give necessary orders for the despatch of all these different and great undertakings, and that with such wonderful expedition and diligence, as if he had been but engaged upon one of them, msomuch that all persons, even those who hated or feared him, stood amazed to see what a capacity he had for effecting and completing all he undertook As for the people themselves, they were transported at the very sight, when they saw him surrounded with a crowd of contractors, artificers, public deputies, military officers, soldiers, and scholars All these he treated with an easy famili arrity, yet without abandoning his dignity in his gentleness, and so accommodated his nature to the wants and occasions of overy one who addressed him, that those were looked upon as no better than envious detrectors, who had represented him as a terrible, assuming, and violent character. He was even a greater master of the popular leader's art in his common tall; and his netions, than he was in his public addresses.

His most especial exertions were given to constructing the roads, which be was careful to make beautiful and pleasant, as well as convenient. They were drawn by his directions through the fields, except to a straight fine, partly paid with the state, and partly laid with solid masses of gravel. When he met with any velleys or deep sutercourses consign the line, he either caused them to be filled up with rubbish, or bridges to be built over them, so well livedled, that all being of an equal height on both sides, the work presented one uniform and beautiful nor miles (seek mile containing fittle less than eight furfough, and created pillars of stone to signify the distance from one place to another. He likewise placed other stone at small distances from one another. He likewise placed other stone at small distances from one another.

wanting a groom.

For these reasons, the people highly extelled him, and were ready upon all occasions to express their affection towards him. One day, in an oration to them, he declared that he had only one favour to request, which, if they granted, he should think the createst obligation in the world: yet if it were denied, he would never blame them for the refusal. This expression made the world believe that his ambition was to be consul; and it was generally expected that he wished to be both consul and tribune at the same time. When the day for election of consuls was at hand, and all in great expectation, he appeared in the Field with Caius Fannius, canvassing together with his friends for his election. This was of great effect in Fannius's favour. He was chosen consul, and Caius elected tribune the second time, without his own scaking or petitioning for it, but at the voluntary motion of the people. But when he understood that the senators were his declared enemies, and that Fannius himself was none of the most zealous of friends, he began again to rouse the people with other new laws. He proposed that a colony of Roman citizens might be sent to re-people Tarentum and Capua, and that the Latins should enjoy the same privileges with the citizens of Rome. But the senate, apprehending that he would at his grow too powerful and dangerous, took a new and quissual course falenate the people's affections from thin, by playing the descapegic is approximate to him, and offering favours contrary to all good policy. Livius Drusus was follow tribuew thin Causa, a person of as good a family and as well educated as any amongst the Romans, and neways inferior to those who for their eloquence and niches were the most honoured and most powerful men of that time. To him, therefore, the chief scantaries made their application, charting him to attack Causa, and join in their consideracy, against him, which they disagred to carry on, not by using any force, or opposing the common people, but by greatlying and obliging them with such unreasonable things as otherwise they would have felt it honourable for them to incur the greatest unpopularity in tessition.

Lavius offered to serve the senate with his authority in this business, and proceeded accordingly to bring forward such laws as were in reality neither honourable nor advantageous for the public, his whole design being to outdo Caius in pleasing and caroling the populace (as if it had been in some comedy), with obsectuous flattery and every kind of gratifications, the senate thus letting it be seen plainly that they were not angry with Caus's public measures, but only desirous to ruin him utterly. or at least to lessen his reputation. For when Carus proposed the settlement of only two colonies, and mentioned the better class of citizens for that purpose, they accused him of abusing the people, and yet, on the contrary, were pleased with Drusus, when he proposed the sending out of twelve colonies, each to consist of three thousand persons, and those, too, the most needy that he could find When Carus divided the public land amonest the poor estirens, and charged them with a small rent, annually to be paid into the exchequet, they were argry at him, as one who sought to gratify the people only for his own interest; vet afterwards they commended Livius, though be exempted them from paying even that little acknowledgment. They were displeased with Caus for offering the Latins an equal right with the Romans of voting at the election of magistrates, but when Livius proposed that it might not be lawful for a Roman captain to scourge a Latin soldier, they promoted the passing of that law And Livius, in all his speeches to the people, always told them that he proposed no laws but such as were agreeable to the senate, who had a particular regard to the people's advantage And this truly was the only point in all his proceedings which was of any real service, as it created more kindly feelings towards the senate in the people; and whereas they formerly suspected and hated the principal senators, Livius appeased and mitigated this perverseness and animosity, by his profession that he had done nothing in favour and for the benefit of the commens without their advice and approbation.

But the greatest credit which Drusus got for kindness and justice towards the people was, that he never seemed to propose any law for his own sake, or his own advantage; he committed the charge of seeing the colonies rightly settled to other commissioners; neither did he ever concern himself with the distribution of the moneys; whereas Caius always took the principal part in any important transactions of this kind. Rubrius. another tribune of the people, had proposed to have Carthage again inhabited, which had been demolished by Scipio, and it fell to Caine's lot to see this performed, and for that purpose he sailed to Africa. Drusus took this opportunity of his absence to insinuate himself still more into the people's affections, which he did chiefly by accusing Fulvius, who was a particular friend to Caius, and was appointed a commissioner with him for the division of the lands. Fulvius was a man of a turbulent spirit: and notoriously hated by the senate; and besides, he was suspected by others to have fomented the difference between the citizens and their confederates, and underhand to be inciting the Italians to rebel: though there was little other evidence of the truth of these accusations than his being an unsettled character and of a well-known seditious temper. This was one principal cause of Caius's ruin; for part of the envy which fell upon Fulvius was extended to him. And when Scipio Africanus died suddenly, and no cause of such an unexpected death could be assigned, only some marks of blows upon his body seemed to intimate that he had suffered violence, as is related in the history of his life, the greatest part of the odium attached to Fulvius, because he was his enemy, and that very day had reflected upon Scipio in a public address to the people. Nor was Caius himself clear from suspicion. However, this great outrage, committed too upon the person of the preatest and most considerable man in Rome, was never either punished or inquired into thoroughly, for the populace opposed and hindered any judicial investigation, for fear that Caius should be implicated in the charge if proceedings were carried on. This, however, had happened some time before.

But in Africa, where at present Carus was engaged in the re-

peopling of Carthage, which he named Junonia, many ominous appearances, which presaged mischief, are reported to have been sent from the gods For a sudden gust of wind falling upon the first standard, and the standard bearer holding it fast, the staff broke, another sudden storm blew away the sacrifices, which were laid upon the alters, and carned them beyond the bounds had out for the city, and the wolves came and carried away the very marks that were set up to show the boundary. Casus, not withstanding all this, ordered and despatched the whole business in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, under standing how Fulvius was prosecuted by Drusus, and that the present juncture of affairs would not suffer him to be absent, For Lucies Opinios, one who sided with the nobility, and was of no small authority in the senate, who had formerly sued to be coasul, but was repulsed by Caus's interest, at the time when Tannius was elected, was to a fair way now of being chosen consul, having a rumerous company of supporters. And it was generally believed, if he did obtain it, that he would wholly rum Caus, whose nower was already in a declining condition, and that people were not so age to admire his actions as formerly, because there were so many others who every day contrived new ways to please them, with which the senate readily complied.

After his return to Rome, he quitted his house on the Palatine Mount, and went to live near the market place, endeavouring to mak- hunself more popular in those parts, where most of the humble and poorer citizens haed. He then brought forward the remainder of his proposed hws, as intending to have them ratified by the popular vote, to support which a cast number of people collected from all quarters But the senate persuaded Fanners, the coust, to command alt persons who were not born Romans to depart the city A new and unusual proclamation was thereupon made, prohibiting any of the albes or Confederates to appear at Rome during that time Casus, on the contrary, published an eract, accusing the consul for what he had done, and setting forth to the Confederates, that if they would conbane upon the place, they might be assured of his assistance and protection. However, he was not so good as his word; for though he saw one of his own familiar friends and companions dragged to prison by Farmus's officers, he, notwithstanding, passed by without assisting him; wither because he was afraid to stand the test of his power, which was already decreased, or because, as he himself reported, he was unwilling to give his enemies an opportunity, which they very much desired, of coming to actual violence and fighting. About that time there happened likewise a difference between him and his fellowofficers upon this occasion. A show of gladiators was to be exhibited before the people in the market-place, and most of the magistrates creeted scaffolds round about, with an intention of letting them for advantage. Calus commanded them to take down their scaffolds, that the poor people might see the sport without paying anything. But nobody obeying these orders of his, he gathered together a body of labourers, who worked for him, and overthrew all the scaffolds the very night before the contest was to take place. So that by the next morning the market-place was cleared, and the common people had an opportunity of seeing the pastime. In this, the populace thought he had acted the part of a man; but be much disobliged the tribunes his colleagues, who regarded it as a piece of violent and presumptuous interference.

This was thought to be the chief reason that he failed of being the third time elected tribune; not but that he had the most votes, but because his colleagues out of revenge caused fails returns to be made. But as to his natter there was a controversy. Crrain it is, he very much resented this repulsa, and behaved with unusual arrangement towards some of his electronic way to be the contraction of the contraction of the late was the real table, sardonic mitch, as they little have how

much his actions threw them into obscurity.

As soon as Opinius also was chosen consul, they presently concelled several of Cairs's laws, and especially salled in question his proceedings as Carrhang, omitting nothing that was likely to unitate him, that from soon effect on his passion they might find out a tolerable pretence to put him to death. Cairs at first bore these things very patiently, but afterwards, at the insulgation of his friends, especially Pulvius, he resolved to put himself at the head of a body of supporters, to oppose the commod by force. They say also that on this occasion his mother, Cornella, Joined in the seldion, and askited him by sending privately several stranges into Rome, under pretence as if they came to be hired there for harvest men; for that intansitions of this are given in her letters to him. However, it is confidently affirmed by others at Cornella did not in the least approve of these entories.

When the day came in which Opinius designed to abrogate the laws of Caius, both parties met very early at the capitol, and the consul having performed all the rites usual in their sacrifices, one Quintus Antyllius, an attendant on the consul, carrying out the entruit of the vectim, spoke to Fulvous, and his friends who stood about him, "Ye factious citizens, make way for honest men" Some report that, besides this provoling larguage, be extended his naked arm stowards them, as a piece of some and contempt. Upon this he was presently killed with the strong stilles which are commonly used in writing, though some asy that on this occasion they had been manifactured for this purpose only. This murder caused a sudden consistentation in the whole askepthly, and the heads of each faction had their different sentiments about it. As for Caus, he was much greed, and severely reprinamed his own party, because they had given their adversance a reasonable pristence to proceed against them, which they had so long boped for Opmuns, immediately sezing the occasion this offered, was in great delight, and used the proble to everene, but there happening a great abover of rain on a sudden, it put an end to the bosiness of that day.

Early the next morning, the consul summoned the senate, and whilst he advised with the senators in the senate house, the corpse of Antylins was laid upon a bier, and brought through the market place, being there exposed to open view, just before the senate house, with a great deal of crying and lamentation, Onmuce was not at all ignorant that this was designed to be done, however, he seemed to be surprised, and wondered what the meaning of it should be, the senators, therefore, presently ment out to know the occasion of it, and, standing about the corpse, uttered exclamations against the inhuman and harbarous net The people, meantime, could not but feel resentment and hatred for the senators, remembering how they themselves had not only assassinated Tiberrus Gracchus, as he was executing his office in the very capitel, but had also thrown his manufed hold into the river, yet now they could honour with their presence and their public lamentations in the forum the cornse of an ordinary hired attendant (who, though he might perhaps die wrongfully, was, however, in a great measure the occasion of it lumself), by these means hoping to undermine him who was the only remaining defender and safeguard of the people

The senators, after some time, withdrew, and presently ordered that Opmans, the consul, should be invested with extraordinary power to protect the commonwealth and supports all tyrants. This being decreed, he presently commanded the senators to arm themetries, and the Roman kinglits to be in readmess very early the next morping, and every one of them.

to be attended with two servants well armed. Fulvius, on the other side, made his preparations and collected the populace. Cains at that time returning from the market-place, made a ston just before his father's statue, and fixing his eyes for some time unon it. remained in a deep contemplation; at length he sighed, shed tears, and departed. This made no small impression upon those who saw it, and they began to upbraid themselves that they should desert and betray so worthy a man as Canis. They therefore went directly to his house, remaining there as a guard about it all night, though in a different manner from those who were a guard to Fulvius; for they passed away the night with shouting and drinking, and Fulvius himself, being the first to get drunk, spoke and acted many things very unbecoming a man of his age and character. On the other side, the party which guarded Caius, were quiet and diligent, relieving one another by turns, and forecasting, as in a public calamity, what the issue of things might be. As soon as daylight appeared, they roused Fulvius, who had not yet slept off the effects of his drinking; and having armed themselves with the weapons burg up in his house, that were formerly taken from the Gauls, whom he conquered in the time of his consulship, they presently, with threats and loud acclamations, made their way towards the Aventine Mount.

Caius could not be persuaded to arm himself, but put on his gown, as if he had been going to the assembly of the people, only with this difference, that under it he had then a short dagger by his side. As he was going out, his wife came running to him at the gate, bolding him with one band, and with the other a young child of his. She bespoke him: " Alas, Caius, I do not now part with you to let you address the people either as a tribune or a lawriver, nor as if you were going to some honourable war, when, though you might perhaps have encountered that fate which all must some time or other submit to yet you had left me this mitiration of my sorrow, that my mourning was respected and honoured. You go now to expose your person to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed indeed, and rightly so, choosing rather to suffer the worst of injuries than do the least yourself. But even your very death at this time will not be serviceable to the public good. Faction prevails: power and arms are now the only measures of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the enemy would have given back what then had remained of Tiberius; but such is my hard fate, that I probably must be an humble suppliant to the

floods or the waves, that they would somewhere restore to me your relices, for since Thierms was not spared, what trust can we place other on the laws, or me legods? I. Lemm, thus betwaining, Causs, by degrees getting loose from her embraces, airculy withdrew himself, being accompanied by his friends, the, endeavouring to catch him by the gown, fell prostrate upon the earth, lying there for some time speechless. Her servants took her up for dead, and conveyed her to her brother Cressis:

Fulvius, when the people were gathered together in a full body, by the advice of Carus sent his youngest son into the market-place, with a herald's rod in his hand. He, being a very handsome youth, and modestly addressing himself, with tears in his eyes and a becoming bashfulness, offered proposals of agreement to the consul and the whole senate The greatest part of the astembly were inclinable to accept of the proposals, but Onimius said, that it did not become them to send messengers and capitulate with the senate, but to surrender at discretion to the laws, like loyal citizens, and endeavour to ment their pardon by submission. He commanded the youth not to return, unless they would comply with these conditions Caius, as it is reported, was very forward to go and clear himself before the senate; but none of his friends consenting to it, Fulyins sent his son a second time to intercede for them, as before But Onimius, who was resolved that a battle should ensue, caused the youth to be apprehended and committed into custody, and then with a company of his foot-soldiers and some Cretan archers set upon the party under Fulvius. These archers did such execution, and inflicted so many wounds, that a rout and flight quickly ensued Fulvius fied into an obscure bathing-house, but shortly after being discovered, be and his eldest son were slam together Cana was not observed to use any violence arminst any one, but, extremely disliking all these outrages, retired to Diana's temple. There he attempted to kill himself. but was hindered by his faithful friends, Pomponius and Licinius, they took his sword away from him, and were very urgent that he would endeavour to make his escape. It is reported that, falling upon his knee and lifting up his hands, he prayed the goddess that the Roman people, as a punishment for their ingratitude and treachery, might always remain in slavery For as soon as a proclamation was made of a pardon, the greater part openly deserted hun.

Casus, therefore, endeavoured now to make his escape, but was pursued so close by his enemies, as far as the wooden bridge, that from thence he narrowly escaped. There his two trusty friends begged of him to preserve his own person by flight, whilst they in the meantime would keep their post, and maintain the passage; neither could their enemies, until they were both slain, pass the bridge. Caius had no other companion in his flight but one Philocrates, a servant of his. As he ran along, everybody encouraged him, and wished him success, as standers-by may do to those who are engaged in a race, but nobody either lent him any assistance, or would furnish him with a horse, though he asked for one; for his enemies had gained ground, and got very near him. However, he had still time enough to hide himself in a little grove, consecrated to the Furies. In that place, his servant Philocrates having first slain him, presently afterwards killed himself also, and fell dead upon his master. Though some affirm it for a truth, that they were both taken alive by their enemies, and that Philocrates embraced his master so close, that they could not wound Caius until his servant was slain.

They say that when Cabe's head was cut off, and carried away by one of his murderers, Septimuleius, Opimius's friend, met him, and forced it from him: because, before the battle becan, they had made proclamation, that whoever should bring the head either of Caius or Fulvius, should, as a reward, receive its weight in gold. Septimuleius, therefore, having fixed Caius's head upon the top of his spear, came and presented it to Opimius. They presently brought the scales, and it was found to weigh above seventeen pounds. But in this affair, Septimuleius gave as great signs of his knavery as he had done before of his cruelty; for having taken out the brains, he had filled the skull with lead. There were others who brought the head of Fulvius, too, but, heing mean, inconsiderable persons, were turned away without the promised reward. The bodies of these two persons. as well as of the rest who were slain, to the number of three thousand men, were all thrown into the river: their goods were confiscated, and their widows forbidden to put themselves into mourning. They dealt even more severely with Licinia, Caius's wife, and deprived her even of her jointure; and as in addition still to all their inhumanity, they barbarously murdered Fulvius's youngest son; his only grane being, not that he took up arms against them, or that he was present in the battle, but merely that he had come with articles of agreement; for this he was first imprisoned, then slain.

But that which angered the common people most was, that

Plutarch s Laves

158 at this time, in memory of his success, Opimius built the Temple of Concord, as if he gloried and triumphed in the slaughter of

so many currens Somebody in the night time, under the inscription of the temple added this verse

" Forly and Dascord Contord's temple built "

Yet this Opunius, the first who, being consul, presumed to usurp the power of a dictator, condemning, without any trial, with three thousand other entirens, Cams Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, one of whom had triumphed and been consul, the other far excelled all his contemporaries in virtue and honour. sherwards was found meanable of keeping his hands from therwar and when he was sent ambassador to Iugurtha, King of Numdia, he was there corrupted by presents, and at his return, being shamefully convicted of it, lost all his honours, and grew old amidst the hatred and the insults of the people, who, though humble, and affrighted at the time, did not fail before long to let everybody see what respect and veneration they had for the memory of the Gracchi. They ordered their statues to be made and set up in public view, they consecrated the places where they were slam, and thither brought the first-fruits of everything, seconding to the season of the year, to make their offerings Many came likewise thither to their devotions, and daily worshipped there, as at the temple of the gods

It is reported that as Cornelia, their mother, bore the loss of her two sons with a noble and undaunted spirit, so, in reference to the boly places in which they were slain, she said, their dead had es were well worthy of such sepulchres She removed after wards, and dwelt near the place called Misenum, not at all shiring her former way of living She had many friends, and hospitably received many strangers at her house, many Greeks and learned men were continually about her, nor was there any foreign prince but received gifts from her and presented her again. These who were conversant with her, were much to perested, when she pleased to entertain them with her recollections of her father Scipio Africanus, and of his habits and way of living But it was most admirable to hear her make mention of her sons, without any tears or sign of grief, and give the ful account of all their deeds and misfortunes, as if she had been relating the history of some ascient heroes. This made som smarre, that age, or the greatness of her afflictions, had mad her senseless and devoid of natural feelings. But they who s thought were themselves more truly meensible not to see ho much a noble nature and education avail to conquer any affliction; and though fortune may often be more successful, and may defeat the efforts of virtue to avert misfortunes, it cannot, when we incur them, prevent our bearing them reasonably.

THE COMPARISON OF TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS WITH AGIS AND CLEOMENES

HAVING given an account severally of these persons, it remains only that we should take a view of them in comparison with one another.

As for the Gracchi, the greatest detectors and their worst enemies could not but allow that they had a genits to virtue beyond all other Remans, which was improved also by a generous electation. Agin and Chemenses may be supposed to have had attorage natural gifts, since, though they wanted all the advantages of good detection, and were here due in those very customs, manners, and habits of living which had for a long time corrupted others, yet they were pelible compiles of temperation and fragality. Besides, the Granchi, happening to live when Rome had her greatest reputs de phones and virtuous scaling, might justly have been ashamed, if they had not also left to the next generation the noble inheritance for the virtues of third mencators. Whereas the other two had parents of different morals, and debauched, yet that did not quench their forward zeal to what was turn and homourable.

The Integrity of the two Romans, and their susprisority or money, was chiefly remarkable in this: that in cilice and the administration of public adiasts, they kept themselves from the impotation of unjust gain; whereas Agis might justly be defineded if he had only that mean commondation given him, that he took mobing strangetilly from any man, seeing he distributed his own fortunes which, in ready money only, amounted to the value of six hundred talents, amongst his follow-citizens. Extertions would have appeared a crime of a strange nature to him, who esteemed it a piece of coverlousness to possess, though never so issuity gotten, greater riches than his neighbours.

Their political actions, also, and the state revolutions they attempted, were very different in magnitude. The chief things in general that the two Romans commonly aimed at, were the settlement of cities and mending of highways: and in particular. the boldest design which Therms is faired for, was the recon ery of the public lands, and Gauss gained his greatest reputation by the sholdton, for the vertexe of picturary powers, of three hundred of the order of languists to the same number of senators when has an decements must was made as a quite different hand. They did not set about removing partial via and camp getty morders to disease, which would have been (as Plato says) like cutting off one of the Hydra's heads, the very means to diseases, which would have been (as Plato says) like cutting off one of the Hydra's heads, the very means to diseases the mostler, but they unstituted a thorough referenance, such as would free the country from all ting prevance, or stake, to speak more truly, they retreet that former change which had been the caste of all their calamities, and so restored their city to its senorest state.

Honever, this must be confessed in the behalf of the Gracchi. that their undertakings were always opposed by men of the greatest influence On the other side, those things which were first attempted by Agrs, and afterwards consummated by Geomenes, were supported by the great and glorious precedent of those ancient Liws concerning frugality and levelling which they had themselves received upon the authority of Lycurgus, and he had instituted on that of Apollo It is also further observable. that from the actions of the Gracchi, Rome received no addi tions to her former greatness, whereas, under the conduct of Cleomenes, Greece presently saw Sparta exert her sovereign power over all Peloponnesus, and contest the supreme command with the most powerful princes of the time, success in which would have freed Greece from Illyman and Gaulish violence. and placed ner once spain under the orderly rule of the sons of Hercules

From the circuistances of their deaths, also, we may indeten edifference in the quality of their costing. The Greechi, fighting with third fellow-clatters, were both stain as they endeate out the time their scape, App willingly admitted to his falt, rather than any cutten should be a diagree of his life Concerne, being shatterfully and of that, generously fell by his neglections, and the staining of that, generously fell by his post hand

On the other side it must be said, that Agis never did a great action worthy a commander, being prevented by an untimely death. And as for those heric actions of Cloromeis, we may justly compare with them that of Thornor, when he was the first who attempted to scale the walls of Carthage, which was no mean exploit. We may add the peace which he concluded with the Numantines, by which he saved the lives of twenty thousand Romans, who otherwise had certainly been cut off. And Caius, not only at home, but in war in Sardinia, displayed distinguished courage. So that their early actions were no small argument that afterwards they might have rivalled the best of the Roman commanders, if they had not died so young.

In civil life, Agis showed a lack of determination: he let himself be baffled by the craft of Agesilaus, disappointed the expectations of the citizens as to the division of the lands, and generally left all the designs, which he had deliberately formed and publicly announced, unperformed and unfulfilled through a young man's want of resolution. Cleomenes, on the other hand, proceeded to effect the revolution with only too much boldness and violence, and unjustly slew the Ephors whom he might, by superiority in arms, have gained over to his party, or else might easily have banished, as he did several others of the city. For to use the knife, unless in the extremest necessity, is neither good surgery nor wise policy, but in both cases mere unskilfulness; and in the latter, unjust as well as unfeeling. Of the Gracchi, neither the one nor the other was the first to shed the blood of his fellow-citizens; and Caius is reported to have avoided all manner of resistance, even when his life was aimed at, showing himself always valuant against a foreign enemy, but wholly inactive in a sedition. This was the reason that he went from his own house unarmed, and withdrew when the battle began, and in all respects showed himself anxious rather not to do any harm to others, than not to suffer any himself. Even the very flight of the Gracchi must not be looked upon as an argument of their mean spirit, but an honourable retreat from endangering of others. For if they had stayed, they must either have yielded to those who assailed them, or else have fought them in their own defence.

The greatest crime that can be laid to Tiberius's charge was the deposing of his fellow tribune, and seeking afterwards a second tribuneship for himself. As for the death of Antyllius, it is falsely and unjustly attributed to Caius, for he was slain unknown to him, and much to his grief. On the contrary, Cleomenes (not to mention the murder of the Ephors) set all the slaves at liberty, and governed by himself alone in reality, having a partner only for show; having made choice of his brother Euclidas, who was one of the same family. He prevailed upon Archidamus, who was the right heir to the kingdom of the other line, to venture to return home from Messene; but after his temp glam, by not done anything to receipt his death, con finned the imposed that he way my? to at humsel Lycingus, sample he professed to mustic, after he had voluntarily settled his languident upon Chanliks, but brother's not, fearing best, if the you'h should chance to die by secudent, he might be supposed for it, travelled a long time, and would not return span to Sparts until Chanlins bad a son, and an herr for his imagdom. But we have undered no other Greenan whose worthy

to be compared with Lycurgus, and it is clear enough that in the public measures of Cleomenes various acts of considerable

the priors measures at theometry winds and to thumburded and additional and instead to the property of the pro

acongue unit use, engaged been botto in those stat quarries, the one, for his vern preservators, the other, to reverge his brother's drith, who was unidered without any law or justified. From the account, therefore, which has been given, but yourself may preture the difference, which if it were to be prereaded of every one engight, I about a diffice. Discuss to have excelled them all in a series, that young Agus bad been guilty of the freet is modered, and that us action and boldness Causs came far short of Decembers.

DEMOSTHENES

Wegever it was, Sosius, that wrote the poem in honour of Alcibiades, upon his winning the chariot-race at the Olympian Games, whether it were Europides, as is most commonly thought. or some other person, he tells us that to a man's being happy it is in the first place requisite he should be born in " some famous city." But for him that would attain to true happiness, which for the most part is placed in the qualities and disposition of the mind, it is, in my opinion, of no other disadvantage to be of a mean, obscure country, than to be born of a small or plain-looking woman. For it were ridiculous to think that Iulis, a little part of Coos, which itself is no great island, and Agina, which an Athenian once said ought to be removed, like a small eyesore, from the port of Pirzeus, should breed good actors and poets, and yet should never be able to produce a just, temperate, wise, and high-minded man. Other arts, whose end it is to acquire riches or honour, are likely enough to wither and decay in poor and undistinguished towns; but virtue, like a strong and durable plant, may take root and thrive in any place where it can lay hold of an ingenuous nature, and a mind that is industrious. I. for my part, shall desire that for any deficiency of mine in right judgment or action, I myself may be, as in fairness, held accountable, and shall not attribute it to the obscurity of my birthplace.

But if any man undertake to write a history that has to be collected from materials gathered by observation and the reading of works not assy to be got in all places, no written elvery, in the own language, but amny of them foreign and dispersed in their hands, for him, undoubtedly, it is in the first place and shove all things most necessary to reside not, addicted to liberal arts, and populous; there he may have plenty of all sorts of broks, and upon dense, there he may have address the same places and the memorial of which are the same places and the memorial of which are the same places and the memorial of writers, are more fulfilledly preserved in the same place in the same places.

can least dispense with.

But for me, I live in a little town, where I am willing to continue, lest it should grow less; and having had no leisure, while I was in Rome and other parts of Italy, to exercise myself in the Roman language, on account of public business and of in the Roman language, on account of public business and of

those who came to be nationed by me in pulsophy; it was very late, and in the dedice of any age, brieff I applied myself to the resting of Latin matters. Upon which that who happened note only the control happened note only the control of the tree, brieff to the control of th

And so in the fifth book of my Farallel Luves, m gying an old so in the fifth book of my Farallel Luves, m gying an interface and Carron, my companison of their miland dispositions and their distinction will be formed open their actions and their luves as statesmen, and I shall not pretend to cincise their evitions one signatus the other, to show which of the two was the more charming or the more powerful speaker. For their, as for a saye—

" We are but kee a fish upon dry land, "

a proverb which Ceculeus perhaps forgot, when he employed his always advernmous talents in so ambittous an attempt as a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, and, possibly, if it were a thing objusts and easy for every man to know himself, the

precept had not passed for an oracle

Process on the classical contraction. The claims process owns organisty to have designed Demochance and Corro upon the same plan, group them many maniforters the restard clarances, as their peans of a claim of the claim of the

them alike in their dispositions and manners, or this in the coincidences of their lives. We will speak of the eldest first.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was a citizen of good rank and quality, as Theonomous informs us, surnamed the Sword-maker, because he had a large workhouse, and kept servants skilful in that art at work. But of that which Æschines the orator said of his mother, that she was descended of one Gylon, who fled his country upon an accusation of treason, and of a barbarian woman, I can affirm nothing, whether he spoke true, or slandered and maligned her. This is certain, that Demosthenes, being as yet but seven years old, was left by his father in affluent circumstances, the whole value of his estate being little short of fifteen talents, and that he was wronged by his guardians, part of his fortune being embezzled by them, and the rest neglected: insomuch that even his teachers were defrauded of their salaries. This was the reason that he did not obtain the liberal education that he should have had; besides that, on account of weakness and delicate health, his mother would not let him exert himself, and his teachers forbore to urge him. He was meagre and sickly from the first, and hence had his nickname of Batalus given him, it is said, by the boys, in derision of his appearance; Batalus being, as some tell us, a cortain enervated flute-player, in ridicule of whom Antiphanes wrote a play. Others speak of Batalus as a writer of wanton verses and drinking sougs. And it would seem that some part of the body, not decent to be named, was at that time called batalus by the Athenians. But the name of Arms, which also they say was a nickname of Demosthenes, was given him for his behaviour, as being savage and spiteful, argas being one of the poetical words for a snake; or for his disagreeable way of speaking, Argas being the name of a poet who composed very harshly and disagreeably. So much, as Plato says, for such matters.

The first occasion of his eager inclination to oradory, they say, sat his. Callitarias, the entro, being to plead in open court for Corpus, the expectation of the issue of that cause was very great, as well for the ability of the orator, who was then at the height of his reputation, as also for the fame of the action itself. Therefore, Demosthenes, having heard the tutors and ethod-masters agreeing among themselves to be present at this trial, with much importunity persuades his further to take him along with him to the hearing; who, having some acquimitance with the doorseepers, promozed a place where the boy might sit our

seen, and hear what was said Callestratus having got the day, and being much admired, the boy began to look upon his glory with a kind of emulation, observing how he was courted on all hands, and attended on his way by the mulutude, but his wonder was more than all excited by the power of his eloquener, which seemed able to subdue and win over anything. From this time, therefore, balding farewell to other sorts of learning and study, he now began to evereuse himself, and to take point in declarming, as one that meant to be himself also an orator He made use of Isaus as his made to the art of speaking, though learnites at that time was giving lessons, whether, as some say, because he was an orphan, and was not able to pay Iscerates his appointed fee of ten mine, or because he preferred Issens's speaking as being more business like and effective in actual use Herminous says that he met with certain memoirs without any suther a name, in which it was written that Demosthenes was a scholar to Plato, and learnt much of his elegitate from him. and he also mentions Cresibios, as reporting from Callias of Syracuse and some others, that Demosthenes secretly obtained a knowledge of the systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas, and mastered them thoroughly

As soon, therefore, as he was grown up to man's estate, he began to go to law with his guardians, and to write orations aguast them, who, in the meantime, had recourse to various subterfuces and pleas for new trads, and Demosthenes, though be was thus, as Thucydides says, taught his burness in dangers, and by his own exertions was successful in his suit, was yet unable for all this to recover so much as a small fraction of his painmony He only attained some degree of confidence in speaking, and some competent experience in it. And having got a teste of the honour and power which are acquired by pleadings, be now sentured to come forth, and to undertake public business. And, as it is said of Leomedon, the Orchomenian, that, by advice of his physician, he used to run long distances to keep off some disease of his spleen, and by that means having, through labout and everuse, framed the habit of his body, he betook himself to the great garland games, and recame one of the best runners at the long race, so it happened to Demosthenes, who, first venturing upon oratory for the recovery of his own private property, by this acquired ability in speaking, and at length, in public business, as it were in the great games, came to have the pre-emmence of all competitors in the essembly But when he fast addressed himself to the

people, he met with great discouragements, and was devided for bits strange and uncount style, which was cumbered with long sentences and cortured with formal arguments to a most harsh and disagreeable excess. Besides, he had, it seems, a weakness in his voice, a perplexed and indistinct uterance and a shortness of breath, which, by breaking and disjointing his sentences much obscured the sense and meaning of what he spoke. So that in the end being quite dislauntened, he forsook the assembly; and as he was walking eardesity and sauntening about the Pireus, Euromus, the Thriasian, then a very old man, seeing him, upbuilded him, auging that his diction was very much like that of Pericles, and that he was wanting to himself through cowardies and meanness of spirit, nighthe bearing up with courage against popular outcry, not fitting his body for action, but suffering it to languish through mere doth and negligence.

Another time, when the assembly had refused to hear him, and he was going home with his head muffled up, taking it very heavily, they relate that Satyrus, the actor, followed him, and being his familiar acquaintance, entered into conversation with him. To whom, when Demosthenes bemoaned himself, that baying been the most industrious of all the pleaders, and having almost spent the whole strength and vigour of his body in that employment, he could not yet find any acceptance with the people, that drunken sots, mariners, and illiterate fellows were heard, and had the hustings for their own, while he himself was despised, "You say true, Demosthenes," replied Satyrus, "but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will repeat to me some passage out of Euripides or Sophocies." Which when Demosthenes had pronounced, Satyrus presently taking it up after him, gave the same passage, in his rendering of it, such a new form, by accompanying it with the proper mien and gesture. that to Demosthenes it seemed quite another thing. By this, being convinced how much grace and ornament language acquires from action, he began to esteem it a small matter, and as good as nothing for a man to exercise himself in declaiming. if he neglected enunciation and delivery. Hereupon he built himself a place to study in under ground fwhich was still remaining in our time), and hither he would come constantly every day to form his action and to exercise his voice; and here he would continue, oftentimes without intermission, two or three months together, shaving one half of his head, that so for shame he

might not go abroad, though he desired it ever so much.

Nor was this all, but he also made his conversation with people

abroad, his common speech, and his business, subservient to his studies, taking from hence occasions and argument, as matter to work upon For as soon as he was parted from his company, down he would go at once into his study, and run over everything in order that had passed, and the reasons that might be alleged for and against it Any speeches, also, that he was present at, he would go over again with himself, and reduce into periods, and whatever others spoke to him, or he to them, he would correct, transform, and vary several ways Hence it was that he was looked upon as a person of no great natural genius, but one who owed all the power and ability he had in speaking to labour and industry. Of the trath of which it was thought to be no small sign that he was very rarely heard to speak upon the occasion, but though he were by name frequently called upon by the people, as he sat in the assembly, yet he would not the unless he had previously considered the subject, and came prepared for it. So that many of the popular pleaders used to make it a jest against him, and Pytheas once, scoffing at him, said that his arguments smelt of the lamp To which Demosthenes gave the sharp answer, "It is true, sudeed, Pytheas, that your lamp and more are not conscious of the same things" To others, however, he would not much deny it, but would admit frankly enough, that he neither entirely wrote his speeches beforehand, nor yet spoke wholly extempore. And he would affirm that it was the more truly popular act to use premeditation, such preparation being a kind of respect to the people, whereas, to slight and take no case how what is said is likely to be received by the audience, shows something of an chearchical temper, and is the course of one that intends force rather than persuation Of his want of courage and assurance to apeak offhand, they make it also another argument that, when he was at a loss and discomposed. Demades would often rise up on the sudden to support him, but he was never observed to do the same for Demades

Whence them, nay some say, was it, that Æachines speaks of Whence them, nay some say, was it, that Æachines speaks of them as a person so much to be nondered at for his boldness in him as a person so much to be nondered at for his boldness in which we have the Byzantine, with so much confidence and such a torrent of nords invegiged such as Atlantians, that a Distribution of the sound to oppose luna? Or when Lemarchin, the Myringsan, had written a passer; rue upon King Philip and Alexander, in which he uttered many things in reproach of the Riberts and Olymbians, and at the Olympic Gams texted it publishly, how was it that he,

rising up, and recounting historically and demonstratively what benefits and advantages all Greece had received from the Thebans and Chalcidians, and, on the contrary, what mischiefs the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon it, so turned the minds of all that were present that the sophist, in alarm at the outcry against him, secretly made his way out of the assembly? But Demosthenes, it should seem, regarded other points in the character of Pericles to be unsuited to him; but his reserve and his sustained manner, and his forbearing to speak on the sudden, or upon every occasion, as being the things to which principally he owed his greatness, these he followed, and endeavoured to imitate, neither wholly neglecting the glorywhich present occasion offered, nor yet willing too often to expose his faculty to the mercy of chance. For, in fact, the orations which were spoken by him had much more of bold-ness and confidence in them than those that he wrote, if we may believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the Comedians. Eratosthenes says that often in his speaking he would be transported into a kind of cestasy, and Demetrius, that he uttered the famous metrical adjuration to the people-

"By the earth, the springs, the rivers, and the streams,"

as a man inspired and beside himself. One of the comedians calls him a rhopoper perchiras, and another scoffs at him for his use of antithesis:—

"And what he took, took back; a phrase to please, The very fancy of Demosthenes."

Unless, indeed, this also is meant by Antiphanes for a jest upon the speech on Edonesus, which Demosthenes advised the Athenians not to take at Philip's hands, but to take back.

All, however, text to consider Domates, in the mere use of his natural gits, so error impossible to surpass, and that in what he spoke on the sudden, he excelled all the study and preparation of Demosthenes. And Ariston, the Chain, has recorded a judgment which Theophrastus passed upon the montant, for horizonte and the control of the

words And, indeed, it is related that Demostheres himself, as often as Photon stood up to plead against him, would asy to his acquisation, "Here come the kinfe to my speech." Yet it does not appear whether he had this feeling for his powers of speaking, or fine his fine and character, and meant to say that one word or nod from a man who was retily trusted would go larther than he humant flenethy periods from others.

Demetrus, the Phaleman, tells us that he was informed by Demosthenes himself, now grown old, that the ways he made use of to remedy his patural bodily infirmities and delects were such as these, his marticulate and stammenry pronunciation he overcome and rendered more distinct by speaking with peobles in his mouth, his voice he disciplined by declaiming and reciting speeches or verses when he was out of breath, while tunning or going up steep places, and that in his house he had a large looking-glass, before which he would stand and go through his exercises. It is told that some one once came to request his assistance as a pleader, and related how he had been assaulted and beaten "Certainly," said Demosthenes, "nothing of the kind can have happened to you" Upon which the other, raising his voice, exclaimed loudly, "What, Demos-thenes, nothing has been done to me?" "Ab," replied Demosthenes, " now I hear the voice of one that has been injured and beaten" Of so great consequence towards the gaining of behef did he esteem the tone and action of the speaker The action which he used himself was worderfully pleasing to the common people, but by well-educated people, as, for example, by Demetrus, the Phalerun, it was looked upon as mean, humiliating, and animanly And Hermippers says of Alsion, that, being asked his onmon concerning the ancient orators, and those of his own time, he answered that it was admirable to see with what composure and in what high style they addressed themselves to the people, but that the orations of Demostheres, when they are read, certainly appear to be superior in point of construction, and more effective. His written speeches, beyond all question, are characterised by anstere tone and by their severity. In his extempore retorts and rejoinders, he allowed himself the use of lest and mockery When Demades said, "Demosthenes teach me! So might the sow teach Minerval" he replied, "Was it this Minerya, that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus?" When a thief, who had the nickname of the Brazen, was attempting to upbraid him for sitting up late, and writing by candle-light, "I know very well," said he, "that you had rather have all lights out; and wonder not, O ye men of Athens, at the many robbeties which are committed, since we have thieves of brass and walls of eds." But on these points, though we have much more to mention, we will add nothing at present. We will proceed to take an estimate of his character from his actions and his file as a statements.

His first entering into public business was much about the time of the Phoeian war, as himself affirms, and may be collected from his Philippic antians. For of these, some were much after that action was over, and the earliest of them refer to its coteding events. It is creatin that he engaged in the accusation of Midsta when he was but two-and-thirty years old, having as yet no interest or reputation as a golitician. And this it was, I consider, that indeed him to withdraw the action, and accept a two of more as a compromise. For of himself-

" He was no easy or good-natured man,"

but of a determined disposition, and resolute to see himself righted; however, finding it a hard matter and above hisstrength to deal with Midias, a man so well secured on all sideswith money, eloquence, and friends, he yielded to the entreatiesof those who interceded for him. But had he seen any hones or possibility of prevailing, I cannot believe that three thousand drachmas could have taken off the edge of his revenge. The object which he chose for himself in the commonwealth wasnoble and just, the defence of the Grecians against Philip: and in this he behaved himself so worthily that he soon grew famous, and excited attention everywhere for his elemence and courage in speaking. He was admired through all Greece, the King of Persia courted him, and by Philip himself he was more esteemed than all the other prators. His very enemies were forced to confess that they had to do with a man of mark; for such a character even Aschines and Hyperides give him, where they accuse and speak against him.

accuse and specks against him.

So that I cannot imagine what ground Theopompus had to say that Demosthenes was of a fields, unsettled disposition, and could not long continue firm either to the same man or the same affairs; whereas the contrary is most apparent, for the same party and post in politics which he held from the beginning, to these he kept constant to the end; and was so far from leaving them while he hived that the chose rather to fossible his life than his purpose. He was never heard to apologies for shifting sides (like Demades, who would say he often spoke against himself.

but never against the city, nor as Melanopus, who, being generally against Callistratus, but being often bribed off with general) against cametratus, one owing breen indeed is my money, was wont to tell the people, "The man indeed is my enemy, but we must submit for the good of our country." nor again as Aicedemus, the Messenian, who having first appeared on Cassander's side, and afterwards taken part with Demetrius, on cassance, a suc, and ancerwants when part with Democracy, and the two things were not in themselves contrary, it being salt are two times, were not in themselves toutians, it toung always most advisable to obey the conqueror. We have nothing of this kind to say against Demosthenes, as one who would turn aside or prevaricate, either in word or deed. There could not have been less variation in his public acts if they had all been played, so to say, from first to last, from the same score Panzethus, the philosopher, said that most of his orations are so written as if they were to prove this one conclusion, that what is honest and virtuous is for itself only to be chosen, as that of the Crown, that against Austocrates, that for the Immunities, and the Philippics, in all which he persuades his fellow-citizens to pursue not that which seems most pleasant, casy, or profinale, but declares, over and over again, that they ought in the first place to prefer that which is just and honourable before their own safety and preservation So that if he had kept his hands clean, if his courage for the wars had been answerable to the generosity of his principles, and the dignity of his orations, the generally of me principles, and the digitary of the orealous, he might deservedly have his name placed, not in the number of such craters as Morrocles, Polyeuctes, and Hyperides, but an the highest rank with Canon, Thucydides, and Pericles Certainly amongst those who were contemporary with him,

percent among amongs; tonce who were contemporary with him, process, though he appeared on the less commendable side in the commonwealth, and so would as one of the Macdonian darry, percentleless, by his courage and his honesty, procured among la name out afficient before of Ephiladrey, Araddes, and courage marmy, as Demonthers, being neither fit to be relied on for common. But the members are sufficient to the bridery for how any other percentage with the surface of the bridery for how any other percentage with the process of the surface of the other of the surface of the surface of the surface of the other of the surface of th

Athenians having by name selected Demosthenes, and called upon him to accuse a certain person, he refused to do it: upon which the assembly being all in an uproar, he rose up and said, "Your counsellor, whether you will or no, O ye men of Athens, you shall always have me; but a sycophant or false accuser, though you would have me, I shall never be." And his conduct in the case of Antiphon was perfectly aristocratical; whom, after he had been acquitted in the assembly, he took and brought before the court of Arconagus, and, setting at naught the displeasure of the people, convicted him there of having promised Philip to burn the arsenal; whereupon the man was condemned by that court, and suffered for it. He accused, also, Theoris, the priestess, amonest other misdemeanours, of having instructed and taught the slaves to deceive and cheat their masters, for which the sentence of death was passed upon her, and she was hatmays.

The oration which Apollodorus made use of, and by it carried the cause against Timotheus, the general, in an action of debt. it is said was written for him by Demosthenes: as also those against Phormion and Stephanus, in which latter case he was thought to have acted dishonourably, for the speech which Phormion used against Apollodorus was also of his making: he. as it were, having simply furnished two adversaries out of the same shop with weapons to wound one another. Of his orations addressed to the public assemblies, that against Androtion, and those against Timocrates and Aristocrates, were written for others, before he had come forward himself as a politiciau. They were composed, it seems, when he was but seven or eight and twenty years old. That against Aristogiton, and that for the Immunities, he spoke himself, at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias, but, as some say, out of courtship to the young man's mother. Though, in fact, he did not marry her, for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius, the Magnesian, writes, in his book on Persons of the same Name. It is not certain whether his oration against Æschines, for Misconduct as Ambassador, was ever spoken; although Idomeneus says that Aschines wanted only thirty voices to condemn him. But this seems not to be correct, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations concerning the Crown; for in these, neither of them speaks clearly or directly of it, as a cause that ever came to trial. But let others decide this controversy. It was evident, even in time of peace, what course Demos-

thenes would steer in the commonwealth; for whatever was

done by the Macedonius, he criticised and found fault with, and upon all occasions was sturing up the people of Athens, and inflaming them arainst him Therefore, in the court of Philip. no man was so much talked of, or of so great account as he, and when he came thither, one of the ten ambassadors who were sent into Macedonia, though all had audience given them, yet his speech was answered with most care and exactness But in other respects, Philip entertained him not so honourably as the rest, neither did he show him the same kindness and civility with which he applied himself to the party of Aschines and Philocrates So that, when the others commended Philip for his able speaking, his beautiful person, may, and also for his good companionship in drinking, Demosthenes could not refrain from caviling at these praises, the first, he said, was a quality which might well enough become a thetorician, the second a woman. and the last was only the property of a sponge, no one of them was the proper commendation of a prince

But when things came at last to war, Philip on the one side being not able to live in peace, and the Athenians, on the other side, being stored up by Demosthenes, the first action he put them upon was the reducing of Eubota, which, by the treachery of the syrants, was brought under subjection to Philip And on his proposition, the decree was voted, and they crossed over thither and chased the Macedonians out of the island. The next was the relief of the Byzantines and Perinthians, whom the Macedonians at that time were attacking. He persuaded the people to lay aside that entity against these cities, to forget the offences committed by them in the Confederate War, and to send them such succours as eventually saved and secured them Not long after, be undertook an embassy through the states of Greece. which he solicited and so far meensed against Philip that, a few only excepted, he brought them all suto a general league. So that, besides the forces composed of the citizens themselves, there was an army consisting of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, and the money to pay these strangers was levied and brought in with great cheerfulness. On which occasion it was, 5395 Theonhoustus, on the alues requesting that their contributions for the war might be ascertained and stated, Crobylus, the orator, made use of the saying, " War can't be fed at so much a day" how was all Greece up at arms, and in great expectation what would be the event. The Euberans, the Acheans, the Coronthians, the Megarians, the Leucadians, and Corcyrnans, their people and their cities, were all joined together in a league

But the hardest task was yet behind, left for Denositions, of down the Thebasis into this coolederacy with the rest. Their country bordered next upon Atties, they had great forces for the war, and at that time they were accounted the best soldiers of all Grecoe, but it was no easy matter to make them break with Philip, who, by many good offices, but do netly obliged them in the Phocian war; especially considering how the subjects of dispute and warriance between the two cities were continually renewed and exaperated by petty quarrels, arising out of the proximity of their frontiers.

But after Philip, being now grown high and puffed up with his good success at Amphissa, on a sudden surprised Elatea and possessed himself of Phonis, and the Athenians were in a great consternation, none durst venture to rise up to speak, no one knew what to say, all were at a loss, and the whole assembly in silence and perplexity, in this extremity of affairs Demosthenes was the only man who appeared, his counsel to them being alliance with the Thebans. And having in other ways encouraged the people, and, as his manner was, raised their spirits up with hopes, he, with some others, was sent ambassador to Thebes. To oppose him, as Marsyas says, Philip also sent thither his envoys, Amyntas and Clearchus, two Macedonians, besides Daochus, a Thessalian, and Thrasydaus. Now the Thebans, in their consultations, were well enough aware what suited best with their own interest, but every one had before his eyes the terrors of war, and their losses in the Phocian troubles were still recent: but such was the force and power of the orator, fanning up, as Theopompus says, their courage, and firing their emulation, that, casting away every thought of prudence, fear, or obligation, in a sort of divine possession, they chose the path of honour, to which his words invited them. And this success, thus accomplished by an orator, was thought to be so glorious and of such consequence, that Philip immediately sent heralds to treat and petition for a peace: all Grecce was aroused, and up in arms to help. And the commanders-inchief, not only of Attica, but of Bootia, applied themselves to Demosthenes, and observed his directions. He managed all the assemblies of the Thebans, no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved both by the one and by the other, and exercised the same supreme authority with both; and that not by unfair means, or without just cause, as Theopompus professes, but indeed it was no more than was due to his merit.

But there was, it would seem, some divinely ordered fortune,

commissioned, to the revolution of theres, to put a period at this time to the liberty of Greece, which opposed and thewarted all their actions, and by many signs forefold what should happen. Such were the sad predictions utilized by the Pythian priessess, and this old oracle stud out of the Sibyl's veries—

"The battle on Thermod in that shall be Safe at a dictance I desire to see, Far Like an early, watching in the sit Conquered shall weep and conqueror yearsh there."

This Thermoden, they say, is a lattle structer here in our country in Cherrones, running into the Cephanis. But we know of some that is no middle at the present time, and sum only occupant that the intrambet which is now odder the store, when the product makes proceed in the contract of the contract o

"The battle on Thermic a that shall be Fall bot, thick rates, to attend and see The field of men shall there also used for these."

In fine, it is not easy to determine what is the truth. But of Demosthenes it is said that he had such creat confidence in the Greesan forces, and was so exceed by the sight of the courses and resolution of so many Lauve roen ready to engage the enemy. that he would by no means endure they should give any heed to cracies, or hearless to prophecees, but gave out that he suspected even the prophetess herself, at if she had been tampered with to speak in favour of Falip The Thebans he put in mind of Epamicoundas, the Athemans of Pericles, who always took their own measures and governed their actions by reason, looking upon things of this kind as mere pretexts for cowardice. Thus far, therefore, Demosthenes acquitted him self like a brave man But m the fight he did nothing honourable, nor was his performance answerable to his speeches. For he fled, deserting his place disgracefully, and throwing away his arms, not ashamed, as Pythess observed, to belie the inscription written on his shield, in letters of gold, "With good fortune"

In the meantime Fhilip, in the first mement of victory, was so transported with joy, that he grew extravagant, and going out after he had drunk largely to visit the deal bodies, he chanted the first words of the decree that had been passed on the motion of Dermostheness.

"The notion of Demosthenes, Demosthenes's son," dividing it metrically into feet, and marking the heats.

But when he came to himself, and had well considered the danger he was lardy under, he could not forbear from shouldering at the wonderful ability and power of an orator who had made him heared his life and empire on the issue of a few brief hours. The farms of it, also reached even the court of Frein, and the slag sent letters to his lieutrantic commanding them to supplementations with movely, and to pay every attention to him, as the only man of all the Gorchau who was able to give Friend, and the revolution and all demployment for his forces near home, in the treather of Greeco. This atterwants came to the knowledge of Alexander, by octation letters of Demosthenes within he found at Sartils, and by other papers of the Fersian officers, starting the Alaxy area man which had been given him.

At this time, however, upon the ill-success which now bappaned to the Grecians, those of the contrary faction in the commonwealth fell foul upon Demostheres and took the opportunity to frame several informations and indictments against him. But the people not only acquitted him of these accusations, but continued towards him their former respect, and still invited him, as a mon that meant well, to take a part in public affairs. Insomuch that when the bones of those who had bean slain at Charonea were brought home to be solemnly interred. Demosthenes was the man they chose to make the funeral oration. They did not show, under the misfortunes which befull them, a base or ignoble mind, as Theopompus writes in his examerated style, but on the contrary, by the bonour and respect paid to their counsellor, they made it appear that they were noway dissatisfied with the counsels he had given them. The speech, therefore, was spoken by Demosthenes. But the subsequent decrees he would not allow to be passed in his own name, but made use of those of his friends, one after another, looking upon his own as unfortunate and inauspicious; till at length he took courage again after the death of Philip, who did not long outlive his victory at Charonea. And this, it seems, was that which was foretold in the last verse of the oracle-

"Conquered shall weep, and conqueror perish there."

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip, a. d laying hold of this opportunity to preposess the people with courage and better hopes for the future, he came into the assembly with a cheerful countemnee, pretending to have had a dream that presaged some great good fortune for Athens, and, not long siter, strived the messengers who brought the news of Philip's death. No soorer had she people received it, but immediately they offered sacrifice to the gods, and decreed that Pausanias should be presented with a crown Demosthenes appeared publicly in a rich dress, with a chan'et on his head, though it were but the seventh dist since the death of his daughter, as is said by Æschmes, who upbraids him upon this account, and rails at him as one void of natural affection towards au children. Whereas, indeed, he rather betrays himself to be of a poor, low spirit, and efferimate mind, if he really means to male wallings and lamerization the only signs of a gentle and affectionate nature, and to condemn those who bear such accidents with more temper and less passon. For my own part, I cannot say that the behaviour of the Athenians on this accession was wase or honourable, to grown themselves with garlands and to sacrifce to the gods for the death of a prince who, in the m dat of his success and victories, when they were a conquered people, had used them with so much elemency and humanity. For besides protoking fortune, it was a base thing, and un-worthy missell, to make him a citizen of Athens, and pay him honours while he lived, and yet as soon at he fell by another's hand, to set no bounds to their polity, to must over hun dead. and to sing trumphant songs of victory, as if by their own valous they had varyushed han. I must at the same time commend the behaviour of Demosthenes, who, leaving tears and lamentations and domestic sorrows to the women, made it his business to attend to the interests of the commonwealth. And I think it the duty of him who would be accounted to have a soul truly valuent, and fit for government, that, standing always firm to the common good, and letting private griefs and troubles and then compensation in public blessings, he should maintain the dignity of his character and station, much more than actors who represent the persons of kergs and tyrarts, who, we see, when they either Lingh or weep on the stage, follow, not their own private midmations, but the course consistent with the subject and with their position. And if, moreover, when our neighbour is in mislortune, it is not our duty to forbear offering any consolation, but rather to say whatever may tend to cheer him, and to invite his attention to any agreeable objects, just as we tell people who are troubled with sore eyes to withdraw their sight from bright and defeasive colours to green, and those of a softer mixture, from whence can a most seek, in his own case, better arquements of consectation for afflicities in his family, than from the prosperity of his country, but only the consection of the densetic chances count, so to say, together, and the better fertune of the state obscure and canceal the key depression as a stances of the individual. I have been induced to say so much, because I have known many readers metical by Agachine's language into a soft and unmorely tendemens.

But now to turn to my narrative. The cities of Greece were inspirited once more by the efforts of Demosthenes to form a league together. The Thebans, whom be had provided with arms, set upon their garrison, and slew many of them; the Athenians made preparations to join their forces with them; Demosthenes ruled supreme in the popular assembly, and wrote latters to the Persian officers who commanded under the king in Aria, inciting them to make war upon the Macedonian, calling him child and simpleton. But as soon as Alexander had settled matters in his own country, and came in person with his army into Bozotia, down fell the courage of the Athenians, and Damosthenes was husbed; the Thebans, deserted by them, fought by themselves, and lost their city. After which, the people of Athens, all in distress and great perplexity, resolved to send ambassadors to Alexander, and amongst others, made choice of Demosthenes for one; but his heart failing him for fear of the king's anger, he returned back from Cithæron, and left the embassy. In the meantime, Alexander sent to Athens, requiring ten of their crators to be delivered up to him, as Idomeneus and Duris have reported, but as the most and best historians say, he demanded these eight only,-Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Morocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus. It was upon this occasion that Demosthenes related to them the fable in which the sheep are said to deliver up their dogs to the welves; himself and those who with him contended oogs to the worves; namen and mose was what has concentred for the people's safety being, in his comparison, the dogs that defended the flock, and Alexander "the Maccdonian arch-wolf." He further told them, " As we see com-masters sell their whole stock by a few grains of wheat which they carry about with them in a dish, as a sumple of the rest, so you by delivering up us, who are but a few, do at the same time unawares surrender up yourselves all together with us; " so we find it related in the

into much greater lamentation, essuing, "But how is it possible to support myself under so heavy an affliction, since I leave a city in which I have such enemies, as in any other it is not easy to find friends " He did not show much fortstude in his banishment, spending his time for the most part in Egina and Troezen, and, with tears in his eyes, looking towards the country of Atteca And there remain upon record some sayings of his, little resembling those sentiments of generosity and bravery which he used to express when he had the management of the commonwealth For, as he was departure out of the city, it is reported, he lifted no his hands towards the Acropolis, and said, "O Lady Minerya, how is it that thou takest delight in three such fierce untractable beasts, the owl, the snake, and the people? " The young men that came to visit and converse with him, he deterred from meddling with state affairs, telling them, that if at first two ways had been proposed to him, the one leading to the speaker's stand and the assembly, the other going direct to destruction, and he could have foreseen the many evalu which attend those who deal in public business, such as fears, envies, calumnies, and contentions, he would certainly have

taken that which led straight on to his death

But now happened the death of Alexander, while Demosthenes was in this hangshment which we have been speaking of. And the Greenas were once again up in arms, encouraged by the brave attempts of Leasthenes, who was then drawing a curcura aliation about Antipater, whom he held close besieged in Lamia. Pytheas, therefore, the orator, and Calimedon, called the Crab, fled from Athens, and taking sides with Antipoter, went about with his friends and ambassadors to keep the Grecians from revolting and taking part with the Athenians But, on the other side, Demosthenes, associating himself with the ambassadors that came from Athens, used his utmost endeavours and gave them his best assistance in persuading the cities to fall unanumously upon the Macedoniums, and to drive them out of Greece Phylarchus says that m Arcadia there happened a rencounter between Pytheas and Demosthenes. which came at last to downight railing, while the one pleaded for the Macedonians, and the other for the Grecians Pytheas said, that as we always suppose there is some disease in the family to which they bring asses' milk, so wherever there comes an embassy from Athens that city must needs be indisposed And Demosthenes answered him, retorting the comparison "Asses' milk is brought to restore health and the Athenians come for the safety and recovery of the sick," With this conduct the people of Athens were so well pleased that they decreed the recall of Demosthenes from hanishment. The decree was brought in by Demon the Pacanian, cousin to Demosthenes. So they sent him a ship to Agina, and he landed at the port of Pirzeus, where he was met and joyfully received by all the citizens, not so much as an archon or a priest staying behind. And Demetrius, the Magnesian, says that he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and blessed this day of his happy return, as far more honourable than that of Alcibiades: since he was recalled by his countrymen, not through any force or constraint put upon them, but by their own good-will and free inclinations. There remained only his pecuniary fine, which, according to law, could not be remitted by the people. But they found out a way to elude the law. It was a custom with them to allow a certain quantity of silver to those who were to furnish and adorn the altar for the sacrifice of Tupiter Soter. This office, for that turn, they bestowed on Demosthenes, and for the performance of it ordered him fifty talents, the very sum in which he was condemned.

Yet it was no long time that he enjoyed his country after his return, the attempts of the Greeks being soon all utterly defeated. For the battle of Cranon happened in Metagitinion, in Boidromion the garrison entered into Munychia, and in the Pyanensien following ided Demostheres after this manner.

Upon the report that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens. Demosthenes with his party took their opportunity to escape privily out of the city; but sentence of death was, upon the motion of Demades, passed upon them by the people. They dispersed themselves, flying some to one place, some to another; and Antipater seut about his soldiers into all quarters to apprehend them. Archias was their captain, and was thence called the exile-hunter. He was a Thurian horn, and is reported to have been an actor of tracedies, and they say that Polus, of Alorina, the best actor of his time, was his scholar; but Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus, the orator, and Demetrius says he spent some time with Anaximenes. This Archias finding Hyperides the grator, Aritonicus of Marathon, and Himergus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerian, in Ægina, took them by force out of the temple of Acus, whither they were fied for safety, and sent them to Antipater, then at Cleonæ, where they were all put to death; and Hyperides, they say, had his tongue cut out.

Demosthenes, he heard, had taken sanctuary at the temple of Neptune in Calauria, and, crossing over thirtier in some light vessels, as soon as he had landed himself, and the Thracian spearmen that came with him, he endeavoured to persuade Demosthenes to accompany hon to Antipater, as if he should meet with no hard usage from him But Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had a strange dream. It seemed to han that he was acting a tragedy, and contended with Archias for the victory, and though he accentred himself well, and gave good saturfaction to the spectators, yet for want of better furniture and provision for the stage, he lost the day And so, while Arches was discoursing to him with many expressions of kindness, he sate still in the same posture, and looking up steadfastly upon hm, "O Archas," said be, "I am as little effected by your promises now as I used formerly to be by your acting " Archies at this beginning to grow angry and to threaten him, "Now," said Demosthenes, "you speak file the genuine Maccdoman cracle, before you were but acting a part Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family " Having thus spoken, he withdrew into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if he meant to write, be put the reed into his mouth, and biting it as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there some time. Then he bowed down his head and covered it. The soldiers that stood at the door. supposing all this to proceed from want of courage and fear of death, in decision called him effermante, and innerhearted, and coward And Archias drawing near, desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind of thing he had spoken before, he once more promised to make his peace with Amipater But Demosthenes, perceiving that now the poison had pierced, and seized his views, uncovered his head, and fixing his eyes upon Archias. " how," said he, " as soon as you please, you may commence the part of Creon in the tragedy, and east out this body of mine unburied But. O gracious Neptune, I, for my part, while I am vet abve, will rise up and depart out of this sacred place, though Antipater and the Macedonians have not left so much as the temple unpolluted" After he had thus spoken and desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward, and possing by the aitur, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghast.

Ariston tays that he took the poison out of a reed, as we have shown before But Pappus, a certain historian whose history was recovered by Hernippus, says, that as he fell near the altar, there was found in his scroll this beginning only of a letter, and nothing more, "Demosthenes to Antipater." And that when his sudden death was much wondered at, the Thracians who guarded the doors reported that he took the poison into his hand out of a rag, and put it in his mouth, and that they imagined it had been gold which he swallowed, but the maid that served him, being examined by the followers of Archias, affirmed that he had worn it in a bracelet for a long time, as an amulet. And Eratosthenes also says that he kept the poison in a hollow ring, and that that ring was the bracelet which he wore about his arm. There are various other statements made by the many authors who have related the story, but there is no need to enter into their discrepancies; yet I must not omit what is said by Demochares, the relation of Demosthenes, who is of opinion it was not by the help of poison that he met with so sudden and so easy a death, but that by the singular favour and providence of the gods he was thus rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians. He died on the sixteenth of Pyanepsion, the most sad and solemn day of the Thesmophoria, which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess.

Soon after his death, the people of Atiens bestowed on him such honours as he had deserved. They erected his status of brass; they decreed that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the Fryttmeum; and on the base of his status was engraven the famous inscription—

"Had you for Greece been strong, as wise you were, The Macedonian had not conquered her."

For it is simply ridiculous to say, as some have related, that Demosthenes made these verses himself in Calauria, as he was about to take the poisson.

A little before he went to Athens, the following incident was asid to have happened. A solitie, being summored to appear before his superior officer, and answer to an accusation brought against kim, put that little gold which be lad into the hands of Demostheae's statue. The fingers of this statue were folded now within another, and near it gove a small planet-tree, from which many leaves, either accidentally blown thicker by the wind, or placed soon purpose by the man binnelf, falling together and lying round about the gold, concealed it for a long time. In the ead, the soldier returned, and found his treasure entire, and the finne of this incident was apread abroad. And many ingenious persons of the city competed with each other, on this acces on to vind cate the integrity of Demosthenes in several

epigrams which they made on the subject.

As for Demades he d'd not long enjoy the new honours he now came ut for divine vengeance for the death of Demosthenes pursuing him into Macedonia where he was justly but to death by those whom he had basely fiattered. They were weary of him before but at this time the guilt he lay under was manifest and undentable. For some of his letters were intercented in which he had encouraged Perdiccas to fall upon Macedonia and to save the Grecians who he said hung only by an old rotten thread meaning Antipater Of this he was accused by Din archus the Corinthian and Cassander was so enmared that he first slew his con in his bosom and then gave orders to execute him who might now at hist by his own extreme musfortunes learn the lesson that tra tors who made sale of the r country sell themselves first a truth which Demosthenes had often foretold him and he would never believe Thus Sos us you have the life of Demosthenes from such accounts as we have either read or heard concerning him.

CICERO

It is generally as I that Richya the mother of C cro- was both and born and fived a far life but of his father nothing it reported but it extremes. For whilst some would have him the son of a fair and educated in that trade others carry but the crops of his family on Tulina Attens as illustrators king of the Volcours who waged war not without honour against the Romans. However, he who first of that home was aurmaned. Ceres seems to have been a person worthy to be remembered some choice who sourceded him not only d into repert, but were fand of that name though vulgitly made a matter of represent. For the Lanta call a wetch Cor and a nick or deat a the up of his most which resembled the opening m a vetch gave him the summane of G nor.

Cierco whose stery I am writing is as d to have replied with spirit to some of his friends, who recommended him to lay saids or clan, the name when he first stood for office and engaged in pol. sy that he would make it has endeavour to render the name of C cero more glorous than that of the Sourie and Catally. And when he was quastor in Sicily, and was making an offering of silver plate to the gods, and had inscribed his two names, Marcus and Tullius, instead of the third, he jestingly told the artificer to engrave the figure of a vetch by them. Thus much is told us about his name.

Of his birth it is reported that his mother was delivered, without pain or labour, on the third of the new Calends, the same day on which now the magistrates of Rome pray and sacrifice for the emperor. It is said, also, that a vision appeared to his nurse, and foretold the child she then suckled should afterwards become a great benefit to the Roman states. To such presages, which might in general be thought mere fancies and idle talk, he himself ere long gave the credit of true prophecies. For as soon as he was of an age to begin to have lessons, he became so distinguished for his talent, and got such a name and reputation amongst the boys, that their fathers would often visit the school that they might see young Cicero, and might be able to say that they themselves had witnessed the quickness and readiness in learning for which he was renowned. And the more rude among them used to be angry with their children, to see them, as they walked together, receiving Cicero with respect into the middle place. And being, as Plato would have the scholar-like and philosophical temper, cager for every kind of learning, and indisposed to no description of knowledge or instruction, he showed, however, a more peculiar propensity to poetry; and there is a poem now extant, made by him when a boy, in tetrameter verse, called Pontius Glaucus. And afterwards, when he applied himself more curiously to these accomplishments, he had the name of being not only the best orator, but also the best poet of Rome. And the glory of his rhetoric still remains, notwithstanding the many new modes in speaking since his time: but his verses are fersotten and out of all repute, so many ingenious poets have followed him.

Leaving his juvenile studies, he became an auditor of Philo the Academic, whom the Romans, above all the other sholars of Chtomachus, admired for his elequence and loved for his character. He also sought the company of the Muchi, who were eminent statemens and leaders in the senate, and acquired from them a knowledge of the laws. For some short time he served in arms under Sylla, in the Marsian war. But perceiving the commonwealth running into factions, and from faction all things tending to an absolute menarchy, he betock himself to a retured and contemplative life, and conversing with the learned Greeks, devoted himself to study, till Sylla had obtained the government, and the commonwealth was m some kind of settlement.

At this time, Caryaogonia, Sill'à eminerpatied slave, having hid an information about an estate belonging to one who was said to have been put to death by procception, had bought it himself for two thousand dinchmas. And when Roccus, the son and here if the dead, complianced, and demonstrated the estate to be worth two hundred and fifty talents, Svilla took it angily to have the action to be worth two hundred and fifty talents, Svilla took it angily to have the actions of the strength of t

Dut fearing Sylli, he travelled into Greece, and gave it out that he did so for the beaufit of his health. And indeed he was lean and menger, and had such a weakness in his stomach that he could take nothing but a spare and this diet, and that you till her in the venuing. His voice was loud and good, but so harth and unmanaged that in sebrence and heat of speaking halves truck it to so help a note into three second in he

teason to feer about his health

When he came to Athers, he was a hearer of Antochus of When he came to Athers, he was a hearer of Antochus of Accion, with whose futures and elegance of determine he was much Laker, although he did not approve of his muss stoom in doctaries, although the heart of the stoom of t

But after he had received the news of Sylla's death, and his body, strengthened again by exercise, was come to a vigorous habit, his voice managed and rendered sweet and full to the ear Cicero 180

and pretty well brought into keeping with his general constitution, his friends at Rome earnestly soliciting him by letters, and Antiochus also preppe him to return to public affairs, he again prepared for use his orator's instrument of rheteric, and summoned into action his political faculties, diligently exercising himself in declamations, and attending the most celebrated rhetoricians of the time. He sailed from Athens for Asia and Rhodes. Amongst the Asian masters, he conversed with Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria; at Rhodes, he studied oratory with Apollonius, the son of Molon, and philosophy with Posidonius. Apollonius, we are told, not understanding Latin, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek. He complied willingly, thinking that his faults would thus be better pointed out to him. And after he finished, all his other hearers were astonished, and contended who should praise him most, but Apollonius, who had shown no signs of excitement whilst he was bearing him, so also now, when it was over, sate musing for some considerable time, without any remark. And when Cicero was discomposed at this, he said. "You have my praise and admiration, Cicero, and Greece my pity and commiseration, since those arts and that eloquence

which are the only glories that remain to her, will now be trans-

ferred by you to Rome."

And now when Cicero, full of expectation, was again bent upon political affairs, a certain oracle blunted the edge of his inclination; for consulting the god of Delphi how he should attain most glory, the Pythoness answered, by making his own genius and not the opinion of the people the guide of his life; and therefore at first he passed his time in Rome cautiously, and was very backward in pretending to public offices, so that he was at that time in little esteem, and had got the names, so readily given by low and ignorant people in Rome, of Greek and Scholar. But when his own desire of fame and the eagerness of his father and relations had made him take in earnest to pleading, he made no slow or gentle advance to the first place, but shope out in full lustre at once and far surpassed all the advocates of the bar. At first, it is said, he, as well as Demosthenes, was defective in his delivery, and on that account paid much attention to the instructions, sometimes of Roscius the comedian, and sometimes of Æsop the tragedian. They tell of this Æsop, that whilst he was representing on the theatre Atreus deliberating the revenge of Thyestes, he was so transported beyond himself in the heat of action, that he struck with his scentre one of the servant; who as maning across the stage, so wolendy that the land him dead upon the place. And such sterwards was General delivery that it del not a lattle contribute to render his elequence personal. He used to relate his depeldent, saying the stage of the stage o

He was appointed questor in a great scarcity of corn, and had Sicily for his province, where, though at first he displeased many. by compelling them to send in their provisions to Rome, yet after they had had expenence of his care, justice, and clemency, they bonon red him more than ever they did any of their governors before. It happened, also, that some young Romans of good and noble families, charged with neglect of discipline and misconduct in military service, were brought before the prator in Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, which he conducted admirably, and got them acquitted. So returning to Rome with a erest council of himself for these things, a ludicrous incident befell him, as he tells us himself Meeting an emment catizen in Campania, whom he accounted his friend, he asked him what the Romans said and thought of his actions, as if the whole city had been filled with the glory of what he had done. His friend asked him in reply, "Where is it you have been, Cicero?" This for the time atterly mortified and cost him down, to perceive that the report of his actions had sunk into the city of Rome as into an immense ocean, without any visible effect or result in reputation And afterwards considering with himself that the glory he contended for was an minute thing, and that there was no fixed end nor measure in its pursuit, he abated much of his ambitious thoughts Nevertheless, he was always excessively pleased with his own preise, and continued to the very last to te passionately fond of glory, which often interfered with the prosecution of his wirest resolutions

On beginning to apply himself more resolutely to public beavers, he transly die as in intraconable and absurd hing that artificers, using vessels and instruments manusarie, should have the time, place, and use of every one of them, and the public artificers, whose instruments for carrying out public measures are press, should be inclined and careless in the convolved of the process And so he not only acquarated himself

with the names, but also knew the particular place where every one of the more eminent citizens dwelt, what lands he possessed, the friends he made use of, and those that were of his neighbourhood, and when he travelled on any mad in Italy, he could readily name and show the estates and seats of his friends and acquaintance. Having so small an estate, though a sufficient competency for his own expenses, it was much wondered at that he took neither fees nor gifts from his clients, and more especially that he did not do so when be undertook the prosecution of Verres. This Verres, who had been practor of Sicily, and stood charged by the Sicilians of many evil practices during his government there, Cicero succeeded in getting condemned, not by speaking, but in a manner by bolding his tongue. For the practors, favouring Verres, had deferred the trial by several adjournments to the last day, in which it was evident there could not be sufficient time for the advocates to be heard, and the cause brought to an issue. Cicero, therefore, came forward, and said there was no need of speeches; and after producing and examining witnesses, he required the judges to proceed to sentence. However, many witty sayings are on record, as having been used by Cicero on the occasion. When a man named Cocilius. one of the freed slaves, who was said to be given to Tewish practices, would have put by the Sicilians, and undertaken the prosecution of Verres himself, Cicero asked, "What has a Tew to do with swine?" verres being the Roman word for a boar. And when Verres began to reproach Cicero with effeminate living, "You ought," replied be, " to use this language at home, to your sons: " Verres having a son who had fallen into disgraceful courses. Hortensins the grater, not daring directly to undertake the defence of Verres, was yet persuaded to appear for him at the laying on of the fine, and received an ivory sphinx for his reward: and when Cicem, in some passage of the speech, obliquely reflected on him, and Hortensius told him he was not skilful in solving riddles, " No," said Cicero, " and yet you have the sphinx in your house!"

Verres was thus convicted; though Cicco, who set the fine at eventy-five myriads, kay under the suspicion of being conrupted by bribery to lessen the sum. But the Stillans, in testimony of their gratitude, come and brought him all sorts of presents from the island, when he was sedile; of which he made no private profit himself, but used their generasity only to reduce the public price of provisions.

He had a very pleasant seat at Arpi, he had also a farm near

Nanies, and another about Pompen, but neither of any great value The portion of his wife, Terentia, amounted to ten myrads, and he had a bequest valued at nine myrads of denam, upon these he lived in a liberal but temperate style with the learned Greeks and Remans that were his familiars He rarely, if at any time, sat down to meat till sunset, and that not so much on account of business, as for his health and the weakness of his stomach He was otherwise in the care of his body nice and delicate, appointing himself, for example, a set number of walks and cubbings And after this manner managing the habit of his body, he brought it in time to be healthful, and capable of supporting many great fatigues and trials His father's house he made over to his brother, living himself near the Palatine hill, that he might not give the trouble of long journeys to those that made suit to him And, indeed, there were not fewer daily appearing at his door, to do their court to him, than there were that came to Crassus for his riches, or to Pompey for his power amonest the soldiers, these being at that time the two men of the greatest repute and influence in Rome. Nay, even Pompey himself used to pay court to Cicero, and Cicero's public actions did much to establish Pomney's authority and reputation in the state

Numerous duranguished compensors stood with him for the proctor's office, but he was chosen before them all, and managed the decision of causes with justice and integrity. It is related that Licinnis Macer, a man himself of great power in the city, and supported also by the assistance of Crassus, was accused before him of extortion, and that, in confidence on his own interest and the diligence of his friends, whilst the todges were debating about the sentence, he went to his house, where hastley trimining his hair and putting on a clean gown as already acquitted, he was setting off again to go to the Forum . but at his hall door meeting Crassus, who told hem that he was condemned by all the votes, he went in again, threw honself upon his bed, and died sumediately This verilet was considered very creditable to Cicero, as showing his careful management of the courts of justice On another occasion, Vatinus, a man of rude manners and often insolent in court to the magistrates, who had large swellings on his neck, came before his tribunal and made some request, and on Cicero's desiring further time to consider it, told him that he hauself would have made no question about it had he been præter Creero, turning quickly upon him, answered," But I, you see, have not the neck that you have "

When there were but two or three days remaining in his office. Manifius was brought before him, and charged with neculation. Manilius had the good opinion and favour of the common people, and was thought to be prosecuted only for Pompey's sake, whose particular friend he was. And therefore, when he asked a space of time before his trial, and Cicero allowed him but one day, and that the next only, the common people grew highly offended, because it had been the custom of the proctors to allow ten days at least to the necused; and the tribunes of the people, having called him before the people and accused him, he, desiring to be heard, said, that as he had always treated the accused with equity and humanity, as far as the law allowed, so he thought it hard to deny the same to Manilius, and that he had studiously appointed that day of which alone. as prector, he was master, and that it was not the part of those that were desirous to belo him to cast the judgment of his cause upon another practor. These things being said made a wonderful change in the people, and commending him much for it they desired that he himself would undertake the defence of Manilius : which he willingly consented to, and that principally for the sake of Pompey, who was absent. And, accordingly, taking his place before the people again, he delivered a bold invective upon the oligarchical party and on those who were jealous of Pompey. Yet he was preferred to the consulship no less by the nobles

than the common people, for the good of the city; and both parties jointly assisted his promotion, upon the following reasons, The change of government made by Sylla, which at first seemed a senseless one, by time and usage had now come to be considered by the people no unsatisfactory settlement. But there were some that endeavoured to alter and subvert the whole present state of affairs, not from any good motives, but for their own private gain; and Pompey being at this time employed in the wars with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, there was no sufficient force at Rome to suppress any attempts at a revolu-These people had for their head a man of bold, daring, and restless character, Lucius Catiline, who was accused, besides other great offences, of deflowering his vitgin daughter, and killing his own brother; for which latter crime, fearing to be prosecuted at law, he persuaded Sylla to set him down, as though he were yet alive, amongst those that were to be put to death by prescription. This man the profligate citizens choosing for their captain, gave faith to one another, amongst other pledges, by sacrificing a man, and cating of his flesh; and a great part of the young men of the city were corrupted by him, he providing for every one pleasures, drank, and women, and profucely supplying the expense of these debauches Etrura, moreover, had all been excited to revolt, as well as a great part of Gaul within the Alps But Rome itself was in the most dangerous inclination to change on account of the unequal distribution of wealth and property, those of highest rank and greatest spirit having impoverished themselves by shows, entertainments, ambition of offices, and sumptuous buildings, and the riches of the city having thus fallen into the hands of mean and low born persons So that there wanted but a slight impetus to set all in motion, it being in the power of every daring man to overturn a sickly

Cauline, however, being desirous of procuring a strong position to carry out his designs, stood for the consulship, and had great hopes of success, thinking be should be appointed, with Casus Antonius as his colleague, who was a man fit to lead perther in a good cause nor in a bad one, but might be a valuable accession to another's power These things the greatest part of the good and honest cruzens apprehending, put Cicero upon standing for the consulship, whom the people readily receiving, Catiline was put by, so that he and Caius Antonius were chosen, although amongst the competitors be was the only man descended from a father of the equestrian and not of the senatorial order

Though the designs of Catiline were not yet publicly known, get considerable prelyminary troubles animediately followed upon Cicero's entrance upon the consulshin For, on the one side. those who were disqualified by the last of Sylla from holding any public offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, came forward as candidates and caressed the people for them, speaking many things truly and justly against the tyranny of Sylla, only that they disturbed the government at an improper and unstasonable time, on the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws to the same purpose, conaututing a commission of ten persons, with unlimited powers, m whom as supreme governors should be vested the right of selling the public lands of all Italy and Syria and Pompey's new conquest, of judging and bearshing whom they pleased, of plant ing colonies, of taking moneys out of the treasury, and of levying and paying what soldiers should be thought needful. And several of the nobility favorated this law, but especially Caims Antonius, Cicero's colleague, in hopes of being one of the ten.

But what gave the greatest fear to the nobles was, that he was thought privy to the conspiracy of Catiline, and not to dislike it because of his great debts.

Cicero, endeavouring in the first place to provide a remedy against this danger, procured a decree assigning to him the province of Macedonia, he bimself declining that of Gaul, which was offered to him. And this piece of favour so completely won over Antonius, that he was ready to second and respond to, like a hired player, whatever Cicero said for the good of the country, And now, having made his colleague thus tame and tractable. he could with greater courage attack the conspirators. And, therefore, in the senate, making an oration against the law of the ten commissioners, he so confounded those who proposed it. that they had nothing to reply. And when they again endeayoured, and, having prepared things beforehand, had called the consuls before the assembly of the people. Cicero, fearing nothing, went first out, and commanded the senate to follow him, and not only succeeded in throwing out the law, but so entirely overpowered the tribunes by his oratory, that they abandoned all thought of their other projects.

For Cicero, it may be said, was the one man, above all others.

who made the Romans feel how great a charm elequence lands to what is good, and how invincible justice is, if it be well spoken; and that it is necessary for him who would dexterously govern a commonwealth, in action, always to prefer that which is honest before that which is popular, and in speaking, to free the right and useful measure from everything that may occasion offence. An incident occurred in the theatre, during his consulship, which showed what his speaking could do. For whereas formerly the knights of Rome were mingled in the theatre with the common people, and took their places among them as it happened, Marcus Otho, when he was pretor, was the first who distinguished them from the other citizens, and appointed them a proper seat, which they still enjoy as their special place in the theatre. This the common people took as an indignity done to them, and, therefore, when Otho appeared in the theatre they hissed him; the kuights, on the contrary, received him with loud clapping. The people repeated and increased their hissing; the knights continued their clapping. Upon this, turning upon one another, they broke out into insulting words, so that the theatre was in great disorder. Cicero being informed of it, came himself to the theatre, and summoning the people into the temple of Bellona, he so effectually chid and chastised them for it, that again returning into the theatre they received Otho with loud applause, contending with the Linghts who should give him the greatest demonstrations of honour and respect

The conspirators with Catabae, at first cowed and disheartened, began presently to take courage again. And assembling themselves together, they exhorted one another holdly to undertake the design before Pompey's return, who, as it was said, was now on his march with his forces for Rome But the old soldiers of Sylla were Cataline's chief stimulits to action. They had been dishanded all about Italy, but the greatest number and the bercest of them lay scattered among the crues of Etruria, enter taining themselves with dreams of new plunder and rapine amonest the hearded nches of Italy These, having for their kader Manhus, who had served with distinction in the wars under Sylla, joined themselves to Cathine, and came to Rome to assist him with their suffrages at the election. For he again pretended to the consulship, having resolved to kill Cicero in a tumult at the elections Also, the divine powers seemed to give intimation of the coming troubles, by earthquakes, thunderbolts, and strange appearances. Nor was human evidence wanting certain enough in itself, though not sufficient for the conviction of the noble and powerful Cathine Therefore Licero, deterring the day of election, summoned Cathine into the senate, and questioned him as to the charges made against him. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate desirous of change, and to give a specimen of himself to the conspirators present, returned an audacious arswer, "What harm," said he, " when I see two bodies, the one lean and consumptive with a head, the other great and strong without one, if I put a head to that body which wants one?" This covert representation of the senate and the people excited yet greater apprehensions in Cicero He put on armour, and was attended from his house by the noble ctures in a body, and a number of the young men went with him into the Plain. Here, designedly letting his turns sho partly off from his shoulders, he showed his armour underneath, and discovered his danger to the spectators, who, being much moved at it, gathered round about him for his defence length, Cauline was by a general suffrage again put by, and Silves and Morena chosen consuls

Not long after this, Cataline's soldlers got together in a body in Eturia, and began to form themselves into companies, the day appointed for the design being near at hand. About mid might, some of the principal and most overful circums of Rome

Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus went to Cicero's house, where, knocking at the gate, and calling up the porter, they commanded him to awake Cicero, and tell him they were there. The business was this: Crassus's porter after supper had delivered to him letters brought by an unknown person. Some of them were directed to others, but one to Crassus, without a name; this only Crassus read, which informed him that there was a great slaughter intended by Catiline, and advised him to leave the city. The others he did not onen. but went with them immediately to Cicero, being affrighted at the danger, and to free himself of the suspicion he lay under for his familiarity with Catiline. Cicero, considering the matter. summoned the senate at break of day. The letters he brought with him, and delivered them to these to whom they were directed, commanding them to read them publicly: they all alike contained an account of the conspiracy. And when Ouintus Arrius, a man of practorian dignity, recounted to them how soldiers were collecting in companies in Etruria, and Manlius stated to be in motion with a large force, bovering about those cities, in expectation of intelligence from Rome, the senate made a decree to place all in the hands of the consuls, who should undertake the conduct of everything, and do their best to save the state. This was not a common thing, but only done by the senate in case of imminent danger.

After Cicero had received this power, he committed all affairs outside to Ouintus Metallus, but the management of the city he kept in his own hands. Such a numerous attendance guarded him every day when he went abroad, that the greatest part of the market-place was filled with his train when he entered it. Catiline, impatient of further delay, resolved himself to break forth and go to Manlius, but he commanded Marcius and Cethegus to take their swords, and go early in the morning to Cicero's gates, as if only intending to salute him, and then to fall upon him and slav him. This a noble lady, Fulvia, coming by night, discovered to Cicero, hidding him baware of Cethegus and Marcius. They came by break of day, and being denied entrance, made an outery and disturbance at the rates, which excited all the more suspicion. But Cicere, going forth, summoned the senate into the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the end of the Sacred Street, going up to the Palatine. And when Catiline with others of his party also came, as intending to make his defence, none of the senators would sit by him, but all of them left the bench where he had placed bimself. And

when he brew to speak, they interrupted him with outcome At length Guero, standing up, communished him to leave the scit, for stone on governed the commonwealth with words, the other with arms, it was recessary there should be a wall between them. Collins, therefore, immediately life the town, with three bunded armed men, and assuming, as if he had been a magnitrate, the roid, axes, and multiny ensigns, he ment to Minitus, and baving got lengther a body of near twenty thousand men, with these he marched to the energial cutes, endestrouning to persuade or force them to previol. So it became now come to

open war, Antonius was sent forth to fight him

The remainder of those in the city whom he had corrupted, Cornelius Lentulus kept together and encouraged He had the surname Sura, and was a man of a noble Jamily, but a dissolute brer, who for his debanchery was formerly turned out of the whate, and was now holding the office of prator for the second time, as the custom is with those who desire to regain the dignity of senator. It is said that he got the surname Sura upon this of senator at a saw that he got the surraine outs upon this occasion, being question in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away and consumed a great quantity of the public moneys, at which Sylla being provoked, called him to give an account in the senate, he appeared with great coolness and contempt, and said he had no account to gate, but they might take this. hold ing up the calf of his leg, as boys do at hall when thry have mussed Upon which he was surnamed Sura, sura being the Roman word for the call of the leg Being at another time prosecuted at law, and having bribed some of the judges he escaped only by two votes, and complained of the needless expense he had gone to in paying for a second, as one would have sufficed to acquit him. This man, such in his own nature, and now infiamed by Catilire, false prophets and fortune tellers had also corrupted with vain hopes, quoting to him fictitious terses and oracles, and proving from the Sibyline prophecies that there were three of the name Cornelius designed by fate to be monarche of Rome, two of whom, China and Sylla, had already fulfilled the decree, and that divine fortune was now advancing with the gift of monarchy for the remaining third Corn bus, and that therefore he ought by all means to accept it, and not lose opportunity by delay, as Catibne had done

Lentulus, therefore, designed no mean or trivial matter, for he had resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many other culvers as he could, to sive the city, and spare nobody, except only Pempey's children, antending to serie and keep them as

pledges of his reconciliation with Pompey. For there was then a common and strong report that Pompey was on his way homeward from his great expedition. The night appointed for the design was one of the Saturnalia; swords, flax, and sulphur they carried and hid in the house of Cethegus; and providing one hundred men, and dividing the city into as many parts, they had allotted to every one singly his proper place, so that in a moment, many kindling the fire, the city might be in a flame all together. Others were appointed to stop up the aqueducts, and to kill those who should endeavour to carry water to put it out. Whilst these plans were preparing, it happened there were two ambassadors from the Allobroges staying in Rome; a nation at that time in a distressed condition, and very uneasy under the Roman government. These Lentulus and his party judging useful instruments to move and seduce Gaul to revolt, admitted into the conspiracy, and they gave them letters to their own magistrates, and letters to Catiline: in those they promised liberty, in these they exhorted Catiline to set all slaves free, and to brine them along with him to Rome. They sent also to accompany them to Cataline, one Titus, a native of Croton, who was to carry those letters to him.

These coinsile of inconsidering men, who conversed together over wine and with women, Gero watched with solut industry and forethought, and with most admirable saguety, having several emissaries about, who observed and traced with him all that was does, and keeping also a severel correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy. He thus knew all the discourse which passed betwitt them and the strangers; and lying in wait for them lay night, be took the Cotomian with his letters. the ambassadors of the Albhorous activity ascratily in the letters. The ambassadors of the Albhorous activity ascratily in

concert with him.

By brack of day, he summoned the senate into the temple of Concord, where he read the letters and examicate the informers. Junius Silanus further stated that several persons had heard Catchagus say that three consults and four pretors were to be slain. Piso, also, a person of consultar digarity, testified other matters of the like nature; and Guius Salpirias, one of the pretors, being sent to Cothegus's house, found there a quantity of darks and of amour, and a still greater number of swords and daggers, all recently whettod. At length, the sunate decreeing indemnity to the Crotonian upon his confession of the whole matter, Lentulus was convicted, abjured his office (for he was then pretor), and put of his robe edgel with purple in the senate, changing it for another garment more agreeable to his present circumstances. He thereupon, with the rest of his confederates present, was committed to the charge of the practors in free cuttody.

It being evening, and the common people in crowds expecting without, Ctoero went forth to them, and told them what was done, and then, attended by them, went to the house of a friend and near neighbour, for his own was taken up by the women, who were celebrating with secret rates the least of the goddess whom the Romans call the Good, and the Greeks the Women's goddesv For a sacrifice is annually performed to her in the consul a house. either by his wife or mother, in the presence of the vestal virgins And having got into his friend's house privately, a few only being present, he bygan to deliberate bow he should treat these men The severest, and the only punishment fit for such bemous cropes, he was somewhat thy and fearful of inflicting. as well from the clemency of his nature, as also lest he should be thought to evereuse his authority too insolently, and to treat too barshly men of the noblest burth and most powerful friendthings in the city, and yet, if he thould use them more mildly, he had a dreadful prospect of danger from them. For there was no likelihood if they suffered less than death, they would be reconciled, but rather, adding new rage to their former wicked ness, they would rush into every kind of audacity, while he himself, a horse character for courses already did not stand very bush with the multitude, would be thought guilty of the greatest meaning and want of manliness

Whilst Goven was doubting what course to take, a portent hancened to the women in their sampling. For on the alterwhere the fire seemed wholly extinguished, a great and bright flame usued forth from the ashes of the bornt word, at which others were affrighted, but the boly virgins called to Terentia. Creero's wife, and bade her baste to her busband, and command him to execute what he had resolved for the good of his country. for the goddess had sent a great light to the increase of his safety and clory Terentia, therefore, as she was otherwise in her own nature neither tender hearted nor timorous, but a woman eager for distinction (who, as Cicero himself says, would rather thrust herself into his public affairs, than communicate her domestic matters to him), told him these things, and excited him against the conspirators So also did Quantas his brother, and Publius Numbers, one of his philosophical friends, whom he often made use of in his greatest and most weighty affairs of state

The next day, a debate arising in the senate about the punishment of the men, Silanus, being the first who was asked his opinion, said it was fit they should be all sent to the prison, and there suffer the atmost penalty. To him all consented in order till it came to Caius Casar, who was afterwards dictator. He was then but a young man, and only at the outset of his career. but had already directed his hopes and policy to that course by which he afterwards changed the Roman state into a monarchy. Of this others foresaw nothing; but Cicero had seen reason for strong suspicion, though without obtaining any sufficient means of proof. And there were some indeed that said that he was very near being discovered, and only just escaped him; others are of opinion that Cicero voluntarily overlooked and neglected the evidence against him, for fear of his friends and nower: for it was very evident to everybody that if Cosar was to be accused with the conspirators, they were more likely to be saved with him, than he to be punished with them,

When, therefore, it came to Casar's turn to give his opinion, he stood up and proposed that the conspirators should not be put to death, but their estates confiscated, and their persons confined in such cities in Italy as Cicero should approve, there to be kept in enstody till Catiline was conquered. To this sentence, as it was the most moderate, and he that delivered it a most powerful speaker. Cicero himself gave no small weight, for he stood up and, turning the scale on either side, spoke in favour partly of the former, partly of Casar's sentence. And all Cicero's friends, judging Casar's sentence most expedient for Cicero, because he would incur the less blame if the conspirators were not put to death, chose rather the latter: so that Silanus. also changing his mind, retracted his opinion, and said he had not declared for capital, but only the utmost punishment, which to a Roman senator is imprisonment. The first man who spoke against Cresar's motion was Catulus Lutatius. Cato followed. and so vehemently urged in his speech the strong suspicion against Casar himself, and so filled the senate with anger and resolution, that a decree was passed for the execution of the conspirators. But Casar opposed the confiscation of their goods, not thinking it fair that those who rejected the mildest part of his sentence should avail themselves of the severest. And when many insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. but they would do nothing: till Cicero himself yielding, remitted that part of the sentence.

After this, Cicero went out with the senate to the conspirators;

they were not all together in one place, but the several prators had them, some one, some another, in custody. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatme, and brought him by the Sacred Street, through the middle of the market place, a circle of the most enment citizens encompassing and protecting him. The people, affinghted at what was stong, passed along in silence, especially the young men, as if, with fear and trembling, they were undergoing a rite of instintion into some ancient secred mysteries of aristocratic power Thus passing from the marketplace, and coming to the gaol, he delivered Lentilius to the officer, and commanded him to execute him, and after him Cetherus, and so all the rest in order, he brought and delivered un to execution And when he saw many of the conspuntors in the market place, still standing together in companies. grownt of what was done, and waiting for the night, supposing the men were still alive and in a possibility of being rescued. be called out in a loud voice, and said, " They did live, " for so the Romans, to avoid manspicious language, name those that ать деай

te was now evening, when he returned from the market-place in his own house, the citizens no longer attending him with silence, nor in order, but receiving him, as he passed, with acclamations and applauses, and saluting him as the savinur and founder of his country. A bright hight shone through the streets from the lamos and torches set up at the doors, and the namen showed lights from the tops of the houses, to bonour Cicero, and to behold hon returning home with a splendid train of the most principal citizens; amongst whom were many who had conducted great wars, celebrated triumphs, and added to the possessions of the Roman empire, both by sea and land These, as they passed along with him, arknowledged to one another. that though the Roman people were indebted to several officers and commanders of that age for siches, spoils, and power, yet to Cicero alone they owed the salety and security of all these, for delivering them from so great and imminent a danger. For though it might seem no wonderful thing to prevent the design, and punish the conspirators, yet to defeat the greatest of all consumeres with so little disturbance, trouble, and commotion, was very extraordinary For the greater part of those who had focked into Catiline, as soon as they heard the fate of Lentuins and Cethegus, left and forsock him, and he himself, with his remaining forces, joining battle with Antonius, was destroyed with his array

And yet there were some who were very ready both to speak ill of Cicero, and to do him hurt for these actions: and they had for their leaders some of the magistrates of the ensuing year, as Casar, who was one of the practors, and Metellus and Bestia, the tribunes. These, entering upon their office some few days before Cicero's consulate expired, would not permit him to make any address to the people, but throwing the benches before the rostra, hindered his speaking, telling him he might. if he pleased, make the oath of withdrawal from office, and there come down again. Cicero, accordingly, accepting the conditions, came forward to make his withdrawal; and silence being made, he recited his oath, not in the usual, but in a new and peculiar form, namely, that he had saved his country and preserved the empire; the truth of which oath all the people confirmed with theirs. Casar and the tribunes, all the more exasperated by this, endeavoured to create him further trouble. and for this purpose proposed a law for calling Pompey home with his army, to put an end to Cicero's usurpation. But it was a very great advantage for Cicero and the whole commonwealth that Cato was at that time one of the tribunes. For he, being of equal power with the rest, and of greater reputation, could oppose their designs. He easily defeated their other projects. and in an oration to the people so highly extelled Cicero's consulate, that the greatest honours were decreed him, and he was publicly declared the Father of his Country, which title he seems to have obtained, the first man who did so, when Cato gave it to him in this address to the people.

At this time, therefore, his authority was very great in the city; but he created himself much eavy, and offended very many, not by any evil action, but because he was always lauding and magnifying himself. For neither senate, nor assembly of the people, not court of judicature could meet, in which he was not heard to talk of Catiline and Lentulus. Indeed, he also filled his books and writings with his own praises, to such an excess as to render a style, in itself most pleasant and delightful, nauseous and irksome to his hearers; this ungrateful humour, like a disease, always cleaving to him. Nevertheless, though he was intemperately fond of his own glory, he was very free from envying others, and was, on the contrary, most liberally profuse in commending both the ancients and his contemporaries, as any one may see in his writings. And many such sayings of his are also remembered: as that he called Aristotle a river of flowing gold, and said of Plato's Dialogues, that if Juniter were

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to speak, it would be in language like theirs. He used to call Theophrasius his special hixury And being asked which of Demosthenes's orations he liked best, he answered, the longest And yet some affected mutators of Demosthenes have comgranted of some words that occur in one of his letters, to the effect that Demosthenes sometimes falls usleep in his speeches, forgetting the many high encomiums he continually passes upon him, and the compliment he paid him when he named the most elaborate of all his orations, those he wrote against Antony, Philippies And as for the eminent men of his own time, either in slowence or philosophy, there was not one of them whom he did not, by writing or speaking favourably of him, render more illustrious He obtained of Casar, when in power, the Roman utuzersh p for Cratipous, the Permatetic, and got the court of Areopagus, by public decree, to request his stay at Athens. for the instruction of their youth and the honour of their city. There are letters extant from Coero to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he recommends the study of philosophy under Cratingus There is one in which he blames Gorgias, the rhetorician, for entiting his son into loxury and drinking, and, therefore, forbids him his company And this, and one other to Pelops, the Byzantine, are the only two of his Greek epistles which seem to be written in anger. In the first, he justive reflects on Gorgias, if he were what he was thought to be, a dissolute and profugate character, but in the other, he rather meanly expostulates and complains with Felops for neglecting to procure " a decree of certain bonours from the Byzantines Another adstration of his love of prane is the way in which

sometimes, to make his orations more striking, he neglected decorum and dienity When Munatus, who had escaped conviction by his advocacy, immediately prosecuted his friend Sabinus, he said in the warmth of his resentment, "Do you suppose you were acquitted for your own ments, Munatus, and was it not that I so darkened the case, that the court could not see your guilt?" When from the rostra he had made a eulogy on Marcus Crassus, with much applause, and within a few days after again as publicly reproached him, Crassus called to him, and said, "Did not you yourself two days ago, in this same place, commend me?" 'Yes," said Cicero, 'I exercised my eloquence in declaiming upon a had subject." At another time. Crassus had said that no one of his family had ever lived beyond arriy years of age, and afterwards denied it, and asked, " What should put it into my head to say so?" It was to gair the people's favour," answered Georo, "you knew how gold they would be to hat riv." When Canssu expressed administion of the Stoic doctrine, that the good must is alterpy rich, "Do you to man," said Grown, "their doctrine that all diving it done, to the write;" Crassus being generally accused of coverousness. One of Crassus's sons, who was thought so exceedingly like a man of the name of Axius as to throw some suspicion on his mother's honour, made a successful speech in the senate. Cicero, on being asked how he liked it, replied with the Greek works Asias Grassus.

When Crassus was about to go into Syria, he desired to leave Goroo rather his friend than his enemy, and, therefore, one day subtring him, told him he would come and sup with him, which the other as courcously received. Within a few days after, some of Geero's acquaintoness interceding for Vatinius, as desirous of recordilation and friendship, for he was then his enemy, "What," he replact, "does Vatinius sho what to come and sup with me?" Such was his way with Crassus. When and sup with me?" Such was his way with Crassus. When contact Vatinius, who had weathing in his neck, was pleading a cause, he called him the tunid cortary, and basing been told by some on that Vatinius was dead, on hearing, presently after, that he was silve, "May the rascal perish," said he, "for his news not being true."

Upon Casar's bringing forward a law for the division of the lands in Campania amonest the soldiers, many in the senate opposed it: amongst the rest, Lucius Gellius, one of the oldest men in the house, said it should never pass whilst he lived. "Let us postpone it," said Cicero, "Gellius does not ask us to wait long." There was a man of the name of Octavius, suspacted to be of African descent. He once said, when Cicero was pleading, that he could not hear him: "Yet there are holes," said Ciccro, "in your cars." When Metellus Nepos told him that he had ruined more as a witness than he had saved as an advocate, "I admit," said Cicero," that I have more truth than eloquence." To a young man who was suspected of having given a poisoned cake to his father, and who talked largely of the invectives he meant to deliver against Cicero. " Better these," replied he, " than your cakes." Publius Sextius, having amongst others retained Cicero as his advocate in a certain cause, was yet desirous to say all for himself, and would not allow anybody to speak for him; when he was about to receive his acquittal from the judges, and the ballots were passing, Cicero called to him. " Make haste, Sextius, and use your time; to-morrow you will be nobody" He cated Publius Cotta to bear testimony in a certain cause, one who affected to be thought a lawyer, though ignorant and imlearned, to whom, when he had said, 'I know nothing of the matter," he answered, "You think, perhaps, we ask you about a point of law ' To Metellus Nepos, who, in a dispute between them, repeated several times, "Who was your lather, Cicero?" he replied, "Your mother has made the answer to such a question in your case more difficult," Nexus's mother having been of ill repute The son, also, was of a ordiy, uncertain temper At one time, he suddenly threw up his office of tribune, and sailed off into Svria to Pompey. and immediately after, with as little reason, came back again He gave his tutor, Ph lagrus, a funeral with more than necessary attention, and then set up the stone figure of a crow over his tomb "This," said Gorro, " is really appropriate, as he did not teach you to speak but to fly about." When Marcus Anous, in the opening of some speech in a court of justice, said that his friend had desired him to employ industry, elegisence, and fidelity in that cause, Occess answered, " And how have you had the heart not to accede to any one of his requests?"

To use the sharp railiery against opporents and antagonists in judicial pleading secure allowable between. But he exerted much ill felling by his readless to stude any one for the sake of the large of the sake of the sake

very Lely daughters, he quoted the verse

"He reared a race without Apollo's leave "

When Marcus Gellius, who was required the son of a slave, had read settler in the centre with a very shrill and load voice, "Wender not," and Geren, "he comes of the cries" when Faunts Spile, the ont of Srikt the dectator, who laid, dowing his detatoring, by publicable proscribed and condemned on the control of the state of the state, and got into a control of the state of the state, and got into the state of the stat

But Clodius's faction conspired against him upon the following occasion. Clodius was a member of a noble family, in the flower of his youth, and of a bold and resolute temper. He, being in love with Pompeia, Casar's wife, got privately into his house in the dress and attire of a music-girl; the women being at that time offering there the sacrifice which must not be seen by men, and there was no man present. Clodius, being a youth and beardless, hoped to get to Pompeia among the women without being taken notice of. But coming into a great house by night, he missed his way in the passages, and a servant belonging to Aurelia, Cresar's mother, spying him wandering up and down, inquired his name. Thus being necessitated to speak, he told her he was seeking for one of Pompeia's maids, Abra by name; and she, perceiving it not to be a woman's voice, shricked out. and called in the women; who, shutting the gates, and searching every place, at length found Clodius hidden in the chamber of the maid with whom he had come in. This matter being much talked about, Casar put away his wife, Pompeia, and Clodius was prosecuted for profaming the holy rites. Cicero was at this time his friend, for he had been useful to

him in the conspiracy of Catiline, as one of his forwardest assistants and protectors. But when Clodius rested his defence upon this point, that he was not then at Rome, but at a distance in the country, Cicero testified that he had come to his house that day, and conversed with him on several matters; which thing was indeed true, although Cicero was thought to testify it not so much for the truth's sake as to preserve his quiet with Terentia his wife. For she bore a grudge against Clodius on account of his sister Clodia's wishing, as it was alleged, to marry Cicaro, and having employed for this purpose the intervention of Tullus, a very intimate friend of Cicero's; and his frequent visits to Clodia, who lived in their neighbourhood, and the attentions he paid to her had excited Terentia's suspicions, and, being a woman of a violent temper, and having the ascendant over Cicero, she urged him on to taking a part against Clodius, and delivering his testimony. Many other good and honest citizens also gave evidence against him, for perjuries, disorders, bribing the people, and debauching women. Lucullus proved, by his women-servants, that he had debauched his youngest sister when she was Luculius's wife; and there was a general belief that he had done the same with his two other sisters, Tertia, whom Marcius Rex, and Clodin, whom Metellus Celer had married; the latter of whom was called Quadrantia, because one of her

lovers had deceived her with a purse of small copper morey mstead of silver, the smallest copper com being called a quadrant Upon this sister's account, in particular, Clodius's character was attacked \otwithstanding all this, when the common people united accurat the accusers and witnesses and the whole party, the judges were affrighted, and a guard was placed about them for their defence, and most of them wrote their sentences on the tablets in such a way that they could not well be read It was decided, however, that there was a majority for his acquirtal, and bribery was reported to have been employed. in reference to which Carolins remarked, when he next met the judges, " You were very right to ask for a guard, to prevent your money being taken from you" And when Clodies upbraided Cicero that the judges had not believed his testimony. "Yes," said he, " five and twenty of them trusted me and con demned you, and the other thirty did not trust you, for they did not accust you till they had got your money "

Carsar, though cated, did not give his testimony against Godins, and declared hinself not convinced of his wife's adultery, but that he had put her away because it was fit that Casar's house should not be only free of the ryil fact, but of

the fame too

Clodius, having escaped this danger, and having got himself chosen one of the tribunes, unmediately attacked Cicero, heapmy up all metters and moting all persons against him. The common people he gained over with popular laws, to each of the consuls he decreed large provinces, to Piso, afacedonia, and to Gabmus, Syrus, he made a strong party among the indigent crizens, to support him in his proceedings, and had always a body of armed slaves about him Of the three men then in greatest power, Crassus was Cecero's open enemy, Pompey indifferently made advances to both, and Casar was going with an army into Gaul. To him, though not his friend (what had occurred to the time of the conspiracy having created suspicions between them), Cicero applied, requesting an appointment as one of his lieutenants in the province. Cesar accepted him, and Clodius, perceiving that Cicero would thus escape his tribunicism authority, professed to be inclusable to a reconciliation, laid the greatest fault upon Terentia, made always a favourable mention of him, and addressed him with kind expressions, as one who felt no hatred or ill-will, but who merely wished to urge his complaints in a moderate and friendly way. By these artifices, he so freed Green of all his fears, that he resigned his

appointment to Casar, and betook himself again to political affairs. At which Casar, heing exasperated, joined the party of Clodius against him, and wholly alienated Pompey from him; he also himself declared in a public assembly of the people, that he did not think Lentulus and Cethegus, with their accomplices, were fairly and legally put to death without being brought to trial. And this, indeed, was the crime charged upon Cicero. and this imprachment he was summoned to answer. And so, as an accused man, and in danger for the result, he changed his dress, and went round with his hair untrimmed, in the attire of a suppliant, to beg the people's grace. But Clodius met him in every corner, having a band of abusive and daring fellows about him, who derided Cicero for his change of dress and his humiliation, and often, by throwing dirt and stones at him, interrupted his supplication to the people.

However, first of all, almost the whole equestrian order changed their dress with him, and no less than twenty thousand young gentlemen followed him with their hair untrimmed, and supplicating with him to the people. And then the senate met, to pass a decree that the people should change their dress as in time of public sorrow. But the consuls opposing it, and Clodius with armed men besetting the senate-house, many of the senators ran out, crying out and tearing their clothes. But this sight moved neither shame nor pity; Cicero must either fly or determine it by the sword with Clodius. He entreated Powney to aid him, who was on purpose gone out of the way, and was staying at his country-house in the Alban hills; and first he sent his son-in-law Piso to intercede with him, and afterwards set out to go himself. Of which Pompey being informed, would not stay to see him, being ashamed at the remembrance of the many conflicts in the commonwealth which Cicero had underonne in his behalf, and how much of his policy he had directed for his advantage. But being now Casar's son-in-law, at his instance he had set aside all former kindness, and, slipping out at another door, avoided the interview. Thus being forsaken by Pompey, and left alone to himself, he fied to the consuls, Gabinius was rough with him, as usual, but Piso spoke more courteously, desiring him to yield and give place for a while to the fury of Clodius, and to await a change of times, and to be now, as before, his country's saviour from the peril of these troubles and commotions which Clodius was exciting.

Cicero, receiving this answer, consulted with his friends. Lucultus advised him to stay, as being sure to prevail at last: others to fly, because the people would soon drace bym again, when they should have enough of the rage and madness of Choiast. This last Gere approved. But furthe took a status of Minerva, which had been long set up and greatly honoured in his house, and carrying it to the capitol, there dedicated it, with the manpton, "To Minerva, Patroness of Rome". And recovering an econotif from his forest, about the modify of the night be left the city, and went by land through Lucana, intending to rach Scole.

But as soon as it was publicly known that he was fied, Clodius proposed to the people a decree of exile, and by his own order interdicted him fire and water, prohibiting any within five hundred miles in Italy to receive bem into their houses Most people, out of respect for Cicero, paid no regard to this edict. offence him every attention, and escorting him on his way But at Hippornum, a city of Lucama new called Vibo. one Vibrus. a Sicilian by birth, who, amongst many other instances of Cicero's friendship, had been made head of the state engineers when he was consul, would not receive him into his house, sendme him word he would appoint a place in the country for his recention Came Vernilius, the prietor of Sicily, who had been on the most intimate terms with him, wrote to him to forbear coming into Sicily At these things Cicero, being disheart ened, went to Brundustum, whence putting forth with a prosperous wind, a contrary gale blowing from the sea carned him back to Italy the next day. He put again to sea, and having reached Dyrrachium, on his coming to shore there, at is reported that are earthquake and a convulsion in the sea happened at the same time, signs which the diviners and intimated that his exiswould not be long, for these were propostics of change Although many visited him with respect, and the cities of Greece contended which should honour him most, he yet continued disheartened and disconsolate, like an unfortunate lover. often casting his looks back upon Italy, and, indeed, he was become so poor spinted, so humiliated and dejected by his mis fortunes, as none could have expected in a man who had devoted so much of his hie to study and learning. And yet he often desired his friends not to call him grator, but philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and had only used rhetone as an instrument for attaining his objects in public life But the desire of glory has great power in washing the unctures of philosophy out of the souls of men and in imprinting the passions of the common people, by custom and

conversation, in the minds of those that take a part in governing them, unless the politician be very careful so to engage in public affairs as to interest himself only in the affairs themselves, but not participate in the passions that are consequent to them.

Clodius, having thus driven away Cicero, fell to burning his farms and villas, and afterwards his city house, and built on the site of it a temple to Liberty. The rest of his property he exposed to sale hy daily proclamation, but nobody came to buy. By these courses he became formidable to the noble citizens, and being followed by the commonalty, whom he had filled with insolence and licentiousness, he began at last to try his strength against Pompey, some of whose arrangements in the countries he conquered, he attacked. The disgrace of this made Pompey begin to repreach himself for his cowardice in deserting Cicero. and changing his mind, he now wholly set himself with his friends to contrive his return. And when Clodius opposed it. the senate made a vote that no public measure should be ratified or passed by them till Cicero was recalled. But when Lentulus was consul, the commotions grew so high upon this matter, that the tribunes were wounded in the Forum; and Quintus, Cicero's brother, was left as dead, lying unobserved amongst the slain. The people began to change in their feelings, and Annius Milo, one of their tribunes, was the first who took confidence to summon Clodius to trial for acts of violence. Many of the common people out of the neighbouring cities formed a party with Pompey, and he went with them, and drave Clodins out of the Forum, and summoned the people to pess their vote. And, it is said, the people never passed any suffrage more unanimously than this. The senate, also, striving to outdo the people, sent letters of thanks to those cities which had received Cicero with respect in his exile, and decreed that his house and his country-places, which Clodies had destroyed, should be rebuilt at the public charge.

Thus Cictor returned sexteen months after his exile, and the cities were so gled, and people so zealous to meet hin, that what he boasted of afterwards, that Italy had brought him on her shoulders home to Rome, was rather less than the truth. And Crassus limited, who had been his careny before his exile, went then voluntarily to meet him, and was reconciled, to please this our Publics, ask easily, who was Gerer's affectionate semirer

Cicero had not been long at Rome when, taking the opportunity of Clodius's absence, he went with a great company to the capitol, and there tore and defaced the tribunician tables, in which were recorded the sets done in the time of Codus And on Clodine calleng him is question for this, be answered that the being of the guinnam order, had obtained the tollice of rebuse. So were also have a superior so thing done by him was the beautiful the contract of the set of

After this, Milo killed Glodus, and, being arraigned for the

murder, he procured Green as his advocate. The senate, fear me lest the questioning of so emment and high-spirited a citizen as Milo might disturb the peace of the city, committed the super intendence of this and of the other trials to Pompey, who should undertake to maintain the security able of the criv and of the courts of justice. Pompey, therefore, went in the night, and compying the high grounds about it, surrounded the Forum with soldiers Milo, fearing lest Cicero, being disturbed by such an unusual sight, should conduct his cause the less successfully. persuaded him to come in a litter into the Forum, and there repose himself till the judges were set and the court filled. For Cicero, it seems, not only wanted courage in arms, but, in his speaking also, began with timidity, and in many cases scarcely left off trembling and shaking when he had got thoroughly into the current and the substance of his speech Being to defend Licensis Mureus against the prosecution of Ca.o, and bring eager to outdo Hortensias, who had made his prea with great applause, be took so little rest that night, and was so disordered with thought and overwatching, that he spoke much worse than usual And so now, on quitting his litter to commence the cause of Milo, at the sight of Pompey, posted, as it were, and encamped with his troops above, and seeing arms shining round about the Ferum, he was so confounded that he could hardly begin his speech for the trembling of his body and hesitance of his tongue, whereas Milo, meantime, was bold and resistance or no unique, rescrete state, inclination, and book assistance, and in madern-smoot, indistinging either to left his hair state to be a single of the common habit. And this, indeed, seems for a popular on the repair cause of his condemnation. Geero, bowers, we brought or to so much to have shown timidity for himself, as a brought it but his friend hame I, as annery about

He was made one of the priests, whom the Romans call Augurs, in the room of Crassus the vounger, dead in Parthia. Then he was appointed by lot to the province of Cificia, and set sail thither with twelve thousand foot and two thousand six hundred horse. He had orders to bring back Carnadoria to its allemance to Ariobarzanes, its king; which settlement he effected very completely without recourse to arms. And perceiving the Cilicians, by the great loss the Romans had suffered in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, to have become disposed to attempt a revolt, by a gentle course of government he soothed them back into fidelity. He would accent none of the presents that were offered him by the kings; he remitted the charge of public entertainments, but daily at his own house received the ingenious and accomplished persons of the province. not sumptuously, but liberally. His house had no porter, nor was he ever found in bed by any man, but early in the morning, standing or walking before his door, he received those who came to offer their salutations. He is said never once to have ordered any of those under his command to be beaten with rods, or to have their garments rent. He never gave confurnellous language in his anger, nor inflicted punishment with reproach. The detected on embezzlement, to a large amount, in the public money, and thus relieved the cities from their burdens, at the same time that he allowed those who made restitution to retain without further nunishment their rights as citizens. He engaged too, in war, so far as to give a defeat to the banditti who infested Mount Amanus, for which he was saluted by his army Imperator. To Cacilius, the orator, who asked him to send him some panthers from Cilicia, to be exhibited on the theatre at Rome, he wrote, in commendation of his own actions, that there were no panthers in Cilicia, for they were all fled to Caria, in anger that in so general a peace they had become the sole objects of attack. On leaving his province, he touched at Rhodes, and tarried for some length of time at Athens, longing much to renew his old studies. He visited the aminent men of learning, and saw his former friends and companions; and after receiving in Greece the honours that were due to him, returned to the city, where everything was now just as it were in a flame, breaking out into a civil war.

When the senate would have decreed him a triumph, he told them he had rather, so differences were accommodated, follow the triumphal chariot of Cassar. In private, he gave advice to both, writing many letters to Cassar, and personally entreating Pompey, doing his best to soothe and bring to reason both the one and the other But when matters became incurable, and Cesar was approaching Rome, and Pompey durst not abide it, but, with many honest citizens, left the city, Cicero as yet did not com in the fight, and was reputed to adhere to Casar And it is very evident he was in his thoughts much divided, and wavered pamiul, between both, for he writes in his epistles, "To which side should I turn? Pompey has the fair and honourable plea for war, and Carsar, on the other hand, has managed his affairs better, and is more able to secure himself and his friends So that I know whom I should fiv. not whom I should fiv to " But when Trebatus, one of Cesar's friends, by letter signified to him that Cesar thought it was his most desirable course to join his party, and partake his hopes, but if he considered himself too old a man for this, then he should retire mite Greece, and stay quietly there, out of the way of either party, Cicero, wondering that Crear had not written himself, gave an angry reply, that he should not do another unbecoming his past life Such is the account to be collected from his letters

But as soon as Constr was marched into Spain, he immediately sailed away to join Pompey. And he was welcomed by all but Cato, who, taking him privately, chid him for coming to Pompey. As for himself, he said, it had been indecent to forsale that part in the commonwealth which he had chosen from the beginming, but Cicero might have been more useful to his country and friends, if, remaining neuter, he bad attended and used his influence to moderate the result, instead of coming bother to make houself, without reason or necessity, an energy to Carar.

and a partner in such ereat dancers

By this language, partly, Ocero's feelings were altered, and parily, also, because Pompey made no great use of hum. Although, indeed, he was humself the cause of it, by his not denying that he was sorry he had come, by his depreciating Pompey's resources, finding fault underhand with his counsels, and continually including in rests and surgestic remarks on his fellow-soldiers Though he went about to the camp with a gloomy and melancholy face houself, he was always trying to rause a hugh m others, whether they wished it or not. It may not be amiss to mention a few instances To Domitius, on his preferring to a command one who was no soldier, and saying, in his defence, that he was a modest and grudent person, he replied, "Why did not you keep him for a tutor for your children?" On hearing Theophanes, the Lesbian, who was master of the engineers in the army, praised for the admirable way in which he had consoled the Rhodians for the loss of their fleet, "What a thing it is," he said, "to have a Greek in command!" When Cresar had been acting successfully, and in a manner blockading Pompey, Lentulus was saving it was reported that Cresar's friends were out of heart; "Because," said Cicero, "they do not wish Casar well." To one Marcins, who had just come from Italy, and told them that there was a strong report at Rome that Pompey was blocked up, he said, " And you sailed hither to see it with your own eyes." To Nonius, encouraging them after a defeat to be of good hope, because there were seven eagles still left in Pompey's camp, "Good reason for encouragement," said Cicero, " if we were going to fight with jackdaws." Labienus insisted on some prophecies to the effect that Pompey would gain the victory; "Yes," said Cicero; "and the first step in the campaign has been losing our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia was over, at which he was not present for want of health, and Pompey was fied, Cato, having considerable forces and a great first at Dyrrachium, would have had Cicero commander-in-chief, according to law and the precedence of his consular dignity. And on his refusing the command, and wholly declining to take part in their plans for continuing the war, he was in the greatest danger of being killed, young Pompey and his friends calling him traitor, and drawing their swords upon him; only that Cato interposed, and hardly

rescued and brought him out of the camp. Afterwards, arriving at Brundusium, he tarried there some time in expectation of Casar, who was delayed by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. And when it was told him that he was arrived at Tarentum, and was coming thence by land to Brundusium, he hastened towards him, not altogether without hope, and yet in some fear of making experiment of the temper of an enemy and conqueror in the presence of many witnesses. But there was no necessity for him either to speak or do anything unworthy of himself; for Casar, as soon as he saw him coming a good way before the rest of the company, came down to meet him, saluted him, and, leading the way, conversed with him alone for some furlongs. And from that time forward he continged to treat him with honour and respect, so that, when Cicero wrote an oration in praise of Cato, Gesar in writing an answer to it, took occasion to commend Cicero's own life and chousence, comparing him to Pencles and Theramenes Cicero's

oration was called Cato, Casar's, anti-Cato

So also it is related that when Quintus Ligarius was proseented for having been in arms against Casar, and Cicero had undertaken his defence, Casar said to his friends, "Why might we not as well once more hear a speech from Cicero? Ligarnis, there is no question, is a wacked man and an enemy " But when Cicero began to speak, he wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in his speech with such varied nathes, and such a charm of language, that the colour of Casar's countenance often changed, and it was evident that all the passions of his soul were in commotion. At length, the orator touching upon the Pharsalma battle, he was so affected that his body trembled, and some of the papers be held dropped out of his hands. And thus he was overpowered, and acquitted Legarus

Representation the commonwealth being changed into a

monarchy, Cicero withdrew himself from public affairs, and employed his leasure in insurering these young men that would, in philosophy, and by the near intercourse he thus had with some of the noblest and highest to rank, he again began to possess great influence in the city. The work and object to which he set himself was to compose and translate philosophical dialogues and to render logical and physical terms into the Roman shore For he it was, as it is said, who first or principally mave Latin names to phantana, syncatatheris, epokae, cataletess, alamon, ameres, kenon, and other such technical terms, which, either by metaphors or other means of accommodation, he succeeded so making murilimble and expressible to the Romans. For his secreation, he everened his devicate in coetry, and when he was set to at would make five hundred verses in a might. He spent the greatest part of his time at his country-house near Tusculum He wrote to his friends that he led the hie of Lacries either jestinely, as his custom was, or rather from a feeling of ambitum for public employment, which made him is national under the present state of affairs He rarely went to the city, unless to pay his court to Cesar He was commonly the first amongst those who voted him bonours, and tought out new terms of praces for himself and for his actions. As, for example, what he said of the statues of Pompey, which had been thrown down, and were afterwards by Casar's orders set up again, that Gasar, by this act of humanity, had indeed set up Pompey's statues, but he had fixed and established his own.

He had a design, it is said, of writing the history of his country, combining with it much of that of Greece, and incorporating in it all the stories and legends of the past that he had collected. But his purposes were interfered with by various public and various private unhappy occurrences and misfortunes: for most of which he was himself in fault. For first of all, he out away his wife Terentia, by whom he had been perjected in the time of the war, and sent away destitute of necessaries for his journey; meither did he find her kind when he returned into Italy, for she did not join him at Brandusium. where he stayed a long time, nor would allow her young daughter, who undertook so long a journey, decent attendance, or the requisite expenses; besides, she left him a naked and empty house, and yet had involved him in many and great debts, These were alleged as the fairest reasons for the divorce. But Terentia, who denied them all, had the most unmistakable defence furnished her by her bushand himself, who not long after married a young maiden for the love of her beauty, as Terentia upbraided him; or as Tiro, his emancipated slave, has written, for her riches, to discharge his debts. For the young woman was very rich, and Cicero had the custody of her estate, being left guardian in trust; and being indebted many myriads of money, he was persuaded by friends and relations to marry her, notwithstanding his disparity of age, and to use her money to satisfy his creditors. Antony, who mentions this marriage in his answer to the Philippics, reproaches him for putting away a wife with whom he had lived to old age; adding some happy strokes of sarcasm on Cicero's domestic, inactive, unsoldier-like habits. Not long after this marriage, his daughter died in childbed at Lentulus's house, to whom she had been married after the death of Piso, her former hasband. The philosophers from all parts came to comfort Cicero; for his grief was so excessive, that he put away his new-married wife, because she seemed to be pleased at the death of Tullia. And thus stood Cicero's domestic affairs at this time.

He had no concern in the design that was now forming against Creast, although, in general, he was Bruuse's most principal confident, and one who was as aggrieved at the present, and as desirous of the former state of public affairs, as any other whatsovere. But they feared his temper, as wanting courage, and his old age, in which the most during dispositions are apt to be timerous.

As soon, therefore, as the act was committed by Brutus and

Cassist, and the Incals of Crear were got together, so that there was fear the city would again be movived in a civil war, Antony, being combi, convened the sensite, and made a short address recommending concord and Caren following with various remarks such as to occasion colled for, persuaded the senate to initiate the Athenausa, and decree an annesty for what had been obtained to mixate the Athenausa, and decree an annesty for what had been obtained to Erras as come as the common people, of themetres minded to pity, saw the dead body of Crear borne through the market place, and Athony showing his clothes filled with blood, and perced through an every part with awords, enraged to a degree of inexp, they made a search for the nonderest, and with fre-brands in their bands has to their bouses to burn them. They, where it, being forewards, aworded this dunger, and expecting

many more and greater to come, they left the city

Antony on this was at once in exultation, and every one was in alarm with the prospect that he would make himself sole ruler, and Cicero in more alarm than any one For Antony. seeing his influence reviving in the commonwealth and knowing how closely he was connected with Brutus, was ill pleased to have him in the city Besides, there had been some former seniousy between them, occasioned by the difference of their manners Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go as liegtenant with Dolabella into Syria. But Hirtus and Panea, consuls elect as successors of Antony, good men and lovers of Cicero, entreated him not to leave them, undertaking to put down Antony if he would stay in Rome And he, neither distrusting wholly, nor trusting them, let Dolabella go without him. promising Hirtus that he would go and spend his summer at Athens, and return again when he entered upon his office So be set out on his journey, but some delay occurring in his outside, new intelligence, as often happens, time suddenly from Rome, that Antony had made an astonishing change, and was doing all things and managing all public affairs at the will of the senate, and that there wanted nothing but his presence to bring thines to a happy settlement. And therefore, blaming himself for his cowarding, he returned again to Rome, and was not dectived in his hopes at the beginning. For such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the compliments and civilities which were paid him at the gates, and at his engrance into the city, took up almost one whole day's time

On the morrow, Antony convened the senate, and summoned

Gene tithine. To came not, but kept his ked, presending to be ill with his journey; but the rore resons seemed the feat of some design against him, upon a supplean self mitmation given him or his way to Roue. Athory, horsever and intension given him or his way to Roue. Athory, horsever him of the most being the continued of the confined at the offense, and sent soldiers, commanding them to thing him or hum his house; he many interceding and supplicating for him, he was contended to accept survives. But after, when they met, they passed one another with silence, and continued on their guard, till Cesar, the younger, coming from Applicatio, entered on the first Cesar's inheritance, and was engaged in a dispute with Autony about two thousand five hundred mythads of more, which Autony detained from the catate.

Upon this, Philippus, who married the mother, and Marcellus, who married the sister of young Casar, came with the young man to Cicero, and agreed with him that Cicero should give them the aid of his elequence and political influence with the sonate and people, and Casar give Cicero the defence of his riches and arms. For the young man had already a great party of the soldiers of Cosar about him. And Cicero's readingss to join him was founded, it is said, on some yet stronger motives; for it seems, while Pompey and Casar were yet alive, Cicero, in his sleen, had fancied himself engaged in calling some of the sons of the senators into the capitol. Impiter being about, according to the dream, to declare one of them the thief ruler of Rome. The citizens, running up with curiosity, stood about the temple. and the vouths, sitting in their purple-bordered robes, kept silence. On a sudden the doors opened, and the youths, arising one by one in order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and, to their sorrow, dismissed them; but when this one was passing by, the god stretched forth his right hand and said, "O ye Romans, this young man, when he shall be lord of Rome, shall nut an end to all your civil wars." It is said that Cipero formed from his dream a distinct image of the youth, and retained it afterwards perfectly, but did not know who it was. The next day, going down into the Campus Martius, he met the hove returning from their gymnastic exercises, and the lirst was he, just as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being astonished at it, he asked him who were his parents. And it proved to be this young Casar, whose father was a man of no great eminence, Octavius, and his mother, Attia, Casar's sister's daughter: for which reason, Casar, who had no children, made him by will the heir of his house and property. From that time, it is said that Cicero studiously noticed the youth whenever he met him, and he as kindly received the civility, and by fortune he happened to be born when Cicero was consul

These were the reasons spoken of, but it was principally Cicero's hatred of Antony, and a temper unable to resist honour, which fastened him to Cesar, with the purpose of getting the support of Casar's power for his own public designs For the young man went so far to his court to him, that he called him Father, at which Brutus was so highly displeased, that, in his epistles to Attieus, he reflected on Cicero saying, it was manifest, by his courting Casar for lear of Antony, he did not intend liberty to his country, but an indulgent master to himself Notwithstanding, Brutus took Cicero's son, then studying philosophy at Athens, gave him a command, and employed him in vanous ways, with a good result. Cicero's own power at this time was at the greatest height in the city, and he did whatsoever he pleased, he completely overpowered and drove out Antony, and sent the two consuls, Hartins and Pansa, with an army, to reduce him, and, on the other hand, persuaded the senate to allow Casar the lictors and ensures of a practor, as though he were his country's defender But after Antony was defeated in battle, and the consuls slain, the armies united, and ranged themselves with Casar And the senate, fearing the young man, and his extraordinary fortune, endeavoured, by honours and mits, to call off the soldiers from him, and to lessen his power, professing there was no further need of arms now Antony was put to flight.

This giving Casar an affight, he privately sends some funds to enteras and permised Goreo to procure the consults dignally for them both together, asying he should manage the affaint as he pleased, should have the superce power, and govern the young man who was only desirous of name and glory. And Gests rhusself confected that, in face of rum, and in danger of leng deserted, be had seasonably made use of Goreo's activation, are remained in the other of the deserted and the confected that is not so except the effect of the

and and interest for the consulshing

And new, more than at any other ture, forces let hunsel be carried away and decored, though an old man, by the persuance of a boy. He pened have in advantage votes, and procured the good-well of the sersiar, not without thinne at the ture on the part of his frends, and he, too, soon enough after, awa that he had runned hunself, and betrayed the theirty of this country. For the young man, once established, and possessed of the office of round, back Grown farevell, and freenfaling himself to Antony and Lepidus, joined his power with theirs, and divided the government, like a piece of property, with them. Thus united, they made a schedule of above two hundred persons who were to be put to death. But the greatest contention in all their debates was on the question of Cicero's case. Aptony would come to no conditions, unless he should be the first man to be killed. Lepidus held with Antony, and Casar opposed them both. They met secretly and by themselves, for three days together, near the town of Bononia. The spot was not far from the camp, with a river surrounding it. Cresar, it is said, contended earnestly for Cicero the first two days; but on the third day he yielded, and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were these: that Casar should desert Cicero. Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony, Lucius Casar, his uncle by his mother's side. Thus they let their anger and fury take from them the sense of humanity, and demonstrated that no beast is more savage than man when possessed with power answerable to his rage.

Whilst these things were contriving, Glero was with his prother at his cuntry-hoses near Tuesulum; whence, hearing of the proscriptions, they determined to pass to Asturn, a villa of Glero's near the sea, and to take shipping from thence for Macedonia to Brittus, of whose strength in that province move had already been heard. They travelled together in their separate litters, overwhethed with sorrow; and offen stopping on the way till their litters care together, concloded with one snother. But Quintus was the more disheartened when he snother. But Quintus was the more disheartened when he had twought nothing with him from home. And even Clero minest limb but a sender provision. It was highly therefore, humaniful minest limb but a sender provision. It was highly therefore, for the sender provision. It was highly therefore, for the sender provision. It was highly therefore, for the control of the provision of the sender provision. It was highly therefore, the provision of the sender provision and the sender provision and the provision of the provision of the sender provision and the provision of the provision of

Quintus, within a few days afters, betrayed by his servants to those who came to search for him, was shall, together with his young son. But Cecro was carried to Astura, where finding a vessel, he immediately want on board her, and sailed as far as Cucaum with a prosperous gale; but when the pilets resolved immediately to set sail from themeo, whether fearing the sas, or not wholly distrusting the faith of Casar, he went on shore, and passed by land a bunded furlongs, as if he was going for Rome. But losing resolution and changing his mind, he again trained to the sea, and there spent the hight in fearful and perplexed thoughts. Sometimes he readwed to go into Cessife house privately, and there hill homeel spon the allar of his hunshold good, and the read more than the state of the fear of the control of the state of t

There was at that place a chiefed of Apollo, not far from the seasole, from which a fight of cross rose with a great sous, and multi timstrift Green's trated, as it towned to land and lighting on both about at the year. It wome modeled, others pecked the ends of the rope: This was knobed upon by all as an ill-comm, and, therefore, Octro went again ashore, and entering his house, lay down upon his bed to compose harder for real. Many of the crows settled about the window, making a dunal cawing, but now of them abjected op one the edd where Guers his everyd up, and with us bull by hutle and tetch pecked off the clothes from he fare. His servants, seeing this, blamed themselves that they should stay to be spectation of their matters survets, and to nothing in the defence, whilst the brute cratituries came to assist and take care of him in his undeserved afficiency, and therefore, pattle by extracts, people by by force, they look ham

up, and carried him in his litter towards the seaside

But in the meanume the assassus were come with a hand of soldiers, Herennus, a centurion, and Popillaus, a tribume, whore Cicero had formerly defended when prosecuted for the murder of his father Finding the doors shut, they broke them open, and Corro not appearing, and those within saving they knew not where he was, it is stated that a youth, who had been educated by Geero in the Liberal arts and sciences, an emancipated slave of his brother Quatus, Philologias by name, informed the tribune that the litter was on its way to the sea through the close and shady walks. The tribune, taking a few with him. can to the place where he was to come out. And Cicero, per cerving Herenaus running in the walks, commanded his servants to set down the latter, and stroking his chin, as he used to do, with his bit hand, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers, his person covered with dust, his beard and hair untrimmed. and his face worn with his troubles. So that the greatest part of those that stood by covered their faces whilst Herennus slew ham. And thus was be murdered, stretching forth his neck out of the Litter, being now in his nixty fourth year. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands also, by which his Philippies were written; for so Cicero styled those orations he wrote against Antony, and so they are called to this day.

When these members of Geora were brought to Rome, Antony was holding an assembly for the choice of public ordinary; and when he hard it, and saw them, he cried ant. "Now let there he an end of our procaritions." He commanded his head and hands to be fastened up over the rostra, where the orators spelie, a sight which the Roman people enhadred to behold, and they helleved they saw there, not the face of Geora, but the image of Antony's own soul. And yet autists these actions the did justice in one thing, by delivering up Philologue to Penponsi, the wife of Quietsus; who, having got his holy into her power, besides other grievous punishments, made him cut off his own fish by pieces, and rost and eat it; for one some witeen have related. But 'Tio, Clero's emancipated slave, has not so much as mentioned the treachery of Philologue.

Some long time a test; Oesta; I have no told, visiting cone of Some long time a test; Oesta; I have no told, visiting cone of Some long time a test; Oesta; I have no book of Geory in his hand. The long for some discovered to hide it under his gown; which Coace prescriving; took it from him, and, turning ower a great part of the hook standing, gave it him again, and said, "My child, this was a learned man, and a lower of his country."

And immediately after he had vanquished Antony, being than contal), he made Cicret's son his colleague in the office; and under that consoliding the senate took down all the statutes of Antony, and solidhed all the other honours that had been given him, and decreed that mone of that family should thereafter bear the name of Marcus; and thus the final acts of the panishment of Antony were, by the divine powers, devolved upon the family of Cicret.

THE COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

THESH are the most memorable circumstances recorded in history of Demosthenes and Genero which have come to onknowledge. But countiting an exact comparison of their respective faculities in speaking, yet thus much seems fit to be said; that Demosthenes, to make himself a master in rhetoric, applied all the faculities he had, natural or acquired, wholly that way, that he far suppossed in force and strength of elocutore all his contemporaries in political and judicial speaking, in grandeur and majesty all the panegymeal orators, and in accuracy and science all the logicians and thetoricians of his day, that Cicero was highly educated, and by his diligent study became a most accomplished general scholar in all these branches, having left behind him numerous philosophical treatises of his own on Academic principles, as, indeed, even in his written speeches, both political and judicial, we see him continually trying to show his learning by the way. And one may discover the different temper of each of them in their speeches For Demosthenes's oratory was without all embellishment and jesting. wholly composed for real effect and seniousness, not smelling of the lump, as Pytheas scotlingly said, but of the temperance, thoughtfulness, austerity, and grave earnestness of his temper Whereas Cicero's love of mockery often ran him into scurribty, and in his live of laughing away serious arguments in judicial cases by Jests and facetious remarks, with a view to the advantare of his clients, he paid too little regard to what was decent saying, for example, in his defence of Celius, that he had done no about thing in such plenty and affivence to indulge himself in pleasures, it being a kind of madness not to enjoy the things we possess, especially since the most eminent philosophers have asserted pleasures to be the chalest good. So also we are told that when Cicero, being consul, undertook the defence of Murena against Cate's prosecution, by way of bantering Cate, he made a long series of tokes upon the absurd caradoxes, as they are called of the Stoic set, so that a loud laughter passing from the crowd to the judges, Cato, with a quiet smile, said to those that sat next him," My friends, what an amusing consul we have"

And, indeed, Geero was by natural temper very much disposed to murth and pleasantry, and always appeared with a smaling and series countrained. But Demostheres had comstant care and thoughtfulness in his look, and a serious anxiety, which he seldom, it ever, had sade, and, therefore, was accounted by his enterior, as he haused confessed morous and B-mannered.

Also, it is very reduct, but of their several syntings, that Depositations never touched upon his own praces but deemly and without offence when there was need of it, and for some weighter end, but those other overcome modestly wed sparmply. But Cierr's immeasurable boosting of himself in his critical rapids him gittey of an automaticable appeals for distinction, but try being evermore that arms should give place to the gown, and the adder's lived to the toughen. And at last we find him

extalling not only his deeds and actions, but his orations also, as well those that were only spoken, as these that were published; as if he were engaged in a boysh trial of skill, who should speak best, with the rhetoricians, Isocrates and Anacimenes, not as one who could claim the task to guide and instruct the Roman nations the—

"Soldier full-armed, terrific to the foe."

It is necessary, indeed, for a political leader to be an able apeaker; but it is an ignoble thing for any man to admire and relish the glory of his own eloquence. And, in this matter, Denosthens had a more than ordinary gravity and magnifecture of mind, accounting his tulent in speaking mobiling more than a mere accomplishment and matter of practice, the success of which must depend greatly on the good-will and candour of his hearen, and regarding those who pride themselves on such

accounts to be men of a low and petty disposition. The power of persuading and governing the people did, indeed, equally belong to both, so that those who had armies and camps at command stood in need of their assistance; as Charas, Dionithes, and Leosthenes of Demosthanes's, Pomney and young Casar of Cicero's, as the latter himself admits in his Memoirs addressed to Agrippa and Macenas. But what are thought and commonly said most to demonstrate and try the tempers of men, namely, authority and place, by moving every passion, and discovering every fraitty, these are things which Demosthenes never received; nor was he ever in a position to give such proof of himself, baying never obtained any eminent office, nor led any of those armies into the field against Philin which he raised by his eloquence. Cicero, on the other hand. was sent quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a time when avarice was at the height, and the commanders and governors who were employed abroad, as though they thought it a mean thing to steal, set themselves to seize by open force; so that it seemed no heinous matter to take bribes, but he that did it most moderately was in good esteem. And yet he, at this time, gave the most abundant proofs abke of his contempt of riches and of his humanity and good nature. And at Rome, when he was created consul in name, but indeed received sovereign and dictatorial authority against Catiline and his conspirators, he attested the truth of Plato's prediction. that then the miseries of states would be at an end when, by a

happy fortune, supreme power, wisdom, and justice should be

It is used to the represed of Demostheres, that his elongatures as merchany, that the privately made orthous for Phormon and Apollodruc, though addrersames in the same cause, that the merchant of the private of the property of the propert

prized to receive them, has been and already

Moreover, Demosthenes's banishment was infamous, ucon conviction for bribery; Cocero's very bonourable, for ridding his country of a set of villains Therefore, when Demosthenes fied his country, no man regarded it. for Geero's sake the senate changed their habit, and put on mourning, and would not be persuasied to make any act before Goero's return was decreed Cicero, however, passed his exile adiy in Macedonia. But the very evile of Demosthenes made up a great part of the services he did for his country, for he went through the cities of Greece. and everywhere, as we have said, somed in the conflict on behalf of the Grecians, driving out the Macedonian ambassadors, and approving himself a much better citizen than Themistocles and Alcibiades did in the like fortune And, after his return, he again devoted himself to the same public service, and continued firm to his opposition to Antipater and the Macedonians Whereas Lesius reproached Cocero in the senate for aitting allent when Cresar, a beardless youth, asked leave to come forward, contrary to the law, as a candidate for the consulship, and Brutus, in his enistles, charges him with nursing and rearing a greater and more beavy tyranny than that they had removed

Finally, Circur's death exercise our pity, for an old man to be mucrably carried up and down by his sevents, flying and kinding humes! from that death which was, in the course of nature, an east at hand, and yet at last to be murdered. Demosthenes, though he sevened as first a little to supplicate, yet, by his prepuring and keeping the poison by hum, demands our admiration, and still more admirable was his using it. When the temple of the god no longer afforded him a sunctuary, he took refuge, as it were, at a mightier altar, freeing himself from arms and soldiers, and laughing to soom the cruelty of Antipater,

DEMETRIUS

INGENIOUS men have long observed a resemblance between the arts and the bodily senses. And they were first led to do so, I think, by noticing the way in which, both in the arts and with our senses, we examine opposites. Judgment once obtained, the use to which we put it differs in the two cases. Our senses are not meant to pick out black rather than white, to prefer sweet to bitter, or soft and yielding to hard and resisting objects; all they have to do is to receive impressions as they occur, and report to the understanding the impressions as received. The arts, on the other hand, which reason institutes expressly to choose and obtain some suitable, and to refuse and get rid of some unsuitable object, have their proper concern in the consideration of the former; though, in a casual and contingent way, they must also, for the very rejection of them, pay attention to the latter. Medicine, to produce health, has to examine disease, and music, to create harmony, must investigate discord; and the supreme arts, of temperance, of justice, and of wisdom, as they are acts of judgment and selection, exercised not on good and just and expedient only, but also on wicked, unjust, and inexpedient objects, do not give their commendations to the mere innocence whose boast is its inexperience of evil, and whose truer name is, by their award, simpleness and ignorance of what all men who live aright should know. The ancient Spartage at their festivals, used to force their Helots to swallow large quantities of raw wine, and then to expose them at the public tables. to let the young men see what it is to be drunk. And, though I do not think it consistent with humanity or with civil justice to correct one man's morals by corrupting those of another, vet we may, I think, avail ourselves of the cases of those who have fallen into indiscretions, and have, in high stations, made themselves conspicuous for misconduct; and I shall not do ill to introduce a pair or two of such examples among these biographics, not, assuredly, to mouse and divert my readers, or give variety to my thene, but as limenius, the Theban, used to show his scholars good and bad performers on the flute, and to tall them, "You should play like this man," and, "You should not play like that," and as Antigendas used to say, Young people would take greater pleasure in hearing good playing, if first they were set to bear bod, so, in the same manner, it seems to me likely enough that we shall be all the more zealous and more enulous to read, observe, and mintate the better lives, if we are not let it is monance of the binarworthy and the had

For the reason, the following book contains the lives of Denetural Polarizers and Antonius the Timourier, two persons who have abundantly justified the words of Plato, that great natural produce great voices its well as writers. Both allow were amorous and intemperate, wasfile and minificent, sumptimous in their way of living and overlearing in their manners. And the likeness of their fortunes carried out the resemblance in their characters. Not only write their wise each a series of great successes and great disasters, mighty acquisitions and trainendous losses of power, sudden overtheory followed by unexpected recoveries, but they deed, also, Demetrius in actual capturity to his remniss and Autonov on the verge of it.

Antigonis had by his wife, Stratonies, the daughter of Corfixer, two sons, the one of whom, after the name of his uncile, he called Demetrius, the other had that of his grandfather Philip, and died young. This is the most igneral arcount, atthough some have celtared that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonie, but of his brother, and that his own father dying young, and his mother being afterwards married to Antigonies, he was accounted to be his son

Denote the had not the height of his father Antigonus, though be was a tall min. But his countemance was one of such singular beauty and expression that no painter or sculptor ever produced a good likeness of him. It combined grace and strength, dyrany with beyash bloom, and, in the midst of youth fall heat and passon, what was hardest of all to represent was a certain betwee look and air of kingly greatness. Nor did his character belie his looks, as no one was better able to render himself both loved and feared. For as he was the most casy and agreeable of companions, and the most hurunous and delicate of pinness in his drucking and barqueting and daily pleasures, so ha attom there was never any one that showed a more veherent prints therefore, or a more plassonate corrys, Jacching, willed

in the conduct of war, and after war in giving peace its pleasures and joys, seems to have been his pattern among the gods.

He was wonderfully fond of his father Antironus; and the tenderness he had for his mother led him, for her sake, to redouble attentions, which it was evident were not so much owing to fear or duty as to the more powerful motives of inclination. It is reported that, returning one day from hunting, he went immediately into the apartment of Antigonus, who was conversing with some ambassadors, and after stepping up and kissing his father, he sat down by bim, just as he was, still holding in his hand the javelins which he had brought with him. Whereupon Anticonus, who had just dismissed the ambassadors with their answer, called ont in a loud voice to them, as they were going, "Mention, also, that this is the way in which we two live together:" as if to imply to them that it was no slender mark of the power and security of his government that there was so perfect good understanding between himself and his son, Such an unsociable, solitary thing is power, and so much of jealousy and distrust in it, that the first and greatest of the successors of Alexander could make it a thing to glory in that he was not so airaid of his son as to forbid his standing beside him with a weapon in his hand. And, in fact, among all the successors of Alexander, that of Antigonus was the only house which, for many descents, was exempted from crime of this kind; or to state it exactly, Philip was the only one of this family who was pullty of a son's death. All the other families. we may fairly say, afforded frequent examples of fathers who brought their children, bushands their vives, children their mothers, to untimely ends; and that brothers should put brothers to death was assumed, like the postulate of mathematicians, as the common and recognised royal first principle of safety. Let us here record an example in the early life of Dometrius.

Let us here record an example in the early use of Demerting, showing his natural humane and kindly disposition. It was an adventure which passed betwirt him and kithridates, the son of Ariobarranes, who was about the same age with Demertins, and lived with him, in attendance on Antigonus; and atthough nothing was said or could he said to his reprouch, it foll under suspicion, in consequence of a dream which Antigonus had, Antigonus though timed in a hir and spacous field, where he sowed golden seed, and saw presently a golden crop come up; of which however, looking presently egan, he saw nothing remain but the stubble, without the ears. And as he stood by in enger and vexaction, he heard some vioes saying Midtridates had cut the golden harvest and carned it off into Pontus Anti roous, much discomposed with his dream, first bound his son by an oath not to speak, and then related it to him, adding that he had resolved, in consequence, to lose no time in ridding hunself of Muthridates, and making away with him Demetrins was extremely distressed, and when the young man came, as usual, to pass his time with him, to keep his oath he forbore from saving a word, but, drawing him aside little by little from the company, as soon as they were by themselves, without opening his live, with the point of his javelin he traced before birn the words' Fh, Mithridates" Mithridates took the hint. and fled by night into Cappadocia, where Antigonus's dream about him was quickly brought to its due fulfilment, for he got possession of a large and fertile territory, and from him descended the line of the kines of Pontus, which, in the eighth emeration, was reduced by the Romans. This may serve for a specimen of the early goodness and fore of justice that was part of Demetrius a natural character

But as in the elements of the world, Empedocles tells us, out of liking and dislike, there spring up contention and warfare, and all the more, the closer the contact, or the nearer the approach of the objects, even so the percetual hostilities among the successors of Alexander were aggravated and inflamed, in nurteeplar cases, by nurtanosition of interests and of territories. as, for example, in the case of Anticonus and Ptolemy News came to Anticogus that Ptolemy had crossed from Crurus and myaded Syrn, and was ravaging the country and reducing the oues Remaining, therefore, himself in Phryma, he sent Demetrus, now twenty-two years old, to make his first essay as sole commander in an important charge. He, whose vonthful heat outran his experience, advancing against an adversary trained in Alexander's school, and practised in many encounters, incurred a great defeat near the town of Gaza, in which eight thousand of his men were taken and five thousand killed His own tent, also his money, and all his private effects and furniture. were captured These, however, Ptolemy sent back, together with his friends, accompanying them with the humane and courteous message, that they were not fighting for anything else but bonour and dominion. Demetrus accepted the grit, prayme only to the gods not to leave has long in Ptolemy's debt. but to let him have an early charce of doing the like to him He took his disaster, also, with the temper, not of a boy detested in his attempt, but of an old and long tried general familiar with reverse of fortune; he busied himself in collecting his men, replenishing his magazines, watching the allegiance of the cities, and drilling his new recruits.

Anticonus received the news of the battle with the remark that Ptolemy had beaten boys and would now have to fight with men. But not to humble the spirit of his son, he acceded to his request, and left him to command on the next occasion.

Not long after, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, with a nowerful army, took the field, and looking upon Demetrius as already defeated by the previous battle, he had in his imagination driven him out of Syria before he saw him. But he quickly found himself deceived; for Demetrins came so unexpectedly upon him that he surprised both the general and his army, making him and seven thousand of the soldiers prisoners of war, and possessing himself of a large amount of treasure. But his joy in the victory was not so much for the prizes he should keep, as for those he could restore; and his thankfulness was less for the wealth and glory than for the means it gave him of requiting his enemy's former generosity. He did not, however, take it into his own hands, but wrote to his father. And on receiving leave to do as he liked, he sent back to Ptolemy Cilles and his friends, loaded with presents. This defeat drove Ptolemy out of Syria, and brought Antigonus from Celman to enjoy the victory and the sight of the son who had gained it.

Soon after, Demetrius was sent to bring the Nabathman Arabs into obedience. And here he got into a district without water. and incurred considerable danger, but by his resolute and composed demeanour be overawed the barbarians, and returned after receiving from them a large amount of booty and seven hundred camels. Not long after, Seleucus, whom Antigonus had formerly chased out of Babylon, but who had afterwards recovered his dominion by his own efforts and maintained himself in it, went with large forces on an expedition to reduce the pribes on the confines of India and the provinces near Mount Cancasus. And Demetrius, conjecturing that he had left Mesopotamia but slepderly guarded in his absence, suddenly passed the Europeates with his army and made his way into Babylonia unexpectedly; when he succeeded in capturing one of the two citadels, out of which he expelled the garrison of Seleucus, and placed in it seven thousand men of his own. And after allowing his soldiers to earich themselves with all the small they could corry with them out of the country, he retired to the sea, leaving Seleucus more securely master of his dominions than before, as

he seemed by this conduct to abandon every rlaim to a country which he treated like an enemy's However, by a rapid advance, he rescued Habeamassus from Ptolemy, who was besieging it. The clory which thu act obtained them inspired both the lather and son with a wonderful denie for freeing Greece, which Cassander and Ptolemy had everywhere reduced to slavery No pobler or juster was was undertaken by any of the kings, the wealth they had gamed while humbling, with Greek assist ance, the barbarrans, being thus employed, for honour's sake and good repute, in helping the Greeks When the resolution was taken to berm their attempt with Athens, one of his friends told Antigonia, if they captured Athens, they must keep it safe in their own hands, as by this gangway they might step out from their thing into Greece when they pleased But Anticonus would not hear of it, be did not want a better or a stendier gangwar than people's good will, and from Athens, the beaton of the world, the news of their conduct would soon be handed on to all the world's inhabitants. So Demetrica, with a sum of five thousand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty shine. set sail for Athens, where Demetros the Phalerum was poverning the city for Cassander, with a garrison lodged in the port of Munychu. By good fortune and skilful management he appeared before Piraus, on the twenty-sixth of Tharvelion. before anything had been heard of him. Indeed, when his abuse were seen, they were taken for Ptolemy's, and preparations were commenced for programs them, till at last, the generals dis coverage their mistake, burned down, and all was slarm and confusion, and attempts to push forward preparations to oppose the landing of this bostile force For Demetrius, having found the entrances of the port undefended, stood in directly, and was by this time salely maide, before the eyes of everybody, and made signals from his ship, requesting a peaceable hearing And on leave being given, he caused a herald with a load voice to make proclimation that he was come thither by the command of his father, with no other desern than what he prayed the gods to prosper with specess, to give the Athenuaus their Sherry, to expel the garrison, and to restore the ancient laws and constitution of the country

The peoply, hearing this, at once threw down their shields, and clasping their hands, with boil acclamations extrated Demetrias to land, calling him their deliverer and benefactor that the Phaleran and bis party, who saw that there was reducing for it but to recture the uniquency, whether he should

perform his promises or not, sent, however, messengers to heg for his protection; to whom Demetrius gave a kind reception, and sent back with them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's friends. 'The Phalerian, under the change of government, was more afraid of his fellow-citizens than of the enemy: but Demetrius took precautions for him, and out of respect for his reputation and character, sent him with a safe conduct to Thebes, whither he desired to go. For himself, he declared he would not, in spite of all his curiosity, put his foot in the city till he had completed his deliverance by driving out the garrison. So blockading Munychia with a palisade and trench, he sailed off to attack Megara, where also there was one of Cassander's garrisons. But, hearing that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, son of Polysperchon, who was farmous for her beauty, was well disposed to see him, he left his troops near Megara, and set out with a few light-arroad attendants for Patrae, where she was now staying. And, quitting these also, he pitched his tent apart from everybody, that the woman might pay her visit without being seen. This some of the enemy perceived, and suddenly attacked him; and, in his alarm, he was obliged to disguise himself in a shabby clock, and run for it, narrowly escaping the shame of being made a prisoner, in reward for his foolish passion. And as it was, his tent and money were taken. Megara, however, surrendered, and would have been pillaged by the soldiers, but for the urgent intercession of the Athenians. The garrison was driven out, and the city restored to independence. While he was occupied in this, he remembered that Stilpo, the philosopher, famous for his choice of a life of tranquillity, was residing here. He, therefore, sent for him, and begged to know whether anything belonging to him had been taken. "No," replied Stilpo, "I have not met with any one to take away knowledge." Pretty nearly all the servants in the city had been stolen away: and so, when Demetrius, renewing his courtesies to Stilpo, on taking leave of him, said, "I leave your city, Stilpo, a city of freemen." "Certainly," replied Stilpo, "there is not one serving man left among us all."

Returning from Megans, he sat down before the citaded of fortifications to be demolished; and thus having accomplished bit design, upon the request and invitation of the Athenians be made his entrance into the upper city, where, causing the people to be summoned, he publicly aumounced to them that their superior constitution was restored, and that they should receive from his father, Antigonus, a present of one hundred and fifty thousand measures of wheat, and such a supply of tumber as would enable them to build a hundred galleys In this manner did the Athenians recover their popular institutions, after the space of fifteen years from the time of the war of Lamia and the battle before Cranon, during which interval of time the government had been administered nominally as an oligarchy, but really by a single man, Demetrius the Phalerian bente so nowerful But the excessive bonours which the Athenians bestowed, for these noble and generous acts, upon Demetrus, created offence and disgust. The Athenians were the first who gave Antigonus and Demetrus the title of kings, which bitherto they had made it a point of piety to decline, as the one remaining royal honour still reserved for the lineal descendants of Philip and Alexander, in which none but they could venture to participate. Another name which they received from no people but the Athenians was that of the Tutelar Dieties and Deliverers And to enhance this flattery, by a common vote it was decreed to change the style of the city, and not to have the sears named any longer from the annual archon, a prest of the two Tutelary Divinities, who was to be yearly chosen, was to have this hondur, and all public aces and instruments were to bear their date by his name. They decreed, also, that the figures of Antigonius and Demetrus should be woren, with these of the gods, into the pattern of the great cobe. They consecrated the spot where Demetrus first aighted from his charge, and built an altar there, with the name of the Altar of the Descent of Demetrius They created two new tribes, calling them after the names of these princes, the Antigonid and the Demetriad, and to the Council, which consisted of five hundred persons, fifty being chosen out of every tribe, they added one hundred more to represent these new tribes. But the wildest proposal was one made by Stratocles, the great inventor of all these ingenious and exquisite compliments, exacting that the members of any deputation that the city should send to Demetrus or Antigonus should have the same tule as those sent to Delphi or Olympia for the performance of the national sacrifices to behalf of the state at the great Greek festivals. This Stratocles was, in all respects, an audacrous and abandoned character, and seemed to have made it his object to copy, by his buffornery and respertmence, Cleun's old familiarity with the people His mistress, Phylacion, one day bringing him a dish of brains and neckbones for his disner, "Oh," said he, "I am to dine upon the things which we statesmen play at bull with." At another time, when the Atheniaus received their naval detent near Amorgo, he hastened home before the news could reach the drity, and having a chapter on his bend, came riding through the Caramicus, announcing that they had won a victory, and moved a vote for thankeyings to the goed, and a distribution of meat among the people in their tribes. Presently after came those who brought home the wrecks from the battle; and when the people exclaimed at what he had done, he came boldly to face the outcry, and asked what harm there had been in giving them

two days' pleasure.

Such was Stratocles. And, "adding flame to fire," as Aristophanes says, there was one who, to outdo Stratocles, proposed that it should be decreed that, whensoever Demetrius should honour their city with his presence, they should treat him with the same show of hospitable entertainment with which Ceres and Bacchus are received; and the citizen who exceeded the rest in the splendour and costliness of his reception should have a sum of money granted him from the public purse to make a sacred offering. Finally, they changed the name of the month of Munychion, and called it Demetrion; they gave the name of the Demetrion to the odd day between the end of the old and the beginning of the new month; and turned the feast of Bacchus, the Dionysia, into the Demetriz or feast of Demetrius. Most of these changes were marked by the divine displeasure. The sacred robe, in which, according to their decree, the figures of Demetrius and Anticonus had been woven with those of Jupiter and Minerva, was caught by a violent gust of wind, while the procession was conveying it through the Ceramicus, and was torn from the top to the hottom. A crop of hemlock, a plant which scarcely even anywhere, even in the country thereabouts, sprang up in abundance round the altars which they had erected to these new divinities. They had to omit the solemn procession at the feast of Bacchus, as upon the very day of its celebration there was such a severe and rigorous frost, coming quite out of its time, that not only the vines and figtrees were killed, but almost all the wheat was destroyed in the blade. Accordingly, Philippoides, an enemy to Stratocles, attacked him in a comedy, in the following verses:-

[&]quot;He for whem frosts that nipped your vines were sent, And for whose sins the holy robe was reat, Vibo grants to men the gods' own honours, he, Not the noor stace, is now the people's enemy."

Fallippides was a great favourite with King Lysimachus, from whom the Athenius received for his sale, a variety of kind messes. Lysimachus sent to far as to think it a happy ones to meet or see Philippides at the outset of any enterpines or expedient. And, in general, he was well thought of for his own character, as a plain, nametefring person, whit none of the officious, self important habits of a court. Once, when Lysimachus was solicitous to show him kandiness, and asked what freach that the too old make him a root of, "Anything," replied Philippides, "but your state secrets." The stage-player, we make secrets." The stage-player, we

But that which exceeded all the former folles and flatteries was the proposal of Dromoclides of Sphettus, who, when there was a debate about sending to the Delphie Oracle to inquire the proper course for the consecration of certain bucklets, moved in the assembly that they should sather send to receive an oracle from Demetrus I will transcribe the very words of the order, which was in these terms "May it be happy and propitions The people of Athens have decreed, that a fit person shall be chosen among the Athenian citizens, who shall be deputed to be sent to the Deliverer, and after he hath duly performed the sacrifices, shall inquire of the Dehverer, in what most religious and decent manner he will please to direct, at the earliest possible time, the consecration of the bucklers, and according to the answer the people shall act." With this befooling they completed the per errion of a mind which even before was not so strong or sound as it should have been.

During his present feature in Athens, he took to wife Eurydoce, and affected and of the smeent Militades, who had been married to Ophelia, so and affer has death had come of the smear of Cyrene, so affer has death had come back to the meles of Cyrene, so affer has death had come had to the smear of the smear took the marge as a complete ment and instance of the smear of the smear

his ear the maxim from Euripides, broadly substituting a new word for the original, serve—

" Natural or not, A man must wed where profit will be got."

Any respect, however, which he showed either to Phila or to his other wives did not go so far as to prevent him from consorting with any number of mistresses, and bearing, in this respect, the worst character of all the princes of his time.

A summons now arrived from his father, ordering him to go and fight with Ptolemy in Cyprus, which he was obliged to obey, sorry as he was to abandon Greece. And in quitting this pobler and more glorious enterprise, he sent to Cleonides, Ptolemy's general, who was holding garrisons in Sicyon and Corinth. offering him money to let the cities be independent. But on his refusal, he set sail hastily, taking additional forces with him. and made for Cyprus; where, immediately upon his arrival, he feil upon Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, and gave him a defeat. But when Ptolemy himself came in person, with large forces both on land and sea, for some little time nothing took place beyond an interchange of menaces and lofty talk. Ptolemy hade Demetrius sail off before the whole armament came up, if he did not wish to be trampled under foot; and Demetrius offered to let him ratire, on condition of his withdrawing his garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth. And not they alone, but all the other potentates and princes of the time, were in anxiety for the uncertain impending issue of the conflict; as it seemed evident that the conqueror's prize would be, not Cyprus or Syria, but the absolute supremacy.

Polamy had brought a bundred and fifty galleys with him, and gave oders to Mercalus to skly, in the beat of the battle, out of the harbour of Salamis, and attack with sixty ships the ear of Plemetrius, Demetrius, however, opposing to these sixty ten of his galleys, which were a soficient number to block up the narrow entance of the harbour, and drawing out his land forces along all the headlands running out into zea, went into cation with a function and only pulpels, and, attacking with the utmost boldness and impetuosity, utterly routed Pinlemy, who field with eight ships, the sale runnant of his fleet, swenty having been taken with all their men, and the rest destroyed in the battley while the whole multitude of attendants, friends, and women, that had followed in the ships of burden, all the erray creating, and milliture engines fell, without exception, into

the hands of Demetrus, and were by him collected and brought unto the camp. Among the presents was the celebrated Lams, and tamed at one time for her skill on the flute, and afterwards renowned as a mistress. And although now upon the want of her youthful beauty, and though Demetruss was much her juntor, she exercised over him so great a charm that all other women seemed to be smorous of Demetrus, but Demetrus amorous only of Lamia. After this signal victory, Demetrus came before Sahmari, and Menchaus, unable to make any treastance, surrendered himself and all his fleet, twelve hundred hore, and twelve thousand both, goodfer with the place. But that which added more than all to the glovy and splendour of the success was the humane and generous conduct of Demetrius to the vanquished. For, after he had given honourable funerals to the dead, he bestowed liberty upon the luwing, and that he might not forget the Athenaus, he sent them, as a present, complete arms for twell bundered into.

To carry this happy news, Anstodemus of Miletus, the most perfect flatterer belonging to the court, was despatched to Anticonus, and he, to enhance the welcome message, was resolved, it would appear, to make his most successful effort. When he crossed from Cyprus, he bade the galley which conveyed him to come to anchor off the land, and, having ordered all the ship's crew to remain aboard, he took the boat, and was set ashore alone Thus he proceeded to Antigonus, who, one may well imagine, was in suspense enough about the issue, and suffered all the anxieties natural to men engaged in so perilous a struggle. And when he beard that Aristodemus was coming alone, it put hum into y.t greater trouble, he could scarcely forbear from going out to meet him bimself, he sent messenger on messenger, and friend liter friend, to inquire what news But Aristodemus, walking grively and with a settled countenance, without making any answer, still proceeded quietly onward, until Antigonus, outs alarmed and no longer able to refrain, got up and met him at the gate, whither he came with a crowd of anxious followers now collected and running after him As soon as he saw Antigonus within hearing stretching out his hands, he accosted him with the loud exclamation, "Hail, King Antigonus! we have deleated Ptolemy by sea, and have taken Cyprus and sixteen thousand eight hundred prisoners " "Welcome, Aristodemus," replied Antigonus, " but, as you chose to torture us so long for your good news, you may want awhile for the reward of it.

Upon this the people around gave Antigonus and Demetrius,

for the first time, the title of kines. His friends at once set a diadem on the head of Antigonus; and he sent one presently to his son, with a letter addressed to him as King Demetrius. And when this news was told in Egypt, that they might not seem to be dejected with the late defeat, Ptolemy's followers also took occasion to bestow the style of king upon him; and the rest of the successors of Alexander were quick to follow the example. Lysimachus began to wear the diadem, and Seleucus, who had before received the name in all addresses from the barbarians. now also took it upon him in all business with the Greeks. Cassander still retained his usual superscription in his letters. but others, both in writing and speaking, gave him the royal title. Nor was this the mere accession of a name, or introduction of a new fashion. The men's own sentiments about themselves were disturbed, and their feelings elevated; a spirit of pomp and arrogance passed into their habits of life and conversation, as a tragic actor on the stage modifies, with a change of dress, his steps, his voice, his motions in sitting down, his manner in addressing another. The punishments they inflicted were more violent after they had thus laid aside that modest style under which they formerly dissembled their power, and the influence of which had often made them centler and less exacting to their subjects. A single flattering voice effected a revolution in the world.

Antigonus, extremely elevated with the success of his arms in Cyprus, under the conduct of Demetrius, resolved to push on his good fortune, and to lead his forces in person against Ptolemy by land whilst Demetrius should coast with a great fleet along the shere, to assist him by sea. The issue of the contest was intimated in a dream which Medius, a friend to Antigonus, had at this time in his sleep. He thought he saw Antigonus and his whole army running, as if it had been a race; that, in the first part of the course, he went off showing great strength and speed; gradually, however, his pace slackened, and at the end he saw him come lagging up, tired and almost breathless and quite spent. Antigonus himself met with many difficulties by land; and Demetrius, encountering a great storm at sea, was driven, with the loss of many of his ships, upon a dangerous coast without a harbour. So the expedition returned without effecting anything. Antigonus, now nearly eighty years old, was no longer well able to go through the fatigues of a marching campaign. though rather on account of his great size and corpulence than from loss of strength; and for this reason he left things to his

son, whose fortune and experience appeared sufficient for all undertakings, and whose luxury and expense and revelry gave him no concern For though in peace he vented himself in n'easures, and, when there was nothing to do, ran headlong into any excesses, in war he was as suber and abstemious as the most temperate character The story is told that once, after Lamia had gained open supremacy over him, the old man, when Demetries coming home from abroad began to kiss him with unusual warmth, asked him if he took him for Lamia At another time, Demetrios, after spending several days in a debauch, excused himself for his absence, by saying he had had a violent flux "So I heard," replied Antigonus, " was it of Thazen wine, or Chian?" Once he was told his son was ill, and went to see him At the door he met some young beauty Going in, he sat down by the bed and took his pulse "The fe rer," said Demetrius, "has just left me" "Oh yes," replied the father, " I met it going out at the door " Demetrius's great actions made Antigonus treat him thus easily. The Scythians in their drinking bouts twang their bows, to keep their courage awake amidst the dreams of indulgence, but he would resign his whole being, now to pleasure, and now to action, and though he never let thoughts of the one intrude upon the pursuit of the other, yet when the time came for preparing for war, he showed as much capacity as any man

And indeed his ability displayed sizelf even more in preparing for than in conducting a war He thought he could never be too well supplied for every possible occasion, and took a pleasure, not to be satiated, in great improvements in ship-building and machines He did not waste his natural gentus and power of mechanical research on toys and idle fancies, turning, painting, and playing on the flute, like some kings, Æropus, for example, King of Macedon, who spent his days in making small lamps and tables, or Attalus Philometor, whose amusement was to cultivate poisons, benbane and hellebore, and even hemlock, accrite, and dorycoum, which he used to sow himself in the royal gardens, and made it his business to gather the fruits and collect the juices in their season. The Partham kings took a pride in whetting and sharpening with their own hands the points of their arrows and invelins But when Demetrius played the workman, it was like a king, and there was magnificence in his handicraft. The articles he produced bore marks upon the face of them not of ingenesty only, but of a great mind and a lofty purpose They were such as a lung might not only design and

pay for, but use his own hands to make; and while friends might be terrified with their greatness, enemies could be charmed with their beauty; a phrase which is not so pretty to the ear as it is true to the fact. The very people against whom they were to be employed could not forbear running to gaze with admiration upon his galleys of five and six ranges of cars, as they passed along their coasts; and the inhabitants of besieged cities came on their walls to see the spectacles of his famous City-takers. Even Lysimachus, of all the kings of his time the greatest enemy of Demetrius, coming to raise the siege of Soli in Cilicia, sent first to desire permission to see his galleys and engines, and, having had his curiosity gratified by a view of them, expressed his admiration and quitted the piace. The Rhodians, also, whom he long besieged, begged him, when they concluded a peace, to let them have some of his engines, which they might preserve as a memorial at once of his power and of their own brave resistance.

The quarrel between him and the Rhedians was on account of their being allies to Poloviny, and in the siege the greatest of all the ragines was planted against their walls. The base of it was exactly quarte, each side containing brenty-four cabits; it rose to a height of thirty-three cubits, growing narrower from the base to the top. Within vere event algorithment or chambers, which were to be filled with armed men, and in severy story the frost towards the enemy had vindows for discharging missides of all serus, the whole being filled with solliers for every discretion of the story of the solliers, and what was most wonderful save that, notwithstanding its size, when it was most wonderful save to thereof equilibrium, with a load noise and great impetus, astronding the minds, and yet at the same time clearating the eyes of all the beholder.

Whilst Denetrius was at this same slege, there were brought to him two iron entraress from Gypras, weighing each of them no more than forty pounds, and Solles, who had forged them, to show the excellence of their temper, desired that one of them might be tried with a catapair massle, shot out of one of the engines at no greater distance than six-and-twentry paces; and, upon the experiment, it was found that though the dart exactly hit the cuirss, yet it made no greater impression than such a slight stratch as might be made with the point of a style or graver. Demotrius took this for his own wearing, and gave the object to Altimost the Enrich, the best soldier and Stronger man of all his captains, the only one who used to wear armour to the weight of two talents, one talent being the weight which others thought sufficient. He fell during this siege in a battle near the theatre.

The Rhodians made a brave defence, insomuch that Demetrus saw he was making but little progress, and only persusted out of obstanacy and passion, and the rather because said out or occuracy can passion, and the results occurs to the Rhodens, having captured a step in which some clothes and furniture, with letters from herself, were coming to him from Phila his wife, had sent on everything to Ptolemy, and had not copied the honourable example of the Athenians, who, having surprised an express sent from King Philip, their enemy, opened all the letters he was charged with, excepting only those drected to Queen Olympias, which they returned with the scal miroken Yet, although greatly provoked, Demetrius, into detroises tet, amongo greatly provoked, a emetros, than whose power it shortly after came to repay the affront, would not suffer himself to retaliste. Protogenes the Caunan had been making them a painting of the story of Lalysus, which was all but completed when it was taken by Demetrius in one of the suburbs The Rhodians sent a herald begging him to be pleased to spare the work and not let it be destroyed, Demepressed to spare the work and not let it be nearbyed, we mepictures of his father than a piece of art which had cost so much presents of me rating man a proce of all which and cone so more labour. It is said to have taken Protogenes seven years to nation at a same to have been a compared before yet, was strick durb with winder, and called it, on recovering his street, "a great labour and a wonderful success," adding, bower, et, that it had not the graces which curried his own paint rowever, that that not the graces which curred no own pame togs as it were up to the heavess. This picture, which came with the rest in the general mass to Rome, there perished by

While the Rhodians were thus defending their city to the unity Denetrius, who was not sorry for an excuse to retrieve found on the strival of smbassadors from Athens, by whose mediator is most were made that the Rhodians should build be the strival of the strival of the strival of the strival of the Rhodians should build proving the strip of the strip of

The Athemans entirated his help aquant Cassander, who was beauging the city. So he went thinker with a fleet of three handred and tharty shaps, and many soldiers, and not only cover Cassander ever of Attue, but pursued him as far as a came of the cover Cassander marter of Heradele, which came over to him voluntarily, and of a body of not thousand

Macedonians, which also joined him. Returning hence, he gave their liberty to all the Greeks on this side Thermopyle, and made alliance with the Boeotians, took Cenchreze, and reducing the fortresses of Phyle and Panactum, in which were garrisons of Cassander, restored them to the Athenians. They, in requital though they had before been so profuse in bestowing honours upon him that one would have thought they had exhausted all the capacities of invention, showed they had still new refinements of adulation to devise for him. They gave him, as his lodging, the back temple in the Parthenon, and here he lived. under the immediate roof, as they meant it to imply, of his hostess. Minerva-no reputable or well-conducted guest to be quartered upon a maiden goddess! When his brother Philip was once put into a house where three young women were living, Antigonus, saying nothing to him, sent for his quartermaster, and told him, in the young man's presence, to find some less crowded lodgings for him. Demetrius, however, who should, to say the least, have paid

Denicines, however, was something, or say the passing have pass the goddess the respect due to an elder sister, for that was the purport of the city's compliment, filled the temple with such pollutions that the place seemed least profaned when his licence confined itself to common women like Chrysis, Lamia, Demo,

and Anticyra.

The fair name of the city forbids any further plain particulars; let us only record the severe virtue of the young Damocles. surnamed, and by that surname pointed out to Demetrius, the beautiful; who, to escape importunities, avoided every place of resort, and when at last followed into a private bathing room by Demetrius, seeing none at hand to help or deliver, seized the lid from the cauldron, and, plunging into the boiling water, sought a death untimely and namerited, but worthy of the country and of the beauty that occasioned it. Not so Clerenetus, the son of Cleomedon, who, to obtain from Demetrius a letter of intercession to the people in behalf of his father, lately condemned in a fine of fifty talents, disgraced himself, and got the city into trouble. In deference to the letter, they remitted the fine, yet they made an edict prohibiting any citizen for the future to bring letters from Demetries. But being informed that Demetrius resented this as a great indignity, they not only rescinded in alarm the former order, but put some of the proposers and advisers of it to death and banished others, and furthermore enacted and decreed, that whatsoever King Demetrius should in time to come ordain, should be accounted right

towards the gods and just browth zone, and when one of the better class of otterns and Stratocies trend the most one of the world, Democrates of Lectoroc observed he would be a food not to be mad. For included the world revening of the latterns; and they not provided the second of the first of latterns; and they not provided the second of the second when the second of the second of the second of the second when the second of the second of the second of the second which was the second of the foreign garmson, and recovering what was raised their bloots?

After this Demetrius marched with his forces into Peloponnesses, where he met with none to oppose him, his enemies flying before him, and allowing the cities to join him. He received into friendship all Acts, as it is called, and all Arcadia except Mantmea. He bought the liberty of Argos, Corunth, and Sicyon, by naving a hundred talents to their garnsons to evacuate them At Argos, during the feast of Juno, which happened as the time, be presided at the games, and, joining m the festivities with the mulutude of the Greeks assembled there, he celebrated his marriage with Deidamia, daughter of Aacides, King of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrihus At Sievon he told the people they had put the city just outside of the city, and, persuading them to remove to where they now live, gave their town not only a new site but a new name, Demetras, after himself A general assembly met on the Isthmus, where he was proclaimed, by a great concourse of the people, the Commander of Greece, the Philip and Alexander of old, whose superior he, in the present height of his prosperity and power, was willing enough to consider himself, and certainly, in one respect, he outsid Alexander, who never refused their title to other knows, or took on himself the style of king of kings, though many kings received both their title and their authority as such from him, whereas Demetrius used to ridicule those who gave the name of king to any except himself and his father, and in his entertainments was well pleased when his followers, after drinking to him and his father as kings, went on to drink the healths of Seleucus, with the title of Master of the Elephants, of Ptolemy, by the name of High Admiral, of Lysmachus, with the addition of Treasurer, and of Agathocies, with the style of Governor of the Island of Such. The other kings merely laughed when they were told of this yamity. Lysimachus alone expressed some indignation at being considered a cumuch, such being usually then selected for the office of treamster. And, in general, there was a more bitter enmity between him and Lysimachus than with any of the others. Once, as a scoll at his possion for Lama, Lysimachus said he had never before seen a courtesan act a queen's part; to which Demetries rejoined that his mistress was quite as honest as Lysimachus's own Penelope.

But to proceed. Demetrius being about to return to Athens. signified by letter to the city that he desired immediate admission to the rites of initiation into the Mysteries, and wished to go through all the stages of the ceremony, from first to last, without delay. This was absolutely contrary to the rules, and a thing which had never been allowed before: for the lesser mysteries were celebrated in the month of Anthesterion, and the great solemnity in Boëdromion, and none of the novices were finally admitted till they had completed a year after this latter. Yet all this notwithstanding, when in the public assembly these letters of Demetrius were produced and read, there was not one single person who had the courage to oppose them, except Pythodorus, the torch-bearer. But it signified nothing, for Stratocles at once proposed that the month of Munychion, then current, should by edict be reputed to be the month of Anthesterion; which being voted and done, and Demetrius thereby admitted to the lesser ceremonies, by another vote they turned the same month of Munychion into the other month of Bosdromion: the celebration of the greater mysteries ensued, and Demetrius was fully admitted. These proceedings gave the comedian, Philippides, a new occasion to exercise his wit upon Stratocles—

"-whose flattering fear into one month bath crowded all the year."

And on the vote that Demetrius should lodge in the Partheron-

"Who turns the temple to a common inc. And makes the Virgin's house a house of sin."

Of all the disreputable and flagitious acts of which he was quity in this visit, one that particularly have the feelings of the Athenians was that, having given command that they should forthwin that for his service two hundreds and fifty thistens, and they to comply with his demands being forced to lavy it upon the people with the urmost rigume and searcity, when they presented him with the money which they had with such difficulty mixed, as if it were a trilling sum, he ordered it to be given to Lamin and the rest of his women, to buy soap. The lost, which was tad county, was less galling than the shame, and the world more intolerable than the net which they accompanied. Though, indeed, the story is variously reported y and some vay it was the Thessakans, and not the Atheniums, who were thus treated Lanus, bowever, extected contributions hernell to pay for an entertainment the gave to the king, and her language was so renowned for its sumptiously that a description of it was drawn up by the Summa writer, Juneous Upon this occasion, one of the come writers gave Lanua the name of the real Heightir. and Demochrise of Soft elield Demetratis Medius, Lecuise the

fable always has its Lamia, and so had be

And, in truth, his passion for this woman, and the prosperity in which she lived were such as to draw upon him not only the enue and realman of all his wives, but the summonty even of his friends For example, on Lysimachus's showing to some ambassadors from Demetress the sears of the wounds which he had received upon his thighs and arms by the paws of the bon with which Alexander had shut him up, after bearing his account of the combat, they smiled and answered, that their king, also, was not without his sears, but could show upon his neck the marks of a Lamin, a no less dangerous beast. It was also matter of worder that, though he had objected so much to Phila on account of her age, he was yet such a slave to Lamia who was so long past her prime One evening at supper, when she, played the fute. Demetrus asked Demo, whom the men called Madness, what she thought of her Demo answered she thought her an old woman And when a quantity of sweetments were brought in, and the Ling said mone, "See what presents I get from Lames!" "My old mother," answered Demo, "will send you more, if you will make her your mistress " Another story is told of a criticism passed by Lamia on the famous judgment of Bocchoris A young Egyptian had long made suit to Thomas. the courtesan, offering a sum of gold for her layour But before it came to pass, he dreamed one night that he had obtained it. and, satisfied with the shadow, felt no more desire for the substance. Thoms upon this brought an action for the sum Bocchoris, the sudge, on hearing the case, ordered the defendant to bring into court the full amount in a vessel, which he was to move to and fro us his hand, and the shadow of it was to be adjudged to Thoms The farmess of this sentence Lamia contested, saying the young man's desire might have been satisfied with the dream, but Thoma's desire for the money could not be relayed by the shadow Thus much for Larma.

And now the story passes from the comic to the tragic stage in pursuit of the acts and fortunes of its subjects. A general league of the kings, who were now gathering and combining

their forces to attack Antigonus, recalled Demetrius from Greece. He was encouraged by finding his father full of a spirit and resolution for the combat that belied his years. Yet it would seem to be true, that if Antigonus could only have home to make some trifling concessions, and if he had shown any moderation in his passion for empire, he might have maintained for himself till his death and left to his son behind him the first place among the kines. But he was of a violent and haughty spirit; and the insulting words as well as actions in which he allowed himself could not be borne by young and powerful princes, and provoked them into combining against him. Though now when he was told of the confederacy, he could not forbear from saying that this flock of hirds would soon be scattered by one stone and a single shout. He took the field at the head of more than seventy thousand foot, and of ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. His enemies had sixty-four thousand foot, five hundred more horse than he, elephants to the number of four hundred, and a hundred and twenty chariots. On their near approach to each other, an alteration began to be observable. not in the purposes, but in the presentments of Antigonus. For whereas in all former campaigns he had ever shown himself lefty and confident, loud in voice and scornful in speech, often by some joke or mockery on the eve of battle expressing his contempt and displaying his composure, he was now remarked to be thoughtful, silent, and retired. He presented Demetrius to the army, and declared him his successor; and what every one thought stranger than all was that he now conferred alone in his tent with Demetrius: whereas in former time he had never entered into any secret consultations even with him; but had always followed his own advice, made his resolutions, and then given out his coremands. Once when Demetrius was a boy and asked him how soon the army would move, he is said to have answered him sharply, " Are you afraid lest you, of all the army, should not hear the trumpet?"

There were now, however, induspicious signs, which affected his spirits. Demetrius, in a dream, had seen Alexander, completely armed, appear and demand of him what word they intended to give in the time of the battley and Demetrius answering that he intended the word should be "Upiter and Victory" "Then," said Alexander, "I will go to your adversaries and find my welcone with them." And so the menting of the combat, as the armies were drawing up, Antignous, going out of the door of his tent, by some accident or other, stumbled and

fell flat upon the ground, hurting himself a good deal. And on recovering his feet, lifting up his hands to heaven, he praved the gods to grant him, " either victory, or death without knowledge of defeat." When the annues engaged, Demetrus, who commanded the greatest and best part of the cavalry, made a charge on Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and gloriously ronting the enemy, followed the pursuit, in the pride and exultation of success, so eagerly, and so unwisely far, that it farally lost him the day, for when, perceiving his error, he would have come in to the assistance of his own infantry, he was not able, the enemy with their elephants having cut off his retreat. And on the other hand, Seleucus, observing the main battle of Antigonus left naked of their horse; did not charge, but made a show of charging, and keeping them in alarm and wheeling about and still threatening an attack, be gave opporturnty for those who wished it to senarate and come over to him which a large body of them did, the rest taking to flight. But the old King Antigonus still kept his post, and when a strong body of the enemies drew up to charge him, and one of those about him creed out to him, "Sir, they are coming upon you," he only replied, " What else should they do? but Demetrus will come to my rescue" And in this hope he persisted to the last, looking out on every side for his con's approach. until he was borne down by a whole multitude of darts, and fell. His other followers and inends fled, and Thorax of Larissa remained alone by the body.

The battle having been thus decided, the kines who had gained the victory, carving up the whole vast empire that had belowed to Demetrus and Antigonus, like a carcass, into so many portions, added these new gains to their former possessions As for Demetrus, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, he fled at his utmost speed to Ephesus, when it was the common opinion he would seize the treasures of the temple to releve his wants, but he, on the contrary, fearing such an attempt on the part of his solders, hastened away, and sailed for Greece, his chief remaining hopes being placed in the fidelity of the Athenians, with whom he had left part of his mayy and of his treasures and his wife Deidamin. And in their attachment he had not the least doubt but he should in this his extremity find a safe resource. Accordingly when, upon reaching the Cyclades, he was met by ambassadors from Athens. requesting him not to proceed to the city, as the people had passed a vote to admit no king whatever within their walls, and had conveyed Deidamia with honourable attendance to Megara. his anger and surprise overpowered him, and the constancy ouite failed him which he had bitherto shown in a wonderful degree under his reverses, nothing humiliating or mean-snirited having as yet been seen in him under all his misfortunes. But to be thus disappointed in the Athenians, and to find the friendship he had trusted prove, upon trial, thus empty and unreal, was a great pang to him. And, in truth, an excessive display of outward honour would seem to be the most uncertain attestation of the real affection of a people for any king or potentate. Such shows lose their whole credit as tokens of affection (which has its virtue in the feelings and moral choice), when we reflect that they may equally proceed from fear. The same decrees are voted upon the latter motive as upon the former. And therefore judicious men do not look so much to statues, paintings, or divine honours that are paid them, as to their own actions and conduct, judging hence whether they shall trust these as a genuine, or discredit them as a forced homage. As in fact nothing is less unusual than for a people, even while offering compliments, to be disgusted with those who accept them greedily, or arrogantly, or without respect to the free-will of the givers.

Demetrius, shamefully used as he thought himself, was in no condition to revenge the affront. He returned a massage of gentle expostulation, saying, however, that he expected to have his galleys sent to him, among which was that of thirteen banks of oars. And this being accorded him, he sailed to the Isthmus, and, finding his affairs in very ill condition, his garrisons expelled. and a general secession going on to the enemy, he left Pyrrhus to attend to Greece, and took his course to the Charsonesus, where he rayaged the territories of Lysimachus, and by the booty which he took, maintained and kept together his troops, which were now once more beginning to recover and to show some considerable front. Nor did any of the other princes care to meddle with him on that side; for Lysimachus had quite as little claim to be loved, and was more to be feared for his power. But not long after Selemens sent to treat with Demetrius for a marriage betwixt himself and Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius by Phila. Seleucus, indeed, had already, by Apama, the Persian a son named Antiochus, but he was possessed of territories that might well satisfy more than one successor, and he was the rather induced to this alliance with Demetrius. because Lysimachus had just married himself to me daughter

of King Ptolemy, and his son Agathodes to another Demetrius, who looked upon the offer as an unexpected piece of good fortuce, presently enhanted with his daughter, and with his whole fleet sailed for Syra. Having dering his voyage to touch several tures on the coast, among other places he landed up nart of Clicas, which by the apportionment of the kings after the defeat of Antogous was allotted to Pisturbus, the brother of Cassander Pisturbus, who took this descent of Demetrius upon his coasts as an infraction of his rights, and was not sorry to have something to complain of, histerned to exportuate in person with Celeural for entering separately into relations with Demetrius, the common enemy, without consulting the other horse.

Demetrus, receiving information of this, served the oppor tunity, and fell upon the city of Quinda, which he surprised, and took m it twelve hundred talents still remaining of the treasure With this prize, he bastened back to his galleys, embarked, and set sail. At Rhosus, where his wife Phila was new with him, he was met by Seleucus, and their communica tions with each other at once were put on a frank, unsuspecting, and kingly footing First, Seleucus gave a hanquet to Demetrus in his tent in she camp, then Demetrius received him in she ship of thirteen banks of ours. Meetings for amusements. conferences, and long visits for general intercourse succeeded. all without attendants or arms, until at length Seleucus took his leave, and in great state conducted Stratonice to Antioch. Demetrius meantime possessed himself of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer she complaints of Phytarchus And here his wife Deidamia came by sea out of Greece to meet him, but not long after contracted an illness, of which she died After ber death, Demetrus, by the mediation of Seleucus, became reconciled to Ptolemy, and an agreement was made that he should marry his daughter Piol-mais. Thus far all was hand somely done on the part of Seleucus But, shortly after, desiring to have the province of Chicia from Demetrius for a sum of money, and being refused it, he then anguly demanded of him the cities of Tyre and Sidon, which seemed a mere piece of arbitrary dealing and, indeed, an outrageous thing, that he who was possessed of all the wast provinces between India and the Syrun sea, should think himself so poorly off as, for the sake of two cities which be coveted, to disturb the peace of his dear connection, already a stifferer under a severe reverse of fortune However, he did but justify the saying of Plato, that the only certain way to be truly rich is not to have more property, but fewer desires. For wheever is always grasping at more avows that he is still in want, and must be poor in the midst of affluence.

But Demetrius, whose courage did not sink, resolutely sent him answer, that, though he were to lose ten thousand hattles like that of Ipsus, he would pay no price for the good-will of such a son-in-law as Selencus. He reinforced these cities with sufficient garrisons to enable them to make a defence against Seleucus; and, receiving information that Lachares, taking the opportunity of their civil dissensions, had set up himself as a usurper over the Athenians, he imagined that if he made a sudden attempt upon the city, he might now without difficulty get possession of it. He crossed the sea in safety with a large fleet; but passing along the coast of Attica, was met by a violent storm, and lost the greater number of his shins, and a very considerable body of men on board of them. As for him. he escaped, and began to make war in a petty manner with the Athenians, but, finding himself unable to effect his design, he sent back orders for raising another fleet, and, with the troops which he had marched into Peloponnesus and laid siege to the city of Messena. In attacking which place he was in danger of death: for a missile from an engine struck him in the face, and passed through the cheek into his mouth. He recovered, however, and, as soon as he was in a condition to take the field, won over divers cities which had revolted from him, and made an incursion into Actica, where he took Eleusis and Rhamnus, and wasted the country thereabout. And that he might straiten the Athenians by cutting off all manner of provision, a vessel laden with corn bound thither falling into his hands, he ordered the master and the supercarge to be immediately hanged, thereby to strike a terror into others, that so they might not venture to supply the city with provisions. By which means they were reduced to such extremities that a bushel of salt sold for forty drachmas, and a peck of wheat for three hundred. Ptolemy had sent to their relief a hundred and fifty galleys, which came so near as to be seen off Ægina; but this brief hope was soon extinguished by the arrival of three hundred ships, which came to reminere Demetrius from Cyprus, Peloponus, and other places; upon which Ptolemy's fleet took to flight, and Lachares. the tyrant, ran away, leaving the city to its fate.

And now the Athenians, who before had made it capital for any person to propose a treaty or accommodation with Demetrius, immed attly opened the nearest ga as to send amba. Indoor to him not so much out of hopes of obtaining any honourable cond toors from his elements as out of access by to as o d death by fazame. For among many fraghtful instances of the distress they were reduced to it is as of that a father and so new set sting in a room together having shandared every hope, when a dead mouse fell from the ceiling, and for this price they lapsed up and came to blows. In this far-wese it is also related the philosopher Ep ours saved his even life and the leves of his scholars by a small quantity of bears, which he distributed to them daily by number.

In this cond tion was the city when Demetrius made his entrance and issued a proclamat on that all the inhab tants should assemble in the theatre which being done he drew up his solders at the back of the stage occup ed the stage itself with his guards and presently coming an himself by the actors passages when the people a consternation had risen to its he ght with his first words he put an end to t W thout any harshness of tone or h tterness of words he reprehended them in a centle and friendly way and declared himself reconciled adding a pres pt of a hundred thousand bushels of wheat and appointing as magistrates persons acceptable to the people So Dromod des the crator seems the people at a loss how to express their grat tude by any words or acclamations and ready for an thing that would outdo the verbal encomnums of the public speakers came forward and moved a decree for delivering Pur-us and Munychia into the hands of King Demetrius This was passed accordingly and Demetnus of his own motion added a third garrison which he placed in the Museum as a precaut on against any new restiveness on the part of the peop e which might give him the trouble of quitting his other enterphases

He had not long been mariter of Althent before he had form dedengen squart. Leadedment of with A rcholdmuss the Lung been, ad ettiered came out and met him but he was over-thrown me a battle near. Hastinera after a het Diemetrus estituted Lacona and in a second fastile near Sparta itself defeated him years with the state of the second fastile near Sparta itself defeated him was was posses, loss of tops bandred Lacothenmanns sham and was was posses, but had been shad not a second fastile near Sparta itself defeated him has was been shad to be supported to except the sparta search to the state of the sparta search the spart search the sparta search the sparta search the sparta search th

from small things to great, from splendour back to humiliation and from utter weakness once more to power and might. They say in his sadder vicinsitudes he used sometimes to apostrophise fortune in the words of Richylus-

"Thou liftest up, to east us down again."

And so at this moment, when all things seemed to conspire together to give him his heart's desire of dominion and power, news arrived that Lysimachus had taken all his cities in Asia, that Ptolemy had reduced all Cyprus with the exception of Salamis, and that in Salamis his mother and children were shut up and close beinered; and yet, like the woman in Archiblobus-

> "Water in one deceltful hand she shows, While burning fire within her other clows."

The same fortune that drew him off with these disastrous tidines from Sparta, in a moment after opened upon him a new and wonderful prospect, of the following kind. Cassander, King of Macedon, dving, and his eldest son, Philip, who succeeded him. not long surviving his father, the two younger brothers fell at variance concerning the succession. And Antipater having murdered his mother Thessalonica, Alexander, the younger brother, called in to his assistance Pyrrhus out of Epirus, and Demetrius out of the Peloponnese. Pyrrhus arrived first, and, taking in recompense for his succour a large slice of Macedonia. had made Alexander begin to be aware that he had brought upon himself a dangerous neighbour. And, that he might not run a yet worse hazard from Demetrius, whose power and reputation were so great, the young man hurried away to meet him at Dium, whither he, who on receiving his letter had set out on his march, was now come. And, offering his greetings and grateful acknowledoments, he at the same time informed him that his affairs no longer required the presence of his ally, thereupon he invited him to supper. There were not wanting some feelings of suspicion on either side already; and when Demetrius was now on his way to the banquet, some one came and told him that in the midst of the drinking he would be killed. Demetrius showed little concern, but, making only a little less haste, he sent to the principal officers of his army commanding them to draw out the soldiers, and make them stand to their arms, and ordered his retinue (more numerous a good deal than that of Alexander) to attend him into the very room of the entertainment, and not to stir from thence till they saw him rise from the table. Thus

Alexander's servants finding themselves overpowered had not courage to attempt anything. And indeed Demetrius gave them no opportunity for he made a very short was 1 and pretending to Alexander that he was not at present in health for drinking was left early And the next day he occur ed h mself in preparations for departing telling Alexander he had received intell gence that ohl ged him to leave and begging him to excuse so sudden a parting he would hope to see him further when h s affairs allowed him lessure. Alexander was only too glad not only that he was going but that he was doing so of his own motion w thout any offence and proposed to accompany him into Thessaly But when they came to Latissa new invitations passed between them new profess ons of good will covering new comp races by which Alexander put h miself into the power of Demetrius For as he d d not l'ke to use precaut ons on his own part for fear Demetrous should take the hint to use them on his the very thing he meant to do was first done to hun He accepted an in relation and came to Demetrius a quarters and when Demernus while they were still supping rose from the table and went forth the young man rose also and followed him to the door where Demetrius as he passed through only as term been our ewollo! tath and that shrang att at bas and Alexander was at once despatched by them together with such of his friends as endeavoured to come to his rescue one of whom before he died said. You have been one day too quick for us

The n pin following was one as may be supposed of a lorder and continue. And with the morning the Minedonaine still an alarm and fearful of the forces of Remember on Sinding no solvence off-cult but cell a message send from Demetran des rang an inter we and apportunity for explanation of his actions at last began is the five of the modern fague and prepared to receive his two-mably. And Wesh he name there was no need of number of his mother and ke absence of any one better to govern them soon distribution of the solvent of the property of the solvent of t

to be serving in the army with his father, was the natural successor to the government.

To add to this unexpected good fortune, news arrived that Ptolemy had dismissed his mother and children, bestowing upon them presents and honours; and also that his doughter Stationice, whom he had married to Selecues, was renarried to Authorius, the sor of Selecues, and proclaimed Queen of Upper

Asia. For Antiochus, it appears, had fallen passionately in love with Stratonice, the young queen, who had already made Seleucus the father of a son. He struggled very hard with the beginning of this passion, and at last, resolving with himself that his desires were wholly unlawful, his maindy past all cure, and his powers of reason too feeble to act, he determined on death, and thought to bring his life slowly to extinction by neglecting his person and refusing nourishment, under the pretence of being ill. Erasistratus, the physician who attended him, quickly perceived that love was his distemper, but the difficulty was to discover the object. He therefore waited continually in his chamber, and when any of the beauties of the court made their visit to the sick prince, he observed the emotions and alterations in the countenance of Antiochus, and watched for the changes which he knew to be indicative of the inward passions and inclinations of the soul. He took notice that the presence of other women produced no offect upon him: but when Stratonice came, as she often did. alone, or in company with Seleucus, to see him, he observed in him all Sappho's famous symptoms,—his voice faltered, his face flushed up, his eyes glanced stealthily, a sudden sweat broke out on his skin, the beatings of his heart were irregular and violent. and, unable to support the excess of his passion, he would sink into a state of faintness, prestration, and pallor.

Eraistanta, reasoning upon these symptoms, and, upon the probabilities of things, considering that the king's son would hardly, if the object of his possion had been any other, have persisted to death rather than rereal it, fielt, however, the difficulty of making a discovery of this nature to Selectons. But, rathing to the tenderness of Selectons for the young man, he put on all the assurances he could, and at last, on some opportunity posice our and told him the mainfall was fove, a love impossible to gratify or relieve. The king was extremely surprised, and stock, "Why impossible to relieve?" "The fact, it," replied Eraistratus, "he is in love with my wife." "Zhou!" said Selectons, "and will our friend Ensistratus relieve to bestow his

Alexander's servants, finding themselves overpowered, had not courage to attempt anything And, indeed, Demetrius gave them no opportunity, for he made a very short visit, and pretending to Alexander that he was not at present in health for danking wine, left early And the next day he occupied himself in preparations for departing, telling Alexander he had received mirflurence that obliged him to leave, and begging him to excuse so sudden a parting, he would hope to see him further when his affairs allowed him lessure. Alexander was only too glad, not only that he was going, but that he was doing so of his own motion, without any offence, and proposed to accompany him into Thessaly But when they came to Lanesa, new invitations passed between them, new professions of good will, covering new conspiracies, by which Alexander put himself into the power of Demetrius For as he did not like to use precautions on his own part, for lear Demetrus should take the hint to use them on his, the very thing he meant to do was first done to him He accepted an invitation, and came to Demetrius's quarters, and when Demetras, while they were still supping, rose from the table and went forth, the young man rose also, and followed him to the door, where Demetrius, as he passed through, only said to the guards, " Kill him that follows me," and went on, and Alexander was at once despatched by them, together with such of his friends as endeavoured to come to his rescue, one of whom, before he died, said, "You have been one day too quick for ne'

The mph following was one, as may be asposed, of disorder and contained. And with the morning, the Microdinama, still making, and fearful of the forces of Demetring, no finding no vederce efferted, but coally as received present the activity, as a state of a state of the contained as a state of the coal as the gain to led privity confident again, and prepared to necessive him diversibly. And he has been been gain, then therefold of Ampairer for his murder of his matter, sed the absence of an Ampairer for his murder of his matter, sed the absence of an Ampairer for his murder of his matter, sed the absence of an Ampairer for his murder of his matter, sed the absence of an Ampairer for the morning of Microdinam Ampairer for the morning of Microdinam Ampairer for the force of the present of the force of the first force of the first

to be serving in the army with his father, was the natural successor to the government.

To add to this unexpected good fortune, news arrived that Ptolemy had dismissed his mother and children, bestowing upon them presents and honours; and also that his daughter Stratonice, whom he had married to Scleucus, was remarried to Antiochus, the son of Scleucus, and prochaimed Queen of Upper Asia.

For Antiochus, it appears, had fallen passionately in love with Stratopice, the young queen, who had already made Seleucus the father of a son. He struggled very hard with the beginning of this passion, and at last, resolving with himself that his desires were wholly unlawful, his malady past all cure, and his powers of reason too feeble to act, he determined on death, and thought to bring his life slowly to extinction by neglecting his person and refusing nourishment, under the pretence of being ill. Erasistratus, the physician who attended him, quickly perceived that love was his distemper, but the difficulty was to discover the object. He therefore waited continually in his chamber, and when any of the beauties of the court made their visit to the sick prince, he observed the emotions and alterations in the countenance of Antiochus, and watched for the changes which he knew to be indicative of the inward possions and inclinations of the soul. He took notice that the presence of other women produced no effect upon him: but when Stratonice came, as she often did. alone, or in company with Seleucus, to see him, he observed in him all Sappho's famous symptoms,-his voice faltered, his face flushed up, his eyes glanced stealthily, a sudden awent broke out on his skip, the beatings of his heart were irregular and violent, and, unable to support the excess of his passion, he would sink into a state of faintness, prostration, and pallor,

Emistratus, reasoning upon these symptons, and, upon the probabilities of things, considering that the king's son would hardly, if the object of his passion had been any other, have pensisted to death rather than reveal is, felt, however, the difficulty of making a discovery of this nature to Selencus. But, turning to the tenderness of Selencus for the young man, he put on all the assurances in could, and at has, on some opportunity, sole cont and took limit the mandat year love a proportion of an acided, "Why impossible to releve?" "The last its," reglied asked, "Why impossible to releve?" "The last, "For pellod Emissistants, "he is in love with my wife." "How!" said Selencus," and will our friend Emissistants refuse to below his

wife upon my son and only successor, when there is no other way to save his life? " "You," replied Erasistratus, " who are his father, would not do so, if he were in love with Stratonice " "Ah. my friend," answered Seleucus, "would to heaven any means, human or divine, could but convert his present passion to that: it would be well for me to part not only with Stratonice, but with my empire, to save Antiochus" This he said with the greatest passion, shedding tears as he spoke, upon which Erasistratus, taking him by the hand, replied, "In that case, you have no need of Evanstratus, for you, who are the husband, the father. and the king, are the proper physician for your own family" Sciencus, accordingly, summoning a general assembly of his people, declared to them, that he had resolved to make Antiochus king, and Stratonice queen, of all the provinces of Upper Asia, uniting them in marriage, telling them, that he thought he had sufficient power over the prince's will that he should find in him no remumance to obey his commands, and for Stratonics, he boned all his friends would endeavour to make her sensible, if she should manufest any rejuctance to such a marriage, that sho ought to esteem those things just and honourable which had been determined upon by the king as necessary to the general good. In this manner, we are told, was brought about the marriage of Antiochus and Stratonice

To return to the affairs of Demetries Having obtained the grown of Macedon, he presently became master of Thessalv also And bolding the greatest part of Peloponnesus, and, on this side of the Isthmus, the cities of Megara and Athens, he now turned his arms against the Borotians They at first made overtures for an accommodation, but Cleanymus of Sparta having ventured with some troops to their assistance, and having made his way into Thebes, and Piss, the Thespian, who was their first man in power and reputation, animating them to make a brave reastance, they broke off the treaty No sooner, however, had Demetrius begun to approach the walls with his coeines, but Cleanymus in affright secretly withdrew, and the Bostians, firding themselves abandoned, made their submission Demetreas placed a garrison in charge of their towns, and, having raned a large sum of money from them, he placed Hieronymus, the historian, in the office of governor and military commander over them, and was thought on the whole to have shown great clemency, more particularly to Piss, to whom he did no hurt, but spoke with him courteously and kindly, and made him chief magistrate of Thespire Not long after, Lysimachus was taken prisoner by Dromiekates, and Demetries went off instantly in the hopes of possessing himself of Thrace, thus left without a king. Upon this, the Brootlans revolted again, and news also came that Lysimachus had regained his fluerty. So Demetries, turning back quickly and in agent, found on coming up that his son Antigraus had already delected the Bancians in battle, and therefore proceeded to lay sign again to Thebes.

But understanding that Pyrzhus had made an incursion into Thessalv, and that he was advanced as far as Thermopyla, leaving Antigonus to continue the siege, he marched with the rest of his army to oppose this enemy. Pyrrhus, however, made a quick retreat. So, leaving ten thousand foot and a thousand horse for the protection of Thessaly, he returned to the siege of Thebes, and there brought up his famous City-taker to the attack, which, however, was so laboriously and so slowly moved on account of its bulk and heaviness, that in two months it did not advance two furlows. In the meantime the citizens made a stout defence, and Demetrius, ont of heat and contentiousness very often, more than upon any necessity, sent his soldiers into danger: until at last Actigonus, observing how many men were losing their lives, said to him, "Why, my father, do we go on letting the men be wasted in this way without any need of it?" But Demetrius, in a great passion, interrupted him: "And you, good sir, why do you afflict yourself for the matter? will dead men come to you for sations?" But that the soldiers might see that he valued his own life at no dearer rate than theirs, he exposed himself freely, and was wounded with a javelin through his neck, which put him into great hazard of his life. But, notwithstanding, he continued the siege, and in conclusion took the town again. And after his entrance, when the citizens were in fear and trembling, and expected all the severities which an incensed conqueror could inflict, he only put to death thirteen and banished some few others, pardoning all the rest. Thus the city of Thehes, which had not yet been ten years restored, in that short space was twice besieged and taken.

Shortly after, the festival of the Pythian Apollo was to be celebrated, and the Etoloms having blocked up all the passages to Delphi, Denettius ledd the games and celebrated the feast at Athens, alleging it was great reason those bonours should be paid in that place, Apollo being the paternal god of the Athenian neonle, and the revoted first founder of their rank.

From thence Demetrius returned to Macedon, and as he not only was of a restless temper himself, but saw also that the

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Macedonians were ever the best subjects when employed in military expeditions, but turbulent and desirous of change in the sileness of peace, he led them against the Ætolians, and, having wasted their country, he left Pantauchus with a great part of his army to complete the conquest, and with the rest he marched in person to find out Pyrthus, who m like manner was advancing to encounter him But so it fell cut, that by taking different ways the two armies did not meet, but whilst Demetrus entered Epirus, and laid all waste before him, Pyrihus fell upon Pantauchus, and in a battle in which the two commanders met in person and wounded each other, he gained the victory, and took five thousand prisoners, besides great numbers slain in the field. The worst thing, however, for Demetrius was that Pyrrhus had excited less animosty as an enemy than admiration as a brave man. His taking so large a part with his own band in the battle had gained him the greatest name and glory among the Macedonians Many among them began to say that this was the only king in whom there was any likeness to be seen of the great Alexander's courage, the other kings, and particularly Demetnus, did nothing but personate him, like actors on a stage. in his ports and outward majesty. And Demetrius truly was a perfect play and pageant, with his robes and diadems, his rold edged purple and his hats with double streamers, his very shoes being of the richest purple felt, embroidered over in gold. One robe in particular, a most superb piece of work, was long in the loom in preparation for him, in which was to be wrought the representation of the universe and the celestral bodies. This left unfinished when his reverse overtook him, not any one of the ares of Macredon, his successors, though divers of them haughty enough ever presumed to use.

But it was not thus heating peops above which disquisted the Mexicianiza, bett his profuse and Laurious way of hiving, and, above all, but discuss of his profuse and Laurious way of hiving, and, above all, but discuss of his presence. For earbor he would not be seen at all, or, if he did privated ence, he was violent and on othering. Thus he made the energy of the Athenana, to whom well he was bettered that of all the other Greenans, was two whole years before he've could obtain a hearing. And when the Lacedzmans single person on an embassy to him, he held him self insulted, and asterd angrily whether it was the fact that the Lacedzmans had sent but one manussandor. "Yes," was the happy rely he received, "one ambassador to one king." Once when no some apparent fit of a more popular and and according

able temper he was riding abroad, a number of people came up and presented their written petitions. He courteously received all these, and put them up in the skirt of his cloak, while the poor people were overloyed, and followed him close. But when he came upon the bridge of the river Axius, sheking out his cloak, he threw all into the river. This excited very bitter resentment among the Macedonians, who felt themselves to be not governed, but insulted. They called to mind what some of them had seen, and others had heard related of King Philip's unambitious and open, accessible manners. One day when an old woman had assailed him several times in the road, and importuned him to hear her after he had told her he had no time," If so," cried she, "you have no time to be a king." And this reprimand so stung the king that, after thinking of it a while, he went back into the house, and setting all other matters apart, for several days together he did nothing else but receive, beginning with the old woman, the complaints of all that would come.

And to do justice, truly enough, might well be called a king's first business. "Mars," as says Timotheus, "is the tyrant;" but Law, in Pindar's words, the king of all. Homer does not say that kings received at the bands of Jove besieging engines or ships of war, but sentences of justice, to keep and observe; nor is it the most warlike, unjust, and murderous, but the most righteous of kings, that has from him the name of Jupiter's " familiar friend " and scholar. Demetrius's delight was the title most unlike the choice of the king of gods. The divine names were those of the Defender and Keeper, his was that of the Besieger of Cities. The place of virtue was given by him to that which, had he not been as ignorant as he was powerful, he would have known to be vice. and honour by his act was associated with crime. While he lay dangerously ill at Pella. Pyrrhus pretty nearly overran all Macedon, and advanced as far as the city of Edessa. On recovering his health, he quickly drave him out, and came to terms with him, being desirous not to employ his time in a string of netty local conflicts with a neighbour, when all his thoughts were fixed upon another design. This was no less than to endeayour the recovery of the whole empire which his father had possessed; and his preparations were suitable to his hopes and the greatness of the enterprise. He had arranged for the levying of ninety-eight thousand foot and nearly twelve thousand horse; and he had a fleet of five hundred galleys on the stocks, some building at Athens, others at Corinth and Chalcis, and in the neighbourhood of Pella. And he himself was passing everyone

from one to another of these places, to give his directions and his assistance to the plans, while all that saw were amazed, not so much at the number, as at the magnitude of the works Hitherto. these had never been seen a galley with fifteen or sixteen ranges of oars At a later time, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty cons, which was two bundred and eights cubits in length and the height of her to the top of her stern, forty-eight cubits, she had lour hundred sailors and four thousand rowers, and afforded room besides for very near three thousand soldiers to fight on her decks But this, after all, was for show, and not for service. scarcely differing from a fixed edifice ashore, and was not to be moved without extreme toil and peril whereas these galleva of Demetrus were meant quite as much for fighting as for looking at, were not the less serviceable for their spannificence, and were as wonderful for their speed and general performance as for their sire

These mighty preparations against Asia, the like of which had not been made since Alexander first invaded it, united Scheuter, Ptolemy, and Lysmachu in a confederacy for their orience They also despatched imbassadors to Pyrrhus, to persuade him to riske a diversion by attacking Macedonis, he need not think there was any validity in a treaty which Demathus had concluded, not as an elemerment to be at pence with him, but as a means for enabling himself to make war first upon the enemy of his choice. So when Pyrrhus accepted their proposals, Demetrius, still in the gudst of his preparations, was encompassed with wer on all sides Ptolemy, with a mighty navy, invaded Greece. Lysunachus entered Macedonia upon the side of Thrace, and Pyrrhus, from the Epirot border, both of them spoiling and wasting the country Demetrius, leaving his son to look after Greece, marched to the relief of Macedon, and first of all to oppose Lymmachus On his way, he received the news that Pyribus had taken the casy Beron, and the report quickly getting out among the soldiers, all discipline at once was lost, and the camp was filled with lamentations and tears, anger and executions on Demetrus, they would stay no longer, they would march off, as they said, to take core of their country, french, and families, but in reality the intention was to revolt to Lysinschus Demetrius, therefore, thought it his business to keep them as far away as he could from Lysimachus, who was their own countryman, and to Mexander's sake kindly locked upon by many, they would be ready to fight with Pyrrhus, a new comer and a foreigner, whom they could hardly

prefer to himself. But he found himself under a great mistake in these conjectures. For when he advanced and pitched his camo near, the old admiration for Pyrrhus's callantry in arms revived again; and as they had been used from time immemorial to suppose that the best king was he that was the bravest soldier, so now they were also told of his generous usage of his prisoners, and, in short, they were eager to have any one in the place of Demotrius, and well pleased that the man should be Pyrrhus. At first, some straggling parties only deserted, but in a little time the whole army broke out into a universal mutiny, insornach that at last some of them went up and told him openly that if he consulted his own safety he were best to make haste to be gone, for that the Macedonians were resolved no longer to hazard their lives for the satisfaction of his luxury and pleasure. And this was thought fair and moderate language, compared with the fierceness of the rest. So, withdrawing into his tent, and, like an actor rather than a real king, laying aside his stage-robes of royalty, he put on some common clothes and stole away. He was no sooner gone but the mutinous army were fighting and quarrelling for the plunder of his tant, but Pyrrhus, coming immediately, took possession of the camp without a blow, after which he, with Lysimachus, parted the realm of Macedon betwist them, after Demetrius had securely held it just seven years.

As for Demerius, being thus suddenly despolled of everyno present process of the present of the pastion of the grief, could not endure to see her hapless bushand reduced to the condition of a private and banished man. Size reluxed to entertain any further hope, and restolving to quit a fortune which was never permanent except for calamity, took poison and died. Demetrius, determining still to hold on by the wreck, went off to Greece, and collected his friends and offices. Here there, Menchang, in the play of Spophoeles, to give an image of

his vicissitudes of estate, save-

"For mr, my destiny, alse, is found Whilting upon the gody" saidt wheel around, And desaging still, and as the moon's fair frame Cannot continue for two nights the same, But out of shadow fart a creamst shows, Thence into beauty and perfection grows, And when the form of plentrade it wears, president again, and wholly disappeaus."

The simile is yet truer of Demetrius and the phases of his fortunes, now on the increase, presently on the wane, now filling

up and now falling away. And so, at this time of apparent entire obscuration and extinction, has light again shone out, and accessions of strongh, hit be justific, came any to fold once more the measure of his lope. At first be showed humself in the gard of a private man, and word about the cines without any of the badges of a long. One who are but not the proton hum, not imply, the loss of Evanydes—

" Humbled to man last by the godhead a pride.
He comes to Duce and Isments a side.

But ere long his expectations had re-entered the royal track. and he began trace more to have about him the body and form of emrure. The Thebans received back, as his guit, their ancient constitution. The Athenians had deserted him. They displaced Diphilus, who was that year the priest of the two Tutelar Deities, and restored the archons, as of old, to mark the year, and on hearing that Demetrius was not so weak as they had expected, they sent into Macedonia to beg the protection of Pyrrhus Demetrius, in anger, marched to Athens, and laid close stere to the city. In this distress, they sent out to him Crates the philosopher, a person of authority and reputation who succeeded so far, that what with his entreaties and the solid reasons which he offered. Demetrus was persuaded to rause the siege, and, collecting all his ships, he embarked a force of eleven thousand men with cavalry, and sailed away to Asia, to Cars and Lidia, to take those provinces from Lyamachus Arning at Miletus, he was met there by Eprydice, the sister of Phila, who brought along with her Ptolemais, one of her ditighters by King Ptokiny, who had before been affianced to Demetrius, and with whom he now consummated his marriage, Immediately after, be proceeded to carry out his project, and was so fortunate in the beginning that many cities revolted to him, others, as particularly Sardis, he took by force, and some generals of Lysmachus, also, carre over to hun with troops and money Put when Acathocles, the sou of Lysunachus, arrived with an army, he retreated into Progue, with an intention to pass into Armenia, believing that, if he could once plant his foot in Armema, he might set Media in revolt, and gain a position in Lyper Asia, where a fugitive communder might find a hundred ways of evasion and escape. Agathocies pressed hard upon him, and many skirmishes and conflicts occurred, in which Demetrus had still the advantage, but Agathocies stratened hen much in his forage, and his men showed a great dislike to his purpose, which they suspected, of carrying them far away into Armenia and Media. Famine also pressed upon them, and some mistake occurred in their passage of the river Lycus, in consequence of which a large number were swept away and drowned. Still, however, they could pass their jests, and one of them fixed upon Demetrius's tent-door a paper with the first verse, slightly altered, of the Œdious:-

> " Child of the blind old man, Anticonus. Into what country are you bringing us? "

But at last, pestilence, as is usual when armies are oriven to such necessities as to subsist upon any food they can get, began to assail them as well as famine. So that, having lost eight thousand of his men, with the rest he retreated and came to Tarsus, and because that city was within the dominions of Seleucus, he was anxious to prevent any plundering, and wished to give no sort of offence to Seleucus. But when he perceived it was impossible to restrain the soldiers in their extreme negatsity. Agathocies also having blocked up all the avenues of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus, bewaiting first all his own sad fortunes, and proceeding with entreaties and supplications for some compassion on his part towards one nearly connected with him, who was fallen into such calamities as might extort tenderness and pity from his yery enemies.

These letters so far moved Seleucus, that he gave orders to the governors of those provinces that they should furnish Demetring with all things suitable to his royal rank, and with sufficient provisions for his troops. But Patrocles, a person whose judgment was greatly valued, and who was a friend highly trusted by Seleucus, pointed out to him that the expense of maintaining such a body of soldiers was the least important consideration, but that it was contrary to all policy to let Demetries stay in the country, since he, of all the kings of his time, was the most violent, and most addicted to daring enterprises: and he was now in a condition which might tempt persons of the greatest temper and moderation to unlawful and desperate attempts. Selencus, excited by this advice, moved with a powerful army towards Cilicia; and Demetrius, astonished at this sudden afteration, betook himself for safety to the most inaccessible places of Mount Taurus: from whence he sent envoys to Selevers, to reposest from him that he would permit him the liberty to settle with his army somewhere among the independent barbarian tribes, where he might be able to make himself a

petty kurg and end his life without further travel and hardship. or, if he rejused him this, at any rate to give his troops food during the winter, and not expose him in this distressed and

naked condition to the fury of his enemies

But Seleucus, whose palousy made him but an ill-construction on all he said, sent him answer, that he would permit him to stay two months and no longer in Catsionia, provided he presently sent him the principal of his friends as hostages for his departure then, and, in the meantime, he fortified all the passages into Syria So that Demetrius, who saw himself thus. the a wild beast, in the way to be encompassed on all sides in the tools, was driven in desperation to his defence, overran the country, and in several engagements in which Seleucus attacked him, had the advantage of him Particularly, when he was once assailed by the scythod characts, he successfully avoided the charge and routed his assailants, and then, expelling the troops that were in guard of the passes, made himself master of the roads leading into Syrna And now, elated himself, and finding his soldiers also aremated by these successes, he was resolved to push at all, and to have one deciding blow for the empire with Seleucus; who sideed was in considerable anxiety and dutrem, being averse to any assistance from Lymmachus. whom he both mustrusted and feered, and shrinking from a battle with Demetries, whose desperation he knew, and whose fortune he had so often seen suddenly pass from the lowest to the highest.

But Demetrius, in the meanwhile, was taken with a violent sxirress, from which he suffered extremely himself, and which runed all his prospects. His men deserted to the enemy, or dispersed At last, after forty days, he began to be so far recovered as to be able to rally his remaining forces, and marched as if he directly designed for Calicra, but in the night, raising his camp without sound of trumpet, he took a countermarch, and, passing the mountain Amarus, he rayaged all the lower country as far as Cymbesters.

Upon this, Seleucus advancing towards him and encamping at no great distance. Demetrius set his troops in motion to surprise him by night And almost to the last moment Seleucus knew nothing, and was himz asleep. Some deserter came with the tidings just so soon that he had time to leap, in great consternation, out of bed, and give the glarm to his men. And as he was putting on his boots to mount his horse, he bade the officers about him look well to it, for they had to meet a furious and terrible wild beast. But Demetrins, by the noise he heard in the carm, finding they had taken the alarm, deeve off his troops in haste. With the morning's return he found Scheme pressing hard upon him; as, seading one of this officers against the other wing, he defeated those that were opposed to himself. But Schemes, lighting from his hone, pulling off his hethert, and taking a target, advanced to the forement ranks of the memory soldiers, and, takwing them who he was, hade them come over and join him, telling these that it was for their sakes only that he had so long forborne coming to extremities. And thereupon, without a blow more, they saloted Schemes as their slikes and rassed only the property of the saloted Schemes as their slikes and rassed the saloted Schemes and saloted the saloted Schemes and saloted Schemes an

Demetrius, who felt that this was his last change of fortune. and that he had no more vicissitudes to expect, fied to the passes of Amanus, where, with a very few friends and followers, he threw himself into a dense forest, and there waited for the night, purposing, if possible, to make his escape towards Caunus. where he hoped to find his shipping ready to transport him. But upon inquiry, finding that they had not provisions even for that one day, he began to think of some other project. Whilst he was yet in doubt, his friend Sosigenes arrived, who had four hundred pieces of gold about him, and, with this relief, he again entertained hopes of being able to reach the coast, and, as soon as it began to be dark, set forward towards the passes. But, perceiving by the fires that the enemies had occupied them, he gave up all thought of that road, and retreated to his old station in the wood, but not with all his men; for some had deserted, nor were those that remained as willing as they had been. One of them, in fine, ventured to speak out, and say that Demetrius had better give himself up to Selencus; which Demetrius overhearing, drew out his sword, and would have passed it through his body, but that some of his friends interposed and prevented the attempt, persuading him to do as had been said. So at last he gave way, and sent to Seleucus, to surrender himself at discretion.

Scheman, when he was told of it, said it was not Demetric's good fortune the had found out this means for his safety, but his own, which had added to his other honours the opportunity of showing his Genemon and generosity. And forthwith he gave order to his demestic officers to prepare a royal pavilson, and all things suitable to give him a splendif reception and entertainment. There was in the attendance of Schemen on Applicatings, who formerly had bean intunate with Demetrius.

He was, therefore, as the fittest person, despatched from the king to meet Demetrus, that he might ited himself more at his ease, and might come with the confidence of being received as a friend and relative No somer was this message known, but the courtiers and officers, some few at first, and afterwards almost the whole of thera, thinking Demetrius would presently become of great power with the king, burned of, vying who should be forement to pay him their respects. The effect of which was that compassion was converted into realousy, and ill natured, malicious people could the more easily insimuate to Seleucus that he was giving way to an unwise humanity, the very first sight of Demetrius having been the occasion of a dangerous excitement in the army So, whilst Apollouides, in great delight, and after him many others, were relating to Demetrus the kind expressions of Seleucus, and be, after so many troubles and columnies, if indeed he had still any sense of his surrender of himself being a diserace, had now, in confidence on the rood hores held out to him, entirely forgotten all such thoughts, Pausamas with a guard of a thousand horse and foot came and surrounded iam, and, dispersing the rest that were with him, carried him not to the presence of Selectors, but to the Syruan Chersonese, where he was committed to the sale custody of a strong guard Sufficient attendance and liberal provisions were here allowed him, space for riding and walking, a park with game for hunting, those of his friends and companions in exile who wished it had permission to see him, and messages of kindness also, from time to time, were brought him from Seleucus, hidding him fear nothing, and intimating that, as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should arrive, he would

recover be liberty.

Benefiting, however, finding branell in this condition, sent letters to these who lever with his son, and to his captains and funds at fathers and Cornith, that they should give no manner of credit to any lettick written to them in his name, though they were saled with his was again, but this, hooling upon him as if he were already dead, they abould maintain the other and waterer was let of his prover for Antigonia, as his successor Antigonia recovered the news of his father's captivity with great sorwer, be put himself, making entreating sorwer, be put himself, and his Selecuis himself, making entreating sorter and offering out ofly to surmender whatever they had lett, but himself to be a housing fee his faither. Many cross also can formed joined our storwing for him, only by jurnachia sent and

offered a large sum of money to Seleuens to take away his life. But he, who had always shown his aversion to Lysimachus before, though him only the greater barbarian and monster for it. Nevertheless, he still protracted the time, reserving the favour, as he professed, for the intercession of Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius, who had sustained the first stroke of his reisfortune, in time grew so familiar with it, that, by continuance, it became easy. At first he persevered one way or other in taking exercise, in hunting, so far as he had means, and in riding, Little by little, however, after a while, he let himself graw indolent and indisposed for them, and took to dice and drinking, in which he passed most of his time, whether it were to escape the thoughts of his present condition, with which he was haunted when sober, and to drown reflection in drunkenness, or that he acknowledged to himself that this was the real happy life he had long desired and wished for, and had foolishly let himself be seduced away from it by a senseless and vain ambition, which had only brought trouble to himself and others; that highest good which he had thought to obtain by arms and fleets and soldiers he had now discovered unexpectedly in idleness, leisure, and repose. As, indeed, what other end or period is there of all the wars and dangers which hapless princes run into, whose misery and folly it is, not merely that they make luxury and pleasure, instead of virtue and excellence, the object of their lives, but that they do not so much as know where this luxury and pleasure are to be found?

Having thus continued three years a prisoner in Cheronessus, for ware of exceeds, and by indicing binwell in eating and dribling, he fell into a disease, of which he died at the age of fifty-cur. Sectious was ill spoken of, and was himself greatly grieved, that he had yielded so far to his suspicious, and had let himself be so much eating the beautious an expenditure of Thirties, who had shown so much humanity and such a kingly tensor in his treatment of his missenser Javianchure.

There was something demantic and theatrial in the very interest executions with which Denective was houseaut. For his son Antigorus, understanding that his remains were coming over from Syris, went with all his feet to the histant for meet them. They were these presented to him in a golden curs, which he placed in bit largest admiral galley. All the cities where they touched in twice passage sent chaplets to adom the turn, and denoted certain of their citiests to follow in morrisor. For asset at the functal solematy. When the fact approached the harbour of Gornth, the wm, cowered with purple, and a royal dudent upon it was valid to upon the poop, and a trood oldern upon it was valid to upon the poop, and a troop of young men attended are transcent at the standing. Kroophantur, the most international of the day, played on the flute his most soleman, to which the rowers, as the pho, came or, most ofference of the most. Lepong time with the calences of the music. But Autgoing, in texts and mourang atture, excited among the exceptions pattern on the thort the greatest pattern of on the thort the greatest patterns on the control of the control o

Denotitude left no ether children by his wife Phila but Antiprions and Stratone, but he had how other took, both of his own anna, ove numared the Thin, by an Highan meither, and no who mild of Kyrneb, by Phielmans. He had also, by Dendama, a son, Alexander, who invol and died in Egypti, and there are some who say that he had a not by Euryline, named Carthabus. Has family was continued in a succession of kinnt drive to Perseau. the last from whom the Romans

took Macedonia

And now, the Macedosian drama being ended, let us prepare to see the Roman.

ANTONY

The gendfather of Antony was the famen, pleader, whom Marsa put of earth for having taken put with Spil. His father was Antony, sursamed of Cuter, not very famous or disfigurabed in public life, but a worthy good man, and particularly remarkable for his Benality, as may appear from a single eary life. He was not very rich, and was for that reason checked in the excises of his good sature by his wais. A friend that sixed in need of money came to before of him. Money be had none, but he bade a servant bung him suter in a silver beam, with which, when it was brought, he wetted his face, as if he meant in shave, and, sending wavy the servant popen another reand, case he frend the beam, cleanup him to turn it to his purpose. And when there was, afterwards, a great inquiry for it in the house, and his wife was in a very ill humour, and was going to put the servants one by one to the search, he acknow-

ledged what he had done, and begged her pardon.

His wife was Julia, of the family of the Carsars, who, for her discretion and fair behaviour, was not inferior to any of her time. Under her, Antony received his education, she being, after the death of his father, remarried to Cornelius Lentulus. who was put to death by Cicero for having been of Catiline's conspiracy. This, probably, was the first ground and occasion of that mortal grudge that Antony bore Cicero. He says, even, that the body of Lentulus was denied burial, till, by application made to Cicero's wife, it was granted to Julia. But this seems to be a manifest error, for none of those that suffered in the consulate of Cicero had the right of burial denied them. Antony grew up a very beautiful youth, but by the worst of misfortunes, he fell into the acquaintance and friendship of Curio, a man abandoned to his pleasures, who, to make Antony's dependence upon him a matter of greater necessity, plunged him into a life of drinking and dissipation, and led him through a course of such extravagance that he ran, at that early age, into debt to the amount of two hundred and fifty talents. For this sum Curio became his surety; on hearing which, the elder Curio, his father, drove Antony out of his house. After this, for some short time he took part with Clodius, the most insolent and outrageous demagogue of the time, in his course of violence and disorder; but getting weary, before long, of his madness, and apprehensive of the powerful party forming against him, he left Italy and travelled into Greece, where he spent his time in military exercises and in the study of eleguence. He took most to what was called the Asiatic taste in speaking, which was then at its height, and was, in many ways, suitable to his ostentations, vaunting temper, full of empty flourishes and unsteady efforts for glory.

After some stay in Greece, he was invited by Gabhinia, who had been contul, to make a campuiga with him in Syria, which at first he refused, not being willing to serve in a private character, but receiving a commission to command the lorner, he went along with him. His first service was against Aristobulus, who had prevailed with the Jews to rebel. Here he was himself the first man to scale the largest of the works, and beat Aristobulus out of all of them; after which he routed, in a pitched battle, an earny many times over the number of his, killed almost all of them and took Aristobulus and his son prisoners This war ended, Galunnia was solicited by Ptolemy to restore hun to his kingdom of Egypt, and a promise made of ten thousand talents reward Most of the officers were against this enterprise, and Gabraus himself did not much like it, though sorely tempted by the ten thousand talents But Antony, dearous of brave actions, and willing to please Ptolemy, joined in persuading Gabinius to go And whereas all were of opinion that the most dangerous thing before them was the march to Peluson, in which they would have to pass over a deep sand, where no fresh water was to be hoped for, along the Acregma and the Serbonian marsh (which the Egyptians call Typhon's breathing-hole, and which is, in probability, water left behind by, or making its way through from, the Red Sea, which is here divided from the Mediterranean by a narrow uthmus), Antony, being ordered thither with the horse, not only made himself master of the rosses, but won Pelusum strelf, a great city, took the exputen property, and by this means rendered the march secure to the army, and the way to victory not difficult for the general to pursue The enemy also reaped some benefit of his easerness for honour For when Prolemy, after he had entered Pelusium, in his rage and spite against the Egyptians, designed to put them to the sword, Antony withstood him, and hindered the execution. In all the great and frequent skirmishes and battles he cave continual proofs of his personal valour and military conduct, and once in particular, by wheeling about and attacking the rear of the enemy, he gave the victory to the assailants in the front, and received for this service signal marks of distinction. Nor was his humanity towards the deceased Archelaus less taken notice of He had been formerly his guest and accuminance, and, as he was now compelled, he fought him bravely while alove, but on his death, sought out his body and boned it with rojal bonours. The consequence was that he left behind him a great marne among the Alexandrians, and all who were serving in the Roman army looked upon him as a most callent tolder

The had sile a very good and soble appearance, his beard via well grown, his forehead large, and his nose acquince, giving him shopether a bold, misstudies both that remunded people of the lites of literales in pannings and scriptures. It was, moreover, an anomat transluss, that the Antonys were desended from Brendles, by a son of his called Anton, and this opinion be thought to give credit to by the similarity of his person usit

mentioned, and also by the fashion of his dress. For, whenever he had to appear before large numbers, he were his typic out low about the hips, a broadsword on his side, and over all a large coarse mantle. What might seem to some very insunportable, his vaunting, his raillery, his drinking in public, sitting down by the men as they were taking their food, and eating, as he stood, off the common soldiers' tables, made him the delight and pleasure of the army. In love affairs, also, he was very agreeable: he gained many friends by the assistance he cave them in theirs, and took other people's raillery upon his own with good-humour. And his generous ways, his open and lavish band in gifts and favours to his friends and fellow-soldiers, did a great deal for him in his first advance to power, and after he had become great, long maintained his fortunes, when a thousand follies were hastening their overthrow. One instance of his liberality I must relate. He had ordered payment to one of his friends of twenty-five myriads of money or decier, as the Romans call it, and his steward wondering at the extravagance of the sum, laid all the silver in a heap, as he should pass by. Antony, seeing the heap, asked what it meant; his steward replied, "The money you have ordered to be given to your friend," So, perceiving the man's malice, said he, "I thought the decies had been much more; 'tis too little; fet it be doubled." This, however, was at a later time.

When the Roman state finally broke up into two hostile factions, the aristocratical party joining Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular side seeking help from Casar, who was at the head of an army in Goul, Curio, the friend of Antony, having changed his party and devoted himself to Casar, brought over Antony also to his service. And the influence which he gained with the people by his eloquence and by the money which was supplied by Casar, enabled him to make Autony, first. tribune of the people, and then, augur. And Antony's accession to office was at once of the greatest advantage to Caspr. In the first place, he resisted the consul Marcollus, who was putting under Pomyey's orders the troops who were already collected. and was giving him power to raise new levies; he, on the other hand, making an order that they should be sent into Syria to reinforce Bibuius, who was making war with the Parthians, and that no one should give in his name to serve under Pompey. Next, when the sunators would not suffer Casar's letters to be received or read in the senate, by virtue of his office he read them publicly, and succeeded so well, that many were brought

to change their mind, Casar's demands, as they appeared in what he wrote, being but just and reasonable At length, two questions being put in the senate, the one, whether Porrney should dismiss his array, the other, if Casar his, some were for the former, for the latter all, except some few, when Antony stood up and put the question, if it would be agreeable to them that both Pompey and Cresar should dismiss their armies This proposal met with the greatest approval, they gave him loud acclamations, and called for it to be put to the vote But when the consuls would not have it so, Casar's friends again made some few offers, very fair and equitable, but were strongly opposed by Cato, and Antony himself was commanded to leave the senate by the consul Lentulus So, leaving them with execuations, and disguising himself in a servant's dress, hirms a carrage with Ounitus Cassius, he went straight away to Casar, declaring at once, when they reached the camp, that affairs at Rome were conducted without any order or justice, that the privilege of speaking in the senate was denied the tribunes, and that he who spoke for common fair dealing was driven out and in danger of his life

Upon this, Cosar set his army in motion, and marched into Italy, and for this reason it is that Cicero writes in his Philippies that Antony was as much the cause of the civil war as Helen was of the Troian But this is but a calumny For Cresar was not of so slight or weak a temper as to suffer himself to be carried away, by the indemation of the moment, into a civil war with his country, upon the sight of Antony and Cassius seeking refuge in his cump meanly dressed and in a hired carriage. without ever having thought of it or taken any such resolution long before This was to him, who wanted a pretence of declarme war, a fair and plausible occasion. but the true motive that led him was the same that formerly led Alexander and Cyrus agamet all mankind, the unquenchable thirst of empire, and the distracted ambition of being the greatest man in the world, which was impracticable for him, unless Poraney were put down So soon, then, as he had advanced and occupied Rome, and driven Pompey out of Italy, he proposed first to go against the legions that Poinpey had in Spain, and then cross over and follow him with the fleet that should be prepared during his absence, in the meantime leaving the government of Rome to Lepidus, as prator, and the command of the troops and of Italy to Antony, as tribune of the people Antony was not long in getting the hearts of the soldiers, ronning with them in their exercises, and for the nest part living amongst them and makine them presents to the utment of his abilities; but with all others them presents to the utment of his abilities; but with all others he was unpopular enough. He was too lary to pay attention to the complaints of pressons who were injured; he listened impatiently to patitions, and he had an Hamen for familiarity with other people's wives. In short, the government of Cessar (which, so fat as he was concerned humself, but the appearance of anything rather than a tyranavy) got a bad repute through his friends. And of these friends, altony, as he had the largest trust, and committed the greatest errors, was thought the most deeply in fault.

Casar, however, at his return from Spain, overlooked the charges against him, and had no reason ever to complain, in the employments he gave him in the war, of any want of courage, energy, or military skill. He himself, going aboard at Brundusium, sailed over the Ionian Sea with a few troops and sent back the vessels with orders to Antony and Gabinius to embark the army, and come over with all speed to Macedonia. Gabinius. having no mind to put to sea in the rough, dangerous weather of the winter season, was for marching the army round by the long land route; but Antony, being more afraid lest Canar might suffer from the number of his enemies, who pressed him hard, beat back Libe, who was watching with a fleet at the mouth of the beyon of Brundusium, by attacking his gallays with a number of small boats, and gaining thus an opportunity, put on board twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse, and so set out to sea. And, being espied by the enemy and pursued, from this danger he was rescued by a strong south wind, which sprang up and raised so high a sea that the enemy's galleys could make little way. But his own ships were driving before it upon a lee shore of cliffs and rocks running sheer to the water, where there was no hope of escape, when all of a sudden the wind turned about to south-west, and blew from land to the main sea, where Antony, now sailing in security, saw the coast all covered with the wreck of the enemy's fleet. For hither the galleys in pursuit had been carried by the gale, and not a few of them dashed to pieces. Many men and much property fell into Antony's hands: he took also the town of Lissus, and, by the seasonable arrival of so large a reinforcement, save Casar great encouragement,

There was not one of the many engagements that now took place one after another in which he did not signalise himself; twice he stopped the army in its full flight, led them back to a charge, and gained the victory. So that now without reason his reputation, next to Casal's, was greatest in the army. And
what opinion Cests insmell had of him well appeared when, for
the final battle in Flanshla, which was to determine everything,
he himself chose to lead the riving committing the charge
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Dolabella, however, who was tribune, being a young man and eager for change, was now for bringing at a general measure for cancelling debts, and wanted Antony, who was his friend, and forward enough to promote any popular project, to take part with him in this step Asinius and Trebellius were of the contrary opinion, and it so happened, at the same time, Antony was crossed by a terrible suspicion that Dolabella was too familiar with his wife, and in great trouble at this, he parted with her (she being his cousin, and daughter to Carus Antonius, collergue of Ocero), and, taking part with Asmius, came to open hostilities with Dolabells, who had seized on the forum, intending to pass his law by force Antony, backed by a vote of the senste that Dolabella should be put down by force of arms, went down and attacked hun, killing some of his, and losing some of his own men, and by this action lost his favour with the commonates, while with the better class and with all well-conducted people his general course of life made him, as Corro save absolutely edicus, utter disjust being excited by his dranking bouts at all hours, his wald expenses, his gross amours, the day spent in sleeping or walking off his debauches. and the night in hannuets and at theatres, and in celebrating the nuptrals of some comedian or buffoon. It is related that, dranking all night at the wedding of Hippias, the comedian, on the morning, having to harangue the people, he came forward, overcharged as he was, and vomited before them all, one of his friends holding his gown for him Sergius, the player, was one of the friends who could do most with him, also Cytheris, a woman of the same trade, whom he made much of, and who, when he went his progress, accompanied him in a litter, and had her equipage not in anything inferior to his mother's, while every one, moreover, was scandalised at the sight of the golden cups that he took with him, fitter for the comments of a procession than the uses of a pourmey, at his having pavilions set up, and sumptures morning repasts laid out by river aides and in groves, at his having classion drawn by Jiens, and common women and singing gits quartered upon the houses of serious richers and motions of families. And it seemed very uncessonable that Creat, out of Kaly, should lodge in the open field, and, with great fatiges and disagger, pursue the remainder of a hearactous war, whilst others, by favour of his authority, should insult the citizens with their important bounds.

All this appears to have appravated party quarrels in Rome. and to have encouraged the soldiers in acts of licence and rapacity. And, accordingly, when Casar came home, he acquitted Dolabella, and, being created the third time consul, took not Antony, but Lepidus, for his colleague. Pompey's house being offered for sale, Antony bought it, and when the price was demanded of him, loudly complained. This, he tells us himself, and because he thought his former services had not been recommensed as they deserved, made him not follow Casar with the army into Libya. However, Casar, by dealing gently with his errors, seems to have succeeded in curing him of a good deal of his folly and extravagance. He gave up his former courses, and took a wife, Fulvia, the widow of Clodius the demagogue, a woman not born for spinning or housewifery, nor one that could be content with ruling a private husband, but prepared to govern a first magistrate, or give orders to a commander-in-chief. So that Cleonatra had great obligations to her for having taught Antony to be so good a servant, he coming to her hands tame and broken into entire obedience to the commands of a mistress. He used to play all sorts of sportive, boyish tricks, to keep Fulvia in good humour. As, for example, when Casar, after his victory in Spain, was on his return. Antony, among the rest, went out to meet him; and, a rumour being spread that Cresar was killed and the enemy marching into Italy, be returned to Rome, and, disguising himself, came to her by night muffled up as a servant that brought letters from Antony. She, with great impatience, before she received the letter, asks if Antony were well, and instead of an answer he gives her the letter; and, as she was opening it, took her about the neck and kissed her. This little story, of many of the same nature. I give as a specimen.

There was nobody of any rank in Rome that did not go some days' journey to meet Casar on his return from Spain; but

Antony was the best received of any, admitted to ride the whole journey with him in his carnage, while behind came Brutus Albunus and Octavian, his meece's son, who afterwards bore his name and reigned so long over the Romans Casar being created, the fifth tune, consul, without delay chose Antony for his collegue, but designing himself to give up his own consulate to Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution But Antony encosed it with all his might, saying much that was bad against Dolabella, and receiving the like language in return, till Casar could bear with the indecency no longer, and deferred the matter to another time Afterwards, when he came before the people to proclam Dolabella, Antony med out that the austices were unfavourable, so that at last Casar, much to Dolabella's vexation, visided and gate it up And it is credible that Canar was about as much discusted with the one as the other. When some one was accusing them both to him. "It is not." said be, "these well-fed, long-haired men that I fear, but the pale and the hungry-looking," meaning Brutus and Cassars, by whose conspiracy he afterwards fell

And the fairest present for that conspiracy was furnished. without his meaning it, by Antony himself The Romans were celebrating their festival, called the Lupercalia, when Corser, in his trumphal habit, and seated above the rostra in the marketplace, was a spectator of the sports The custom is, that many young noblemen and of the magueracy, anounted with oil and having straps of hade in their trads, run about and strike, in sport, at every one they meet "Antony was running with the rest, but, omitting the old ceremony, twining a garland of bay round a diadem, he ran up to the restra, and, being lifted up by he companions, would have put it upon the head of Caesar, as if by that ceremony he were declared lung. Casain seemingly refused, and drew aside to avoid it, and was applicated by the people with great shouts. Again Antony pressed (it, and again he declined its acceptance. And so the disputs between them went on for some time, Antony's solicitations receiving but little encouragement from the shouts of a few friends, and Casar's refusal being accompanied with the general applause of the people, a tunion thing quough, that they should submit with patience to the fact, and yet at the same time draid the name as the destruction of their liberty Cesar, very much discomposed at what had passed, got up from his seat, and, Living here his neck, said he was mady to receive a stroke, if any one of them desired to give it. The trown was at last put on one of his statues, but was taken down by some of the tribunes, who were followed home by the people with shouts of appliance. Cozar, however, rescribed it, and deposed them. These passages gave great encouragement to Brutus and

Cassius, who, in making choice of trusty friends for such an enterprise, were thinking to engage Antony. The rest approved, except Trebonius, who told them that Antony and he had lodged and travelled together in the last journey they took to meet Casar, and that he had let fall several words, in a contious way on purpose to sound him; that Antony very well understood him, but did not encourage it; however, he had said nothing of it to Casar, but had kept the secret faithfully. The conspirators then proposed that Antony should die with him. which Brutus would not consent to, insisting that an action undertaken in defence of right and the laws must be maintained unsulfied, and pure of injustice. It was settled that Antony, whose bodily strength and high office made him formidable, should, at Casar's entrance into the senate, when the deed was to be done, be amused outside by some of the party in a conversation about some pretended business.

So when all was proceeded with, according to their plan, and Coser had fallen in the sepate-house. Aptony, at the first moment, took a servant's dress, and hid himself. But, understanding that the conspirators had assembled in the Capitol. and had no further design upon any one, he persuaded them to come down, giving them his son as a hostage. That night Cassius supped at Antony's house, and Brutus with Lepidus. Antony then convened the senate, and spoke in favour of an act of oblivion, and the appointment of Brutus and Cassius to provinces. These measures the senate passed; and resolved that all Casac's acts should remain in force. Thus Antony went out of the senate with the highest possible reputation and esteem: for it was apparent that he had prevented a civil war. and had composed, to the wisest and most statesmanlike way. overtions of the greatest difficulty and embarrosment. But these temperate compacts were soon swept away by the tide of normar appliance, and the prospect, if Brutus were overthrown. of being without doubt the ruler-in-chief. As Casar's body was conveying to the tomb, Antony, according to the custom, was making his funeral pration in the market-place, and perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he had said, he began to mingle with his praises language of commiseration, and horror at what had hannened and, as he was ending his

speech, he took the under-dashes of the dead, and sheld them up, showing them stems of blood and the hales of the many stable, calling these that had done then set villaims and bloody murderits. All which extend the people to such understand, that they would not doer the fameral, but, making a pile of tables and forms on the very market place, set five to it, and every ore, intage a hand, can not one conspursation houses, to

artack them Upon this, Eretus and his whole pasty left the city, and Casar's friends somed themselves to Antony Calpurnia, Carar's wife, lodged with him the best part of the property, to the value of four thousand talents, he got also into his hands all Cassar's papers wherein were contained sournals of all he had done, and draughts of what he designed to do, which Antony made good use of, for by this means he appointed what magis trates he pleased, brought whom he would into the senate, recalled some from exile, freed others out of prison, and all this as ordered so by Cassar The Romans, so mockery, gave those who were thus benefited the name of Charonnes, since, if put to prove their cateaus, they most have recourse to the corpers of the dead In short, Anuny's behaviour in Rome was very absolute, he hanself being consul and his two brothers in great place, Carus the one, being prator, and lucrus, the other, tribune of the neonle

While matters went thus on Rome, the young Casar, Casar & nece's son and by testament left his her, arrived at Rome from Apollorus, where he was when his uncle was killed. The first thing he d d was to want Antony, as his father's friend. He spoke to him concerning the money that was in his hands, and remarded him of the legacy Casar had made of seventy five drachmas to every Roman caturen. Antony, at first, laughing at such discourse from so young a man, told him he wished he were in his health, and that he wanted good counsel and good friends to tell him the burden of being executor to Casar would sit very uneasy upon his young shoulders. This was no enswer to hun, and when he persisted in demanding the property, antony went on treating him injuriously both in word and deed opposed him when he stood for the tribune's office, and, when he was taking stems for the dedication of his father's golden chair, as had been enacted, he threatened to send him to prison if he did not give ever soliciting the people. This made the young Casar apply hurself to Cicero, and all the e that hated Antony, by them he was recommended to the senate, while he himself courted the people, and draw together the soldiers from their settlements, till Antony got starmed, and gave him a meeting in the Capitol, where, after some words, they came to an accommodation.

That night Antony bad a very unlucky dream, fancying that his right hand was thunderstruck. And, some few days after. he was informed that Casar was plotting to take his life. Casar explained, but was not believed, so that the breach was now made as wide as ever; each of them harried about all through Italy to engage, by great offers, the old soldiers that lay scattered in their settlements, and to be the first to secure the troops that still remained undischarged. Cicero was at this time the man of greatest influence in Rome. He made use of all his art to exasperate the people against Antony, and at length persuaded the senate to declare him a public enemy, to send Casar the rods and axes and other marks of honour usually given to practors, and to issue orders to Hirtins and Pansa, who were the consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The armies engaged near Modena. and Casar himself was present and took part in the battle. Antony was defeated, but both the consuls were slain. Antony, in his flight, was overtaken by distresses of every kind, and the worst of all of them was famine. But it was his character in calamities to be better than at any other time. Antony, in misfortune, was most nearly a virtuous man. It is common enough for people, when they fall into great disasters, to discern what is right, and what they ought to do: but there are but few who in such extremities have the strength to obey their judgment. either in doing what it approves or avoiding what it condemns: and a good many are so weak as to give way to their habits all the more, and are incanable of using their minds. Antony, on this occasion, was a most wonderful example to his soldiers. He, who had just quitted so much luxury and sumptuous living. made no difficulty now of drinking foul water and feeding on wild fruits and roots. Nay, it is related they ato the very bark of trees, and, in passing over the Alps, lived upon creatures that no one before had ever been willing to touch.

The design was to join the acmy on the other side the Aligcommanded by Lepidns, who he imagined would stand his friend, he having done him many good offices with Cesar. On coming up and encausing mear at hand, finding he had no sort of encouragement officed him, he resolved to push his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his delect; in this guite, and with a dark coloured cloak flung over him, he came into the trenches of Lepidus, and began to address the army Some were moved at his habit, others at his words, so that Lepidus, not liking it, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This raised in the soldiers yet a greater pity, so that they resolved to confer secretly with him, and dressed Ledius and Clodius in women's clothes, and sent them to see him They advised him without delay to attack Lendus's trenches, assuring him that a strong party would receive him, and, if he wished it, would kill Lendus Antony, however, had no wish for this, but next mornmy marched his army to pass over the river that parted the two carries He was himself the first man that stepped in, and, as he went through towards the other bank, he saw Lepidus's soldiers in creat numbers reaching out their hands to help him, and beating down the works to make him way Being entered into the camp, and finding himself absolute master, he nevertheless treated Lepidus with the greatest civility, and gave him the title of Father, when he spoke to him, and though he had everythire at his own command, he left him the honour of being called the general This fair usage brought over to him Munatius Plancus, who was not far off with a considerable force. Thus in great strength he repassed the Alps, leading with him into Itale seventeen legions and ten thousand horse, besides six legions which he left in garrison under the command of Varius. one of his familiar friends and boon companions, whom they used to call by the nickname of Cotylon.

Casar, perceiving that Cicero's wishes were for liberty, had ceased to pay any further regard to him, and was now employing the mediation of his friends to come to a good understanding with Ancony They both met torether with Lepidus in a small island where the conference lasted three days. The empire was soon determined of, it being divided amongst them as if it had been their naternal inheritance. That which gave them all the trouble was to scree who should be put to death, each of them desiring to destroy his enemies and to save his friends But, in the end, animosity to these they hated carried the day against respect for relations and affection for friends, and Cesar sacrificed Cicero to Antony, Antony gave up his uncle Lucius Casar, and Lepidus received permission to murder his brother Paulus, or, as others say, yielded his bit ther to them. I do not believe anything ever took place more truly savage or barbarous than this composition, for, in this exchange of blood for blood, they were equally guilty of the lives they surrendered and of those they

took; or, indeed, more guilty in the case of their friends, for whose deaths they had not even the justification of hatred. To complete the reconciliation, the soldiery, coming about them. demanded that confirmation should be given to it by some alliance of marriage; Casar should marry Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia, wife to Antony. This also being agreed to, three hundred persons were put to death by proscription. Antony save orders to those that were to kill Cicero to cut off his head and right hand, with which he had written his invectives against him: and when they were brought before him, he regarded them joyfully, actually bursting out more than once into laughter, and, when he had satisted himself with the sight of them, ordered them to be hung up above the speaker's place in the forum, thinking thus to insult the dead, while in fact he only exposed his own wanton arrogance, and his unworthiness to hold the power that fortune had given him. His uncle. Lucius Casar. being closely pursued, took refuge with his sister, who, when the murderers had broken into her house and were pressing into her chamber, mer them as the door, and spreading out her hands, cried out several times. "You shall not kill Lucius Casar till you first despatch me, who gave your general his birth; " and in this manner she succeeded in getting her brother out of the way, and saving his life. This triumvirate was very bateful to the Romans, and Antony

most of all bore the blame, because he was older than Cresar, and had greater authority than Lepidus, and withal he was no sooner settled in his affairs, but he turned to his luxurious and dissolute way of living. Besides the ill reputation he gained by his general behaviour, it was some considerable disadvantage to him his living in the house of Pompey the Great, who had been as much admired for his temperance and his sober, citizen-like habits of life, as ever he was for having triumphed three times. They could not without anger see the doors of that house shut against magistrates, officers, and envoys, who were shamefully refused admittance, while it was filled inside with players, jugglers, and drunken flatterers, upon whom were spent the greatest part of the wealth which violence and cruelty procured. For they did not limit themselves to the forfeiture of the estates of such as were proscribed, defrauding the widows and families. nor were they contented with laying on every possible kind of tax and imposition; but hearing that several sums of money were, as well by strangers as citizens of Rome, deposited in the hands of the vestel virgins, they went and took the money away

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by force When it was manifest that nothing would ever be eaough for Autoro Cesar at his called for a division of property The army was also duvided between them upon their march into Macedonia to make war wth Brutus and Cassius Lepidus being left with the command of the city

However after they had crossed the sea and engaged in opera tions of war encamping in front of the enemy Antony opposite Cass us and Casar oppos te Brutus Casar did nothing worth relating and all the success and victory were Antony s In the first battle Casar was completely muted by Brutus his camp taken, he himself very narrowly escaping by flight. As he him self writes in his Memoirs, he retured before the battle on account of a dream which one of his friends had But Antony on the other hand defeated Cass us though some have written that he was not actually present in the engagement and only joined afterwards in the pursuit. Cass us was killed at his own en treaty and order by one of his most trusted freedings. Pindarus not being aware of Brutus s victory After a few days interval they fought another battle in which Brutus lost the day and slew huntelf and Casse being sick Antony had almost all the honour of the victory Standing ever Brutus a dead body he uttered a few words of reproach upon him for the death of his brother Carus who had been executed by Brutus a order in Macodoma in revence of Gooro but saying presently that Hortenams was most to blame for it, be gave order for his being slain upon his brother's tomb and throwing his own scarlet mantle which was of creat value, upon the body of Enutus he gave charge to one of his own freedmen to take care of his funeral This man as Antony came to understand, did not leave the mantle with the corpse but kept both it and a good part of the money that should have been spent in the funeral for himself for which he had him put to death.

Diff Crair rais conveyed to Rome no one expecting that be would keep narrive Autory purposing to go to the eastern would keep narrive Autory purposing to go to the eastern proposed to lay their under continuous categories of the proposed to lay the choicing direction of the proposed to lay the choicing directions not for the same so lay they have consider a bear force. The same layer to raise money. Moreover, the force he shade at the transport of the control of the proposed to the control of the same raise of the control of

but, shows all, in being called a lover of Ashens, to which city he made very considerable presents. The people of Megara wished to let bin know that they also had something to show him, and invited him to come and see their senate-house. So be went and examined it, and on their asking him how he liked it, told them it was "not very large, but extremely resistant," At the same time, he had a survey made of the temple of the Pythian Apullo as if he had designed to repair it, and indeed he had decised to the senate his intention so to do.

However, leaving Lacius Censorius in Groce, he crossed over into Asia, and there laid his hands on the stores of accumulated wealth, while kings waited at his door, and queens were revisiting one nonther, who should make him the greatest precents or appear most charming in his eyes. Thus, whilst Cens in Rome van wearing out his strength anulets selfitions and wars, Antony, with nothing to do anniet the enjoyments of peace, she hip assisted surprise in easily back to the old course of life that was familiar to him. A set of haspers and pipers, Anneance and Kuthus, the dening-man, lettucoforus, and a whole Bacchic court of the like Astitic cabilitions, far ceutology in lumner and Muthus, the dening-man, lettucoforus, and a whole Bacchic court of the like Astitic cabilitions, far ceutology in lumner and Muthus, the peace that he will be allowed to the like a state of the like Astitic cabilitions, far ceutology in lumner and Muthus, the state of the like a state of the like and the late of the like a state of the late of the like and the late of the

"with incense in the air,
Tubilant somes, and outgress of despair."

When he made his entry into Ephesus, the women met him dressed up like Bacchantes, and the men and boys like satyra and fauns, and throughout the town nothing was to be seen but snears wreathed about with ivy, harps, flutes, and pealteries, while Antony in their somes was Racchus, the Giver of Joy, and the Gentle. And so indeed he was to some, but to far more the Devourer and the Savage: for he would deprive necsons of worth and quality of their fortunes to gratify villains and flatterers, who would sometimes beg the estates of men yet living, pretending they were dead, and, obtaining a grant, take possession. He save his cook the house of a Magnesian citizen, as a reward for a single highly successful supper, and, at last, when he was proceeding to lay a second whole tribute on Asia, Hybreas, speaking on behalf of the cities, took courage, and told him broadly, but antly enough for Antony's taste, " if you can take two yearly tributes, you can doubtless give us a couple of summers and a double harvest time: " and put it to him in the

by force. When it was manifest that nothing would ever be enough for Antony, Casar at last called for a division of property The army was also divided between them, upon their march into Macedonia to make war with Brutus and Cassius, Lepidus being left with the command of the city

However, after they had crossed the sea and engaged in opera tions of war, encamping in front of the enemy, Antony opposite Cassius, and Casar opposite Bratus, Casar did nothing worth relating, and all the success and victory were Antony's In the first battle, Casar was completely routed by Brutus, his camp taken, he himself very narrowly escaping by flight. As he him self writes in his Memoirs, he retired before the battle, on account of a dream which one of his friends had But Antony, on the other hand, defeated Cassus, though some have written that he was not actually present in the engagement, and only joined afterwards in the pursuit. Cassius was killed, at his own entreaty and order, by one of his most trusted freedmen. Pindarus, not being aware of Brutus's victory After a few days' interval. they fought another battle, in which Brutus lost the day, and slew himself, and Casar being sick, Antony had almost all the honour of the victory Standing over Brutus's dead body, he uttered a few words of reproach upon him for the death of his brother Caus, who had been executed by Brutus's order in Macedonia in revenge of Cicero, but, saying presently that Hortensius was most to blame for it, be gave order for his being slain upon his brother's tomb, and, throwing his own scarlet mantle, which was of creat value, upon the body of Brutus, he gave charge to one of his own freedmen to take care of his funeral This man, as Antony came to understand, did not leave the montle with the corose, but kept both at and a good part of the money that should have been spent m the funeral for himself, for which he had him put to death.

But Casar was conveyed to Rome, no one expecting that he would lone survive Antony, purposing to go to the eastern provinces to lay them under contribution, entered Greece with a large force. The promise had been made that every common soldier should receive for his pay five thousand drachmas; so it was likely there would be need of pretty severe taxing and levying to raise money However, to the Greeks he showed at first reason and moderation enough, he gratified his love of amusement by hearing the learned men dispute, by seeing the games, and undergoing mitration, and in judicial matters be was equ table, taking pleasure in being styled a lover of Greece, but, above all, in being called a lower of Athens, to which eight but made very considerable presents. The people of Megara wished to let him know that they also had something to show him, and invited him to come and see their senate-house. So be went and examined it, and on their asking him how he liked it, told them it was "not very large, but extremely raisons." At the sante time, be had a survey made of the temple of the Pythian Apollo as if he had designed to repair it, and indeed he had designed to the senate his intuntion as to do.

However, leaving Latins Consorius in Greece, he crossed over titu Acia, and there half his hands on the stores of accumulated wealth, while kings waited at his door, and queers were revitaling one another, who should make him the greatest presents or appear most charming in his eyes. Thus, whilst Casar in Rome was wearing out his strength analist softions and wars, Antony, with nothing to do amidet the enjoyments of peace, let hip passions curry him early back to the old course of life that was familiar to him. A set of harpers and pipers, Annaono and Xuthus, the dasting-man, Hermotorus, and a whole Bacchie rout of the like Asiative exhibitors, far outdoing in Itemos and buffers of the control of the c

Tubitant songs, and outeries of despear."

When he made his entry into Ephesus, the women met him dressed up like Bacchantes, and the men and boys like satyrs and fauns, and throughout the town nothing was to be seen but spears wreathed about with ivy, harps, flutes, and psalteries, while Antony in their sones was Bacchua, the Giver of Toy, and the Gentle. And so indeed he was to some, but to far more the Devourer and the Savage: for he would deprive persons of worth and quality of their fortunes to cratify villains and flatterers, who would sometimes beg the estates of men yet living, pretending they were dead, and, obtaining a grant, take possession. He gave his cook the house of a Magnesian citizen, as a reward for a single highly successful supper, and, at last, when he was proceeding to lay a second whole tribute on Asia, Hybreas, speaking on behalf of the cities, took courage, and told him broadly, but aptly enough for Antony's taste, " if you can take two yearly tributes, you can doubtless give us a couple of summers and a double harvest time;" and put it to him in the

planest and boldest way, that Asia had raised two hundred thousand talents for his service "If this has not been paid to you, ask your collectors for it, if it has, and is all gone, we are rumed men." These words touched Antony to the quick, who was simply ignorant of most things that were done in his name: not that he was so indolent, as he was prone to trust frankly in all about him For there was much simplicity in his character. he was slow to see his faults, but when he did see them, was extremely repentant, and ready to ask pardon of those he had mured, producal in his acts of reparation, and severe in his punishments, but his generosity was much more extravagant than his seventy, his raillery was sharp and insulting, but the edre of it was taken off by his readiness to submit to any kind of repartee, for he was as well contented to be ralled, as he was pleased to rally others. And this freedom of speech was, indeed, the cause of many of his disasters. He never imagined those who used so much liberty in their murth would flatter or deceive him in business of consequence, not knowing how common it is with parasites to mix their flattery with boldness. as confectioners do their sweetmeats with something biting, to prevent the sense of satisfy Their freedoms and impertinences at table were designed expressly to give to their obsequiousness in council the air of being not complaisance, but conviction

Such being his temper, the last and crowning mischief that could befall him came in the love of Geopatra, to awaken and kindle to fury passions that as yet lay still and dormant in his nature, and to stifle and finely corrupt any elements that yet made resistance in him of goodness and a sound judgment. He fell into the snare thus When making preparation for the Parthian war, he sent to command her to make her personal appearance in Cilicia, to answer an accusation, that she had given great assistance, in the late wars, to Cassins Dellins, who was sent on this message, had no sooner seen her face, and remarked her advortness and subtlety in speech, but he felt convinced that Antony would not so much as think of giving any molestation to a woman like this, on the contrary, she would be the first in favour with him. So he set himself at once to be the inst in savery wan and so use see minsel as one see pay his court to the Egyptian, and gave her his advice, "to co," in the Homeric style, to Chiem, "in her best attire," and bade her fear nothing from Antony, the gentlest and kindest of soldiers She had some faith in the words of Dellius, but more in her own attractions, which, having formerly recommended her to Cesar and the young Camus Pompey, she did not doubt might prove yet more assessful with Antony. Their acquaintance was with her when a gift, young and ignorant of the world, but the was to meet Antony in the time of life when youngers beauty is most plended, and their intellects are in full maturity. She made great preparation for her journey, of money, gifts, and comments of wallow, such as so weathy a Kingdom might afford, but she brought with her her surest hopes in her own magic arts and charms.

She received several letters, both from Antony and from his friends, to summon her, but she took no account of these orders; and at last, as if in mockery of them, she came sailing up the river Cydnus, in a barge with gilded stern and outspread sails of purple, while oars of silver best time to the music of fintes and files and harps. She herself lay all along under a canony of cloth of gold, dressed as Venus in a picture, and beautiful young boys, like painted Cupids, stood on each side to fan her. Her maids were dressed like sea nymphs and graces, some steering at the rudder, some working at the ropes. The perfumes diffused themselves from the vessel to the shore, which was covered with multitudes, part following the galley up the river on either bank, part running out of the city to see the sight. The market-place was quite emptied, and Antony at last was left alone sitting upon the tribunal; while the word went through all the multitude, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the common good of Asia. On her arrival, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She thought it fitter he should come to her: so, willing to show his good-humour and courtesy, be complied, and went. He found the preparations to receive him magnificent beyond expression, but nothing so admirable as the great number of lights; for on a sudden there was let down altogether so great a number of branches with lights in them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles, that the whole thing was a spectacle that has seldom been equalled for beauty.

The next day, Antony invited her to support, and was very desirous to outlook ber as well in magnificance as contrivance; but he found he was altogether heaten in both, and was so well convinced of it that he was insmed the sist to jest and mock at his poverty of wit and his rushe awkwardness. She perceiving that his raillery was broad and gross, and tavoured more of the soldier than the courtier, projented in the same taste, and full mist it at once, without any sort of reluctance or reserve. For her actual bestuty, it is said, was not in table 100 erman-falsh for that none could be compared with her, or that no one could see her without being struck by it, but the contact of her presence, if you lived with her, was irrestable, the attraction of her perior, poung with the charm of her convensation, and the character that attended all het had or dd, was something be withing. It was a pleasure merely to bear the sound of her voice, with which, lie an instrument of many strings, she could pass from one language to another, so that there were few of the hirtarian nations that the answered by an interpreter, to most of them she spoke herself, as to the Æthopiana, Troglodyst, Hebrey, Arbaian, Syrana, Medes, Parthans, and many others, whose language she had learnt, which was all the more surprising because most of the kings, her predecessors, scarcely rare themselves the trouble to acquire the Expytian tongue, and several of them quite absolated the Mecchonian.

Anteny was so cantracted by her that, while Fulvia his wife maintained his quartels in Rome against Casar by actual force of arms, and the Parthun troops, commanded by Labienus (the king's generals having made him commander in-chief), were assembled in Mesopotamia, and ready to enter Syria, he could vet niffer himself to be carried away by her to Alexandria, there to keep holiday, like a boy, in play and diversion, squandering ard fooling away in econyments that most costly, as Antrohon says, of all valuables, time They had a sort of company, to which they gave a particular name, calling it that of the Inimit able Livers. The trembers entertained one another daily in turn, with an extravagance of expenditure beyond measure or belef Philotas, a physician of Amphiesa, who was at that time a student of medicine in Alexandria, used to tell my grandfather Lampras that, having some acquamtance with one of the royal cooks, he was invited by him, being a young man, to come and see the sumptuous preparations for supper So he was taken into the kitchen, where he admired the prodigious variety of all things, but particularly, seeing eight wild boars rossting whole, says he, "Surely you have a great number of guests" The cook laughed at his simplicity, and told him there were not above twelve to sur, but that every dah was to be served up just reasted to a turn, and if anything was but one minute illtimed, it was spoiled, "And," said he, "maybe Antony will sup just now, maybe not this hour, maybe he will call for wine, or begu to talk, and will put it off So that," he continued, " it is not one, but many suppers must be had in readiness, as

it is expossible to guess at his hour" This was Philotas's

story; who related besides, that he afterwards came to be one of the medical attendants of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, and used to be invited pretty often, among other companions to his table, when he was not suppoing with his father. One day another physician had talked loudly, and given great disturbance to the company, whose mouth Philatas stoomed with this sophistical syllogism: "In some states of fever the patient should take cold water; every one who has a fever is in some state of fever; therefore in a fever cold water should always be taken," The man was quite struck dumb, and Antony's son, very much pleased, laughed aloud, and said, " Philotas, I make you a present of all you see there," pointing to a sideboard covered with plate. Philotas thanked him much, but was far enough from ever imagining that a boy of his age could dispose of things of that value. Soon after, however, the plate was all brought to him, and he was desired to set his mark upon it: and when he put it away from him, and was afraid to accept the present, "What wis the man?" said he that brought it; " do you know that he who gives you this is Antony's son, who is free to give it, if it were all gold? but if you will be advised by me. I would counsel you to accept of the value in money from us: for there may be amonest the rest some antique or famous piece of workmanship, which Antony would be sorry to part with." These anecdotes, my grandfather told us, Philotes used frequently to relate.

To return to Geopatra; Plato admits four sorts of flattery. but she had a thousand. Were Antony serious or disposed to mirth, she had at any moment some new delight or charm to meet his wishes: at every turn she was moon him, and let him escape her neither by day nor by night. She played at dica with him, drank with him, hunted with him; and when he exercised in arms, she was there to see. At night she would on rambling with him to disturb and tornent people at their doors and windows, dressed like a servant-woman, for Antony also went in servant's disguise, and from these expeditions he often came home very scurvily answered, and sometimes even beaten severely, though most people guessed who it was. However, the Alexandrians in general liked it all well enough, and joined good-humouredly and kindly in his frolic and play, saving they were much obliged to Antony for acting his tragic parts at Rome, and keeping his comedy for them. It would be trifling without end to be particular in his follies, but his fishing must not be introtten. He went out one day to snote with Cleapatra, and, being so unfortunate as to entch nothing in the presence of his mistress, he gave secret orders to the faithermen to drive under water, and pus faises that had been already taken upon his hooks, and these he drew so fast that the Engithala perceived it. But, figuring great admiration, the told evidence and the faither of the secret of the

Whilst he was thus diverting himself and engaged in this boy's play, two despatches arrived, one from Rome, that his brother Lucius and his wife Fulvia, after many quarrels among themselves, had joined in war against Casar, and having lost all, had fled out of Italy, the other bringing little better news. that Labienus, at the head of the Parthians, was overronning Asia, from Euphrates and Syra as far as Lydia and Ionus, So, scarcely at last rousing himself from sleep, and shaking off the lumes of wine, he set out to attack the Parthians, and went as far as Phomicia, but, upon the receipt of lamentable letters from Fulvia, turned his course with two hundred ships to Italy. And, in his way, receiving such of his friends as fled from Italy, he was given to understand that Fulvia was the sole cause of the war, a woman of a restless spint and very bold, and withal her hopes were that commotions in Italy would force Antony from Cleonatra. But at happened that Fulvez, as she was coming to meet her husband, fell sick by the way, and died at Sicyon, so that an accommodation was the more easily made when he reached Italy, and Casar showed no intention of laying anything to his charge, and he on his part shifted the blame of everything on Fulvia, those that were friends to them would not suffer that the time should be spent in looking narrowly into the plea, but made a reconciliation first, and then a partinon of the empire between them, taking as their boundary the Ioman Sea, the eastern provinces falling to Antony, to Casar the western, and Africa being left to Lepidus And an agreerent was made that every one m their turn, as they thought fit, should make their friends consuls, when they did not choose to take the offices themselves.

These terms were well approved of, but yet it was thought some closer tie would be desirable; and for this, fortune offered occasion. Casar had an elder sister, not of the whole blood, for Atth was his mother's name, hers Ancharia. This sister Octavia, he was extremely attached to, as indeed she was, it is said, quite a wonder of a woman. Her husband, Caius Warcellus, had died not long before, and Antony was now a widower by the death of Fulvia; for, though he did not disavow the pussion he had for Clempatra, yet he disowned anything of marriage, reason as yet, upon this point, still maintaining the debate against the charms of the Egyptian. Everybody concurred in promoting this new alliance, fully expecting that with the beauty, honour, and prudence of Octavia, when her company should, as it was certain it would, have engaged his affections, all would be kept in the safe and happy course of friendship. So, both parties being agreed, they went to Rome to celebrate the nuptials, the senate dispensing with the law by which a widow was not permitted to marry till ten months after the death of her husband.

Sextus Pompeius was in possession of Sicily, and with his shins, under the command of Menas, the pirate, and Menecrates, so injested the Italian coast that no vessels durst venture into those year. Sextus had behaved with much humanity towards Antony, having received his mother when she fled with Fulvia. and it was therefore judged fit that be also should be received into the peace. They met pear the promontory of Misenum, by the mole of the port, Pompey having his fleet at anchor close by, and Antony and Cresar their troops drawn up all along the shore. There it was concluded that Sextus should quietly enjoy the government of Sicily and Sardinia, he conditioning to scour the seas of all pirates, and to send so much corn every year

to Rome.

This acroed on, they invited one another to supper, and by lot it fell to Pompey's turn to give the first entertainment, and Antony, asking where it was to be, "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley, a ship of six banks of ears, "that is the only house that Pompey is heir to of his father's." And this he said, reflecting upon Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. Having fixed the ship on her anchors, and formed a bridgeway from the promontory to conduct on board of her, he gave them a cordial welcome. And when they began to grow warm, and jests were passing freely on Antony and Ciconatra's loves, Menas, the pirate, whispered Pompey, in the

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ear, "Shall I," said he, "cut the cables, and make you master not of Sixtly only and Sardma, but of the whole Roman empire". Pempey, having considered a luttle while, returned him answer, "Menas, this might have been done without acquaining me; now we must rest content. I do not break my word." And so, having been entertained by the other two in their turns, he

set sail for Sicily After the treaty was completed, Antony despatched Ventidius into Asia, to check the advance of the Parthians, while he, as a compliment to Casar, accepted the office of priest to the deceased Casar And in any state affair and matter of consequence, they both behaved themselves with much consideration and friendliness for each other But it annoyed Antony that in all their amusements, on any trial of skill or fortune, Casar should be constantly victorious. He had with him an Egyptian diviner. one of those who calculate nativities, who, either to make his court to Geopatra, or that by the rules of his art he found it to be so, openly declared to him that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by Casar's, and advised him to keep himself as far distant as he could from that young man, "for your Genus," said he, "dreads his, when absent from him yours is proud and brave, but in his presence unmanly and dejected." and incidents that occurred appeared to show that the Egyptian spoke truth For whenever they cast lots for any playful purpose, or threw dice, Antony was still the loser, and repeatedly, when they fought came-cocks or quails. Casar's had the victory This gave Antony a secret displeasure, and made him put the more confidence in the skill of his Egyptian So, leaving the management of his home affairs to Czsar, he left Italy, and took Octavia, who had lately borne him a daughter, along with him into Greece

Here, whilst be wintered in Athens, he received the first news of Venndun's successes over the Parthans, of his having defeated them in a lattle, having saim Labiemas and Phamapates, the best general their lang, Hyrodes, possessed For the clothanting of which he made public feast through Greece, and for the prices which were contested at Athens he himself acted as tteward, and, leaving at home the ensuges that are carried before the general, he made his public appearance in a gown all white shore, with the stream's wands marching before, and he performed his duty is taking the combatants by the nock, to part them, when her had fourth removed.

When the time came for bim to set out for the war, he took a garland from the sacred olive, and, in obedience to some oracle, he filled a vessel with the water of the Clensydra to carry along with him. In this interval, Pacorus, the Parthian king's son, who was marching into Syria with a large army, was met by Ventidius, who gave him battle in the country of Cyrrhestica, slew a large number of his men, and Pacorus among the first. This victory was one of the most renowned achievements of the Romans, and fully avenced their defeats under Crassus the Parthians being obliged, after the loss of three battles successively, to keep themselves within the bounds of Media and Mesonotamia. Ventidius was not willing to push his good fortune further, for fear of raising some jealousy in Antony, but turning his arms against those that had quitted the Roman interest, he reduced them to their former obedience. Among the rest, he besieged Antiochus, King of Commagene, in the city of Samosata, who made an offer of a thousand talents for his perdon, and a promise of submission to Antony's commands. But Ventidius told him that he must send to Antony, who was already on his murch, and had sent word to Ventidius to make no terms with Antiochus, wishing that at any rate this one exploit might be excribed to him, and that people might not think that all his successes were won by his lieutenants. The siege, however, was long protracted; for when those within found their offers refused, they defended themselves stoutly, till, at last, Antony, finding he was doing nothing, in shame and regret for having rejused the first offer, was glad to make an accommodation with Antinchus for three hundred talents. And having given some orders for the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens: and, paying Ventidius the honours he well deserved. dismissed him to receive his triumph. He is the only man that has ever yet triumphed for victories obtained over the Parthians; he was of obscure birth, but, by means of Antony's friendship, obtained an encortamity of showing his canacity, and doing great things; and his making such glorious use of it gave new credit to the current observation about Casar and Antony, that they were more fortunate in what they did by their lieutenants then in their own persons. For Sossius, also, had great success. and Canidius, whom he left in Armenia, defeated the people there, and also the kings of the Albanians and Iberians, and marched victorious as far as Caucasus, by which means the fame of Antony's arms had become great among the barbarous nations.

He, however, once more, upon some unfavourable stories,

taking offence against Casar, set sail with three hundred ships for Italy, and, being refused admittance to the port of Brunthisum, made for Tarentum. There his wife Octavia, who came from Greece with him, obtained leave to visit her brother. she being then great with child, having already borne her husband a second daughter, and as she was on her way she met Cesar, with his two friends Agrippa and Maccenas, and. taking these two aside, with great entreaties and lamentations she told them, that of the most fortunate woman upon earth. she was in darger of becoming the most unhappy, for as vet every one's eyes were fixed upon her as the wife and sister of the two great commanders, but, if rash counsels should prevail. and war ensue. "I shall be miserable," said she, "without redress, for on what side soever victory falls, I shall be sure to be a lover" Cresar was overcome by these entreaties, and advanced in a peaceable temper to Tarentum, where those that were present beheld a most stately spectacle, a vast army drawn up by the shore, and as great a feet in the harbour, all without the occurrence of any act of hostility, nothing but the saluta tions of friends, and other expressions of joy and kindness, pass ing from one armament to the other Antony first entertained Cesar, this also being a concession on Cesar's part to his sister. and when at length an agreement was made between them, that Carar should give Antony two of his legions to serve him in the Parthian war, and that Antony should in return leave with him a hundred aimed galleys, Octavia further obtained of her busband, besides this, twenty light ships for her brother, and of her brother, a thousand foot for her husband So, having parted good friends. Casar went immediately to make war with Pompey to conquer Sicily And Antony, leaving in Cassar's tharge his wife and children, and his children by his former wife Fulvia, set sall for Assa.

But the nuchef that this long had lain still, the passion for all caponar whoch better thoughts had seemed to have builed and tharmed into oblivion, upon his approach to Syring agthered tracquit egan, and broke out into a finise. And, in finis, like Plato's return and broke out into a finise. And, in finis, like Plato's return and brokelome counsed, and brokking faurly loses, a great Fortunet Eupht to brong Chopatra into Syrina. To seed Fortunet Eupht to brong Chopatra into Syrina. To seed Fortunet Eupht to Brong Chopatra into Syrina. To seed Fortunet Eupht to Ching the seed of Judes which produces bothin, that part of Arabia which much Platablachan cuttod to the outer see, profuse gifts which much

displeased the Romans. For although he had invested several private persons in great governments and kingdoms, and bereaved many kings of theirs, as Antigonus of Judga, whose head he caused to be struck off (the first example of that punishment being inflicted on a king), yet nothing stung the Romans like the shame of these honours paid to Cleopatra. Their dissatisfaction was augmented also by his acknowledging as his own the twin children he had by her, giving them the name of Alexander and Cleopatra, and adding, as their surnames, the titles of Son and Moon. But he, who knew how to put a good colour on the most dishanest artism, would say that the greatness of the Roman empire consisted more in giving than in taking kingdoms. and that the way to carry poble blood through the world was by hegetting in every place a new line and series of kings; his own ancestor had thus been born of Hercules: Hercules had not limited his hones of progeny to a single womb, nor feared any law like Splon's or any sudit of procreation, but had freely let nature take her will in the foundation and first commencement of many families.

After Phraates had killed his father Hyrodes, and taken possession of his kingdom, many of the Parthians left their country : among the rest Monroses, a man of great distinction and authority, sought refuge with Antony, who, looking on his case as similar to that of Themistocles, and likening his own onulence and magnanimity to those of the former Persian kings, gave him three cities, Lariesa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was formerly called Bambyce. But when the King of Parthia soon recalled him, giving him his word and honour for his safety, Antony was not unwilling to give him leave to return, hoping thereby to surprise Phrantes, who would believe that peace would continue: for he only made the demand of him that he should sand back the Roman environs which were taken when Crassus was slain, and the prisoners that remained yet alive. This done, he sent Cleopatra to Egypt, and marched through Arabia and Armenia; and, when his forces came together, and were joined by those of his confederate kings (of whom there were very many, and the most considerable, Artavasdes, King of Armenia, who came at the head of six thousand horse and seven thousand foot), he made a seneral mustur. There appeared sixty thousand Roman foot, ten thousand horse, Spaniards and Gauls, who counted as Romans; and, of other nations, horse and foot thirty thousand. And these great preparations, that out the Indians beyond Bactria into alarm, and made all Asia

shale, were all we are told rendered useless to him because of Geopaira. For, in order to pass the winter with her, the wat are pushed no before tis due time, and all he did was done without perfece counderstoot, as by a man who had no power of control over his factions, who, under the effect of some drug or mage, was still looking back elsewhere, and whose object was much more to hatten has return than to conquer his cements.

For, first of all, when he should have taken up his winter quarters in Armenia, to refresh his men, who were tired with long marches, having come at least eight thousand furkings. and then having taken the advantage in the beginning of the spring to invade Media, before the Parthians were out of winterquarters, he had not patience to expect his time, but marched ir to the province of Atropatene, having Armenia on the left hand, and had waste all that country Secondly, his haste was so creat that he left behind the engines absolutely required for any siege, which followed the camp in three hundred waggons, and, among the rest, a ram eighty feet long, none of which was it possible, if lost or damaged, to repair or to make the like, as the provinces of the Upper Asia produce no trees long or hard enough for such uses Aevertheless, he left them all behind, as a more impediment to his speed, in the charge of a detachment under the command of Stationus, the waggon officer He him self lad stege to Phraats, a principal city of the King of Media, wherein were that king's wife and children. And when actual need proved the greatness of his error, in leaving the nege train behind him, he had nothing for it but to come up and raise a mound against the walls, with infinite labour and great loss of time Meantime Phrastes, coming down with a large army, and hearing that the waggons were left behind with the battering engines, sent a strong party of horse, by which Statianus was surprised, he himself and ten thousand of his men slam, the engines all broken in pieces, many taken prisoners, and among the rest King Polemon

This great miscarrage in the opening of the campaign much demonaged Anders's army, and Artavades, King of Arasenia, dending that the Roman prospects were bad, withdrew with all his force from the camp, although he had been the chief promoter of the war. The Parthaus, encouraged by their promoter came up to the Romans at the siege, and gave them cally affinists, pure which Anthony, framing that the despondency and alarm of his soldiers would only grow worse if he left chief left, facility all the flows; the grows and there preforms and the soldiers would only grow worse if he left chief left, facility all the flows; the grows and there preforms and the soldiers would not grow worse if he left when left is, their gift the flows; the grows and the soldiers will be soldiers with the soldiers will be soldiers and the soldiers will be soldiers with the soldiers will be soldiers and the soldiers are soldiers and the soldiers are soldiers.

cohorts of heavy infantry, resolved to go out and forage, designing by this means to draw the enemy with more advantage to a battle. To effect this, he marched a day's journey from his camp, and finding the Parthians hovering about, in readiness to attack him while he was in motion, he gave orders for the signal of battle to be hung out in the encampment, but, at the same time, pulled down the tents, as if he meant not to fight, but to lead his men home again; and so he proceeded to lead them past the enemy, who were drawn up in a half-moon, his orders being that the horse should charge as soon as the legions were come up near enough to second them. The Parthians, standing still while the Romans marched by them, were in crest admiration of their army, and of the exact discipline it observed, rank after rank passing on at equal distances in perfect order and silence, their pikes all ready in their hands. But when the signal was given, and the horse turned short upon the Parthians, and with loud cries charged them, they bravely received them. though they were at once too near for bowshot; but the legions coming un with loud shouts and rattling of their arms so frightened their horses and indeed the men themselves, that they kept their ground no longer. Antony pressed them hard. in great hones that this victory should put an end to the war: the foot had them in pursuit for fifty furlongs, and the horse for thrice that distance, and yet, the advantage summed up, they had but thirty prisoners, and there were but fourscore slain, So that they were all filled with dejection and discouragement. to consider that when they were victorious, their advantages were so small, and that when they were beaten, they lost so creat a number of men as they had done when the carriages were taken.

The next day, having put the baggage in order, they marched back to the canap before Phrants, in the way meeting with some scattering troops of the emmy, and, as they marched further, with greater pastine, at length with the body of the enemy's enemy, fresh and in good order, who defind them to battle, and charged them on every side, and it was not without great difficulty that they mached the cump. Those Antony, finding that his men had in a punic described the defense of the mound, upon a sally of the Metchs, readwel to proceed against them by decimation, as it is called, which is done by dividing the solition decimation as it is called, which is done by dividing the solition becomes to the solition of the

The war was now become greevous to both parties, and the prospect of its continuance yet more fearful to Antony, in respect that he was threatened with famine, for he could no longer formge without wounds and slaughter And Phraates, on the other side, was full of apprehension that if the Romans were to persist in carrying on the siege, the autumnal equinox being past and the air already closing in for cold, he should be deserted by his soldiers, who would suffer anything rather than wintering in open field To prevent which, he had recourse to the following deceit he gave orders to those of his men who had made most acquaintance among the Roman soldiers, not to pursue too close when they met them foraging, but to suffer them to carry off some provision, moreover, that they should praise their valour, and declare that it was not without just reason that their king looked upon the Romans as the bravest men in the world This done, upon further opportunity, they rode nearer in, and, drawing up their horses by the men, began to revile Antony for his obstinacy, that whereas Phrastes desired nothing more than peace, and an occasion to show how ready he was to save the lives of so many brave soldiers, he, on the contrary, gave no opening to any friendly offers, but sat awaiting the arrival of the two fercest and worst enemies, winter and famine, from whom at would be hard for them to make their escape, even with all the good-will of the Parthians to help them Antony, having these reports from many hands, began to indulge the hope, nevertheless, he would not send any message to the Parthan till he had put the question to these friendly talkers, whether what they said was said by order of their king Receiving answer that it was, together with new encouragement to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand once more the standards and prisoners, lest if he should ask nothing, he might be supposed to be too thankful to have bave to retreat in quiet The Parthian king made answer that, as for the standards and prisoners, he need not trouble himself but if he thought fit to retreat, he might do it when he pleased, in peace and safety Some few days, therefore, being spent in collecting the baggage he set out upon his march On which occasion, though there was no man of his time like him for addressing a multitude, or for carrying soldiers with him by the force of words, out of shame and sadness he could not find in his heart to speak himself but employed Domitius Ænobarbus And some of the soldiers resented it, as an undervaluing of them; but the greater number saw the true cause, and pitted it, and thought it rather a reason why they on their side should treat their general with more respect and obedience than ordinary.

Antony had resolved to return by the same way he came. which was through a level country clear of all trees; but a certain Mardian came to him (one that was very conversant with the manners of the Parthians, and whose fidelity to the Romans had been tried at the bottle where the machines were lost), and advised him to keep the mountains close on his right hand, and not to expose his men, heavily armed, in a hourd open riding country, to the attacks of a numerous army of light horse and archers; that Phraates with fair promises had persuaded him from the siege on purpose that he might with more ease cut him off in his retreat; but if so he pleased, he would conduct him by a nearcz route, on which moreover he should find the necessaries for his army in greater abundance. Antony upon this began to consider what was best to be done; he was unwilling to seem to have any reistrust of the Parthians after their treaty: but, holding it to be really best to march his army the shorter and more inhabited way, he demanded of the Mardian some assurance of his faith, who offered himself to be bound until the army came sofe into Armenia. Two days he conducted the army bound. and, on the third, when Antony had given up all thought of the enemy, and was marching at his ease in no very good order, the Mardian, perceiving the bank of the river broken down, and the water let out and overflowing the road by which they were to pass, saw at once that this was the handiwork of the Parthians, done out of mischief, and to hinder their march; so he advised Antony to be upon his guard, for that the enemy was nigh at hand. And no sconer had be begun to put his men in order, disposing the slingers and dart-men in convenient intervals for sallying out, but the Parthians came nouring in on all sides, fully expecting to encompass them, and throw the whole army into disorder. They were at once attacked by the light troops, whom they called a good deal with their arrows; but being themselves as warmly entertained with the slines and darts, and many wounded, they made their retreat. Soon after, rallying up afresh, they were beat back by a battalion of Gallic horse, and appeared no more that day.

By their manner of attack Autony, seeing what to do, not only placed the slings and darts as a rear guard, but also lined both flanks with them, and so marched in a square battle, giving order to the horse to charge and beat off the enemy, but not to fullenthem far as they retired. So that the Parthians, not doing more than far as they retired. So that the Parthians, not doing more mischief for the four ensuing days than they received, began to abate in their zeal, and, complaining that the winter season wa

much advanced, pressed for returning home

But, on the fifth day, Flavous Gallus, a brave and active officer who had a considerable command in the army, came to Antony desiring of him some light infantry out of the rear, and som horse out of the front, with which be would undertake to do som considerable service. Which when he had obtained, he beat the enemy back, not withdrawing, as was usual, at the same time, and retreating upon the mass of the heavy infantry, but maintaining his own ground, and engaging boldly The officers who commanded in the rear, perceiving how far he was getting from the body of the army, sent to warn hun back, but he took no notice of them It is said that Titius the guarstor snatched the standards and turned them round, upbraiding Callus with thus leading so many brave men to destruction. But when he on the other side reviled him again, and commanded the men that were about him to stand firm, Titius made his retreat, and Gallus, charging the enemies in the front, was encompassed by a party that fell upon his rear, which at length perceiving, he sent a mesteneer to demand encour. But the commanders of the heavy infantry. Canidus amonest others, a particular favourite of Antony's, seem here to have committed a great oversight For, instead of facing about with the whole body, they sent small parties, and, when they were defeated, they still sent out small parties, so that hy their bad management the rout would have spread through the whole army, if Antony himself had not marched from the van at the nead of the third legion, and, passing this through among the fugitives, faced the enemies, and amdered them from any further pursuit.

In the argagement were killed three thousand, for a thousand were curried back to the camp wounded, amongst the rest Gallus, short though the body with four arrows, of which wounds he ded. Anteny went from ten't to ten't to year and comflot the rest of them, and was not also te see he men without tears and a pession of gred. They, however, seed his hand with joyful tenses, belong him go and see to homes! and not be concerned about them, calling him thest unperer and their general, and always that the ded will they were safe. For, in short, never in all these times can hattry make mention of a general at the bead of a now splended army, where you consider strength and youth, or patence and sufferance h labourt and fattgues, but as for the declinear and affectionate respect they have the

gorieral, and the unanimous feeling amongst small and great ailike, officers and common soldiers, to purfech its good opinion of them to their very lives and being, in this part of military scenel beine it was not be possible that they could have been suprassed by the very Romans of old. For this devotion, as I have said before, there were many reasons, as the nobility of his family, his despence, his funds and open manners, his liberal and manginessen that his, this familiarity in talking with everybody, and, at this time particularly, his honders in visiting and pixing the said, joining in all their pains, and funcishing them with all things necessary, so that the sick and wounded were even more seare to serve than those that we wide and strong

Nevertheless, this last victory had so encouraged the enemy that, instead of their former impatience and weariness, they began soon to feel contempt for the Romans, staying all night near the camp, in expectation of plundering their tents and bageage, which they concluded they must abanden; and in the morning new forces arrived in large masses, so that their number was grown to be not less, it is said, than forty thousand horse; and the king had sent the very guards that attended upon his own person, as to a sure and unquestioned victory, for he himself was never present in any tight. Antony, designing to barangue the soldiers, called for a mourning habit that he might move them the more, but was dissuaded by his friends: so he come forward in the general's scarlet clouk, and addressed them. praising those that had gained the victory, and reproaching those that had fled, the former answering him with promises of success, and the latter excusing themselves, and telling him they were ready to undergo decimation, or any other punishment he should please to inflict upon them, only entreating that he would forget and not discompose himself with their faults. At which he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed the gods that, if to balance the great favours he had received of them any judgment lay in store, they would pour it upon his bead alone, and grant his soldiers victory.

The next day they took intere order for their merch, and the Parkinse, who thought they were merching rather to plunder than to fight, were much taken aback, when they came up and were recreved with a networ of missiles to find the enemy not dishearcheed, but fresh and resolver. So that they themselves began to lose courage. But at the dozent of a full where the Romans were obliged to pess, they got together, and let siy their arrows more them as they moved slowly down. But the fail.

armed infantry, facing round, received the light troops within, and those in the first rank kneft on one knee, holding their shields before them, the next rank holding thems over the first. and so again others over these, much like the tiling of a house, or the rows of seats in a theatre, the whole affording sure defence against arrows, which glanced upon them without doing any harm. The Parthans, seeing the Romans down upon their knees, could not magine but that it must proceed from weariness. so that they laid down their bows, and, taking their spears, made a fierce onset, when the Romans, with a great cry, leaped upon their feet, striking hand to band with their saveling, slew the foremost, and put the rest to fight After this rate it was every day, and the trouble they gave made the marches short, in addition to which famine began to be felt in the camp, for they could get but little corn, and that which they got they were forced to fight for, and, besides this, they were in want of implements to srind it and make bread. For they had left almost all behind, the buggage horses being dead or otherwise employed in carrying the sick and wounded Provision was so scarce in the army that an Attucquart of wheat sold for fifty drachings, and barley loaves for their weight in silver And when they tried vegetables and roots, they found such as are commonly eaten very scarce, so that they were constrained to venture upon any they could get. and, among others, they chanced upon an herb that was mortal, first taking away all sense and understanding. He that had eaten of it remembered nothing in the world, and employed himsell only in moving great stones from one place to another, which be did with as much expressives and industry as if it had been a business of the greatest consequence. Through all the camp there was nothing to be seen but mea grubbing upon the ground at stones, which they carried from place to place. But in the end they threw up bile and died, as wine, moreover, which was the one antidote, failed When Antony saw them die so fast, and the Parthians still in pursuit, he was heard to exclaim several times over, "O, the Ten Thousand!" as if in admiration of the retreat of the Greeks, with Xenophon, who, when they had a longer journey to make from Babylonia, and a more powerful enemy to deal with, nevertheless came home safe

The Parthurs, finding that they could not divide the Roman ramy, nor break the corder of their battle, and that withal they had been to often wersted, once more began to treat the foragers with professions of humanity, they came up to them with their bors unbent, telling them that they were going home to their houses; that this was the end of their retaliation, and that only some Median troops would follow for two or three days, not with any design to annoy them, but for the defence of some of the villages further on. And, saying this, they saluted them and embraced them with a great show of friendship. This made the Romans full of confidence again, and Antony, on hearing of it, was more disposed to take the road through the level country, being told that no water was to be hoped for on that through the mountains. But while he was preparing thus to do, Mithridates came into the camp, a cousin to Monases, of whom we related that he sought refuge with the Romans, and received in gift from Antany three cities. Upon his arrival, he desired somebody might be brought to him that could speak Syriac or Parthian. One Alexander, of Antioch, a friend of Antony's, was brought to him, to whom the stranger, giving his name, and montioning Manreses as the person who desired to do the kindness, put the question, did he see that high range of bills, pointing at some distance. He told him, yes. "It is there," said he, " the whole Parthian army lie in wait for your passage; for the great plains come immediately up to them, and they expect that, confiding in their promises, you will leave the way of the mountains, and take the level route. It is true that in passing over the mountains you will suffer the want of water, and the fatigue to which you have become familiar, but if you pass through the plains, Antony must expect the fortune of Crassus."

This said, he departed. Antony, in alarm calling his friends in council, seat for the Mardian guide, who was of the same opinion. He told them that, with or without enemies, the want of any certain track in the plain, and the likelihood of their losing their way, were quite objection enough; the other route was rough and without water, but then it was but for a day. Antony, therefore, changing his maid, marched away upon this and that night, commanding that every one should carry water sufficient for his own use; but most of them being unprovided with vessels, they made shift with their helmets, and some with skins. As soon as they started, the news of it was carried to the Parthians, who followed them, contrary to their custom, through the night, and at sunrise attacked the rear, which was tited with marching and want of sleep, and not in condition to make any considerable defence. For they had got through two hundred and forty furlongs that night, and at the end of such a march to find the enemy at their heels put them out of heart. Besides, having to fight for every step of the way increased their distress from that? Those that were in the van cane up to a rever, the cane the cane up to a rever the cane to the cane the cane to the cane the cane to the can

But the tents were scarce well put up, and the Parthians beginning, according to their custom, to withdraw, when Mithridates came again to them, and informed Alexander, with whom he had before spoken, that he would do well to advise Antony to stay where he was no longer than needs he must, that, after having refreshed his troops, he should endeavour with all diligence to gun the next river, that the Parthuns would not cross it, but so far they were resolved to follow them. Alexander made his report to Antony, who ordered a quantity of gold plate to be carried to Mithridates, who, taking as much as he could well hide under his clothes, went his way And, upon this advice, Antony, while it was yet day, broke up his camp, and the whole army marched forward without receiving any molestation from the Parthaus, though that night by their own doing was in effect the most wretched and terrible that they passed For some of the men began to kill and plunder those whom they suspected to have any money, ransacked the baggage, and seized the money there In the end, they laid hands on Antony's own compage, and broke all his rich tables and cups, dividing the fragments amongst them Antony, hearing such a noise and such a stirring to and fro all through the army, the belief prevailing that the enemy had routed and cut off a portion of the troops, called for one of his freedmen, then serving as one of his guards, Rhamnus by name, and made him take an oath that whenever he should give him orders, he would run his sword through his body and cut off his head, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the Parthians, nor, when dead, be recognised as the general While he was in this consternation, and all his friends about him in tears, the Mardian came up and gave them all new life. He convinced them, by the coolness and bumolity of the cir, which they could led in breathing it, that the river which he had spolen of was now not far of, and the acclustation of the time that had been required to reach it came, he said, to the same result, for the night was almost spant. And, at the same time, others ame with information that all the confusion in the camp proceeded only from their own violences and robbery among themselves. To compose this turnuit, and bring them again into some order after their distraction, he commanded the signal to be given for a half, if

Day began to break, and quiet and regularity were just reappearing, when the Parthian arrows began to fly among the rear, and the light-armed troops were ordered out to battle. And, being seconded by the heavy infantry, who covered one another as before described with their shields, they bravely received the enemy, who did not think convenient to edvance any further, while the van of the army, marching forward leisurely in this manner, came in sight of the river, and Antony, drawing up the cavalry on the banks to confront the enemy, first passed over the sick and wounded. And, by this time, even those who were engaged with the enemy had opportunity to drink at their ease; for the Parthians, on seeing the river, unbent their hows, and told the Romans they might pass over freely. and made them great compliments in praise of their valour. Having crossed without molestation, they rested themselves awhile, and presently went forward, not giving perfect credit to the fair words of their enemies. Six days after this last battle, they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media and Armenia, and seemed, both by its deepness and the violence of the current, to be very dangerous to pass. A report, also, had crept in amongst them, that the enemy was in ambush, ready to set upon them as seen as they should be occupied with their passage. But when they were not over on the other side. and found themselves in Armenia, just as if land was now sighted after a storm at sea, they kissed the ground for joy, shedding tears and embracing each other in their delight. But taking their journey through a land that abounded in all sorts of plenty, they ate, after their long want, with that excess of everything they met with that they suffered from dropsies and dysenteries.

Here Antony, making a review of his army, found that he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, of which the better half perished, not by the enemy, but by diseases.

Their march was of twenty-seven days from Phraats, during which they had beaten the Parthums in eighteen battles, though with little effect or lasting result, because of their being so unable to mirsue By which it is manifest that it was Artavasdes who lost Antony the berefit of the expedition. For had the sixteen thousand horsemen whom he led away, out of Media, armed in the same style as the Parthians, and accustomed to their manner of fight, been there to follow the pursuit when the Romans put them to flight, it is impossible they could have rallied so often after their defests, and reappeared again as they did to renew their attacks For this reason, the whole army was very earnest with Antony to march into Armenia to take revenge But he. with more reflection, forbore to notice the desertion, and continued all his former courtesies, feeling that the army was wearied out, and in want of all manner of pecessaries. Afterwards. however, entering Armenia, with invitations and fair promises he prevailed upon Arta; asdes to meet him, when he sezzed him. bound him, and carried him to Alexandria, and there led him in a trumph, one of the things which most offended the Romans, who felt as if all the honours and solemn observances of their country were, for Georgitra's sake, handed over to the Egyptians This, however, was at an after time For the present, march-

one has arms in creat hasce in the densh of winter through dist tinual storms of snow, he lost eight thousand of his men, and came with much diminished numbers to a place called the White Village, between Sidon and Berytus, on the sen-coast, where he waited for the arrival of Geopatra. And, being impatient of the delay she made, he bethought lumself of shortering the time in wine and drunkenness, and yet could not endure the tediousness of a meal, but would start from table and run to see if she were coming Till at last she some into port, and brought with her clothes and money for the soldiers. Though some say that Antony only received the clothes from her and distributed his own money in her name

A quartel presently happening between the King of Media and Phraates of Parthia, beginning, it is said, about the division of the booty that was taken from the Romans, and creating great apprehension in the Median lest he should lose his kingdom He sent, therefore, ambassadors to Antony, with offers of entering into a confederate war against Phraates And Antony, full of hopes at being thus asked, as a favour, to accept that one thing, borse and arthers, the want of which had hindered his beating the Partisans before, began at once to prepare for a return to

Armenia, there to join the Medes on the Araxes, and begin the war afresh. But Octavia, in Rome, being desirous to see Autony. asked Casar's leave to go to him; which he gave her, not so much. say most authors, to gratify his sister, as to obtain a fair pretence to begin the war upon her dishonourable reception. She no sooner arrived at Athens, but by letters from Antony she was informed of his new expedition, and his will that she should await him there. And, though she were much displeased, not being ignorant of the real reason of this usage, yet she wrote to him to know to what place he would be pleased she should send the things she had brought with her for his use; for she had brought clothes for his soldiers, baggage, cattle, money, and presents for his friends and officers, and two thousand chosen soldiers sumptuquely armed, to form pratorian cohorts. This message was brought from Octavia to Antony by Niger, one of his friends, who added to it the praises she deserved so well. Cleanatra, feeling her rival already, as it were, at hand, was seized with fear, lost if to her noble life and her high alliance, she once could add the charm of daily habit and affectionate intercourse, she should become irresistible, and be his absolute mistress forever. So she feigned to be dying for love of Antony, bringing her body down by slender diet; when he entered the room, she fixed her eyes upon him in a rapture, and when he left, seemed to languish and half faint away. She took great pains that he should see her in tears, and, as soon as he noticed it, hastily dried them up and turned away, as if it were her wish that he should know nothing of it. All this was acting while he prepared for Media; and Cleonatra's creatures were not slow to forward the design, upbraiding Antony with his unfeeling, hard-hearted temper, thus letting a woman perish whose soul depended upon him and him alone. Octavia. it was true, was his wife, and had been married to him because it was found convenient for the affairs of her brother that it should be so, and she had the honour of the title; but Cleonatra, the sovereign oneen of many nations, had been contented with the name of his mistress, nor did she shun or despise the character whilst she might see him, might live with him, and enjoy him: if she were hereaved of this, she would not survive the loss. In fine, they so melted and unmanned him that, fully believing she would die if he forsook her, he put off the war and returned to Alexandria, deferring his Median expedition until next summer, though news came of the Parthians being all in confusion with intestine disputes. Nevertheless, he did some time after go into that country, and made an alliance with the King of Media, by

marriage of a son of his by Cleopatra to the king's daughter, who was yet very young, and so returned, with his thoughts taken up

about the civil war When Octavia returned from Athens, Caesar, who considered she had been injuriously treated, commanded her to live in a separate house, but she refused to leave the bouse of her husband, and entreated him, unless he had already resolved, upon other motives, to make war with Antony, that he would on her account let it alone, it would be intolerable to have it said of the two greatest commanders in the world that they had involved the Roman people in a civil war, the one out of passion for, the other out of resentment about, a woman And her behaviour proved her words to be sincere She remained in Antony's house as if he were at home in it, and took the noblest and most generous care, not only of his children by her, but of those by Fulvia also She received all the friends of Antony that came to Rome to seek office or upon any bunness, and did her utmost to prefer their requests to Casar, yet this her honourable deportment did but, without her meaning it, damage the reputation of Antony, the wrong he did to such a woman made him hated Nor was the division he made among his sons at Alexandria less unpopular. it seemed a theatrical piece of insolence and contempt of his country For assembling the people in the exercise ground, and causing two golden thrones to be placed on a platform of silver. the one for him and the other for Cleopatra, and at their feet lower thrones for their children, he proclaimed Cleopatra Oueen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cotle-Syna, and with her conjunctly Casarion, the reputed son of the former Casar, who left Cleopetra with child His own sons by Geopatra were to have the atyle of kings of kings, to Alexander he gave Armema and Media, with Parthia, so soon as it should be overcome, to Ptolemy, Phoenicia. Syria, and Cilicia Alexander was brought out before the people in Median custume, the trara and upright peak, and Ptolemy, in boots and mantle and Macedonian can done about with the diadem, for this was the habit of the successors of Alexander. as the other was of the Modes and Armenians And as soon as they had saluted their parents, the one was received by a guard of Macedonians, the other by one of Armenians Cleopatra was then, as at other times when she appeared in public, dressed in the habit of the goddess Isis, and gave audience to the people under the name of the New Isis

Casar, relating these things in the senate, and often complaining to the people, excited men's minds against Antony, and Antony also gent messages of accusation against Craux. The principal of his charges were these: first, that he had not made any division with him of Sicily, which was lately taken from Compey; secondly, that he had retained the ships he had leav him for the war; thirdly, that, after deposing Lepidis, their colleagus, he had taken jor himself the samy, governments, and revenues formerly appropriated to him; and lastly, that he had put parcelled out sharped and the same was as follows: that he had put parcelled out sharped projected on the mean of his own misconduct; that robbing for his. Cesar's answer was as follows: that he had put lepidius out of government became of his own misconduct; that what he had got in war he would divide with Antony, so send of Antony goes him a share of Annount, total Annon's soldiers of Antony goes him a share of Annount, total Annon's soldiers and the sequitation which short have actions under their general had added to the Roman sendies.

Antony was in Armenia when this answer came to him, and immediately sent Canidius with sixteen legions towards the sea: but he, in the company of Gleopatra, went to Ephesus, whither ships were coming in from all quarters to form the navy, consisting, vessels of burden included, of eight hundred vessels, of which Cleonatra furnished two hundred, together with twenty thousand talents, and provision for the whole army during the war. Antony, on the advice of Domitius and some others, bade Cleanetra return into Egypt, there to expect the event of the war: but she, dreading some new reconciliation by Octavia's means, prevailed with Canidius, by a large sum of money, to speak in her favour with Antony, pointing out to him that it was not just that one that bore so great a part in the charge of the war should be robbed of her share of glory in the carrying it on; nor would it be politic to disabling the Egyptians, who were so considerable a part of his payal forces; nor did he see how she was interior in prudence to any one of the kings that were serving with him; she had lone governed a great kingdom by herself slope, and long lived with him, and gained experience in public affairs. These arguments (so the fate that destined all to Cesar would have it) prevailed; and when all their forces had met, they sailed together to Samos, and held high festivities. For, as it was ordered that all kings, princes, and governors, all nations and cities within the limits of Syria, the Matotid Lake, Armenia, and Illyria, should bring or cause to be brought all munitions necessary for war, so was it also proclaimed that all stage-players should make their appearance at Samos: so that, while pretty nearly the whole world was filled with growns and lamentations, this

while at Rome Sarmentus, Cessar's little page (his delicia, as the Romani call it), drank Falennan

As soon as Cesar had completed his preparations, he had a decrete made declaring war on Cloopitars, and depriving Antony of the sutherly which he had let a weman exercise in his place Cesar added that he had drunk potents that had beraved him of his senses, and that the generals they would have to fight with would be Mardion the cunach, Potimus, Iras, Cleopatria hardensing gift, and Clarmon, who were Antonyo's chief state

rouncillors. These produces are said to have announced the war Pisaurum. where Antony had settled a colony, on the Adriatic sea, was swallowed up by an earthquake, sweat ran from one of the marb'e statues of Antony at Alba for many days together, and though frequently wiped off, did not stop When he himself was in the city of Patræ, the temple of Hercules was struck by lightning, and, at Athens, the figure of Bacchus was torn by a violent wind out of the Batile of the Giants, and laid flat upon the theatre, with both which deities Antony claimed connection, professing to be descended from Hercules, and from his smithting Bacchus in his way of living having received the name of young Bacchus The same whirlwind at Athens also brought down, from amongst many others which were not disturbed, the colossal statues of Fumenes and Attalus. which were inscribed with Antony's name And in Cleopatra's admiral-ralley, which was called the Antonias, a most mauspicious omen occurred. Some swallows had built in the stern of the galley, but other swallows came, beat the first away, and destroyed their nests

When the armaments gashered for the war, Antony had no sets than fwe hundred ships of war, methoding numerous galleys of agit and ten banks of ears, as richly ornamented as if they were meant for a rumph. He had hundred thousand fort and the had vastal kings attending, Bocchus (Lhos, Atronaems of the Upper Chiena, Archelau of Cappa dea, Philtidelphus of Paphlagona, Mithindates of Commagene, and Saddale of Three, all these were with him in perion. Out of Pootus Poiemon sent hem considerable forces, as did also Makbus from Anton, Hend of the Per, and Anynaus, King of Ivanna and Galutu, also the Median king sent some troops to on ham. Cears had to sohundred and fifty palleys of war, eghty thousand foot, and horse about equal to the memy. Anton's errore cuttered from Exphritas and Armenia to the Ionna sea.

and the Illyrians; Casar's, from Illyria to the westward ocean, and from the ocean all along the Tuscan and Sicilian sea. Of Africa, Casar had all the coast opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and Antony the provinces from

Cyrene to Æthiopia.

But so wholly was he now the mere appendage to the person of Cleonatra that, although he was much superior to the enemy in land-forces, yet, out of complaisance to his mistress, he wished the victory to be gained by sea, and that, too, when he could not but see how, for want of sailors, his captains, all through unhappy Greece, were pressing every description of men, common travellers and ass-drivers, harvest labourers and boys, and for all this the vessels had not their complements, but remained most of them ill-manned and badly rowed. Casar, on the other side, had shins that were built not for size or show, but for service, not pompous galleys, but light, swift, and perfectly manned; and from his headquarters at Tarentum and Brundusium he sent messages to Antony not to protract the war, but come out with his forces; he would give him secure readsteads and norts for his fleet, and for his land army to disembark and pitch their camp, he would leave him as much ground in Italy, inland from the sea, as a horse could traverse in a single course. Antony, on the other side, with the like bold language, challenged him to a single combat, though he were much the older; and, that being refused, proposed to meet him in the Pharsalian fields, where Casar and Pompey had fought before. But whilst Antony lay with his fleet near Actium, where now stands Nicopolis, Casar seized his opportunity and crossed the Ionian sea, securing himself at a place in Epirus called the Ladle. And when those about Antony were much disturbed, their land forces being a good way off. "Indeed," said Cleopatra, in mockery, "we may well be frightened if Casar has got hold of the Ladle!"

On the merrow, Audony, seeing the county salling up, and tearing less his ships might be taken for wont of the soldiers to go on board of them, annuel all the rowers, and made a show upon the decks of being in readiness to flight; the ones remounted as I whating to be put in motion, and the vessels themselves drawn up to face the enemy on eitherside of the clasmal dratinm, as though they were properly mannuel and ready for an engagement. And Casar, deceived by this strategem, retired, the was also thought to have shown considerable skill in cutting off the water from the enemy by some lines of trenches and forts, water no being plantiful anywhere eds, nor very good. And

again, his conduct to Domitius was generous, much against the will of Cleopatra For when be had made his escape in a little boat to Casar, having then a fever upon him, although Antony could not but resent it highly, yet he sent after him his whole equipage with his friends and servants, and Domitius, as if he would give a testimony to the world how repentant he had become on his desertion and treachery being thus manifest, died soon after Among the Lings, also, Amyntas and Deiotarus went over to Casar And the fleet was so unfortunate in everything that was undertaken, and so unready on every occasion, that Antony was driven again to put his confidence in the land forces Canidius, too, who commanded the legions, when he saw how things stood, changed his opinion, and now was of advice that Geopatra should be sent back, and that, retiring into Thrace or Macedonia, the quarrel should be decided in a land fight For Dicomes, also, the King of the Getze, promised to come and tout him with a great army, and it would not be any Lind of duparagement to him to yield the sea to Carsar, who, in the Sicilian wars, had had such long practice in shipfighting, on the contrary, it would be simply ridiculous for Antony, who was by land the most experienced commander living, to make no use of his well-disciplined and numerous miantry, scattering and wasting his forces by parcelling them out in the ships But for all this, Geopatra prevailed that a sea-fight should determine all, having already an eye to flight, and ordering all her affairs, not so as to assist in gaining a victors, but to escape with the greatest safety from the first commencement of a defeat

There were two long walls, extending from the camp to the station of the ships, between which Antony used to pass to said for without suspecting any danger. But Cears, upon the suggestion of a servant that it would not be difficult to surprise him, laid an ambush, which, rusing up somewhat too bastily, served the man that came ust before him, he hunself second.

narrowly by facht

When it was resolved to stand to a fight at an, they set for of all the Epythium slape scropt starty, and of those the heat and largest, from tee banks down to three, he manned with twenty towards 64%-americal mean and two thousand arches. Here it is related that's foot captan, one that had fought often under Antony, and had he body all manged with wounds, exclaimed, "O my general, what have our wounds and swords done to obspleasy you, that you should gue your considence to rotten timbers? Let Egyptiaus and Pheniciaus contend at eas, give ut he land, where we know well how to die upon he spot or gain the victory." To which he answered nothing, but, by his look and motion of his hand seeming to this him he of good courage, passed forwards, having already, it would seem, no very sure hopes, since when the mesters proposed leaving the salls behind them, he commanded they should be put about, "For we must not," good he can consider the salls behind them, he commanded they should be put about, "For we must not," good he can be compared to the salls behind them, be commanded they should be put about, "For we must not," good he can be compared to the conserve example.

That day and the three following the sea was so rough they could not engage. But on the fifth there was a calm, and they fought; Antony commanding with Publicola the right, and Collius the left squadron, Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteins the centre. Casar gave the charge of the left to Agrippa, commanding in person on the right. As for the land forces, Canidius was general for Antony, Taurus for Casar; both armies remaining drawn up in order along the shore. Antony in a small boat went from one ship to another, encouraging his soldiers, and bidding them stand firm and fight as steadily on their large ships as if they were on land. The masters he ordered that they should receive the enemy lying still as if they were at anchor, and maintain the entrance of the port, which was a narrow and difficult passage. Of Casar they relate that, leaving his tent and going round, while it was yet dark, to visit the ships, he met a man driving an ass, and asked him his name. He answered him that his own name was " Fortunate, and my ass," says he, "is called Conqueror." And afterwards, when he disposed the beaks of the ships in that place in taken of his victory, the statue of this man and his ass in bronze were placed amonust them. After examining the rost of his fleet, he went in a boat to the right wing, and looked with much admiration at the enemy lying perfectly still in the straits, in all engerance as if they had been at anchor. For some considerable length of time he actually thought they were so, and kept his own ships at rest, at a distance of about eight furleness from them. But about page a preeze spring up from the sea, and Antony's men, wears of expecting the suctor so long, and trusting to their large tail vessels, as if they had been invincible, began to advance the left squadron. Casar was overioved to see them move, and ordered his own right squadron to retire, that he might entice them out to sea as tar as he could, his design being to sail round and round. and so with his light and well-manned galleys to attack these buce vessels, which their size and their want of men made slow to move and difficult to manage.

When they engaged, there was no charging or striking of one ship by another, because Antony's, hy reason of their great bulk, were incapable of the rapidity required to make the stroke effectual, and on the other side, Cesar's durst not charge head to head on Antony's, which were all armed with solid masses and spikes of brass, nor did they like even to run in on their sides, which were so strongly built with great squared pieces of tumber, fastened together with iron bolts, that their vessels' beaks would easily have been shattered upon them. So that the engagement resembled a land fight, or, to speak yet more properly, the attack and delence of a fortified place, for there were always three or four yessels of Casar's about one of Antony's, pressing them with spears, javelins, poles, and several inventions of fire, which they flung among them, Antony's men using catapults also, to pour down missiles from wooden towers. Agrippa drawing out the squadron under his command to outfishk the enemy, Publicola was obliged to observe his motions, and gradually to break off from the middle squadron, where some confusion and alarm easied, while Arruntius engaged them But the fortune of the day was still undecided, and the battle equal, when on a sudden Geopatra's sixty ships were seen housting sail and making out to sea in full flight, right through the ships that were engaged For they were placed behind the great ships, which, in breaking through, they put into disorder. The enemy was astonished to see them sailing off with a fair wind towards Peloponnesus Here it was that Antony showed to all the world that he was no longer actuated by the thoughts and motives of a commander or a man, or indeed by his own judgment at all, and what was once said as a jest, that the soul of a lover lives in some one else's body, he proved to be a senous truth. For, as if he had been born part of her, and must move with her wheresoever she went, as soon as he saw her ship sailing away, be abandoned all that were fighting and spending their lives for him, and put himself aboard a gallev of five banks of oars, taking with him only Alexander of Syria and Scellias, to follow ber that had so well begun his ruin and would hereafter accomplish it.

She, perceiving him to follow, gave the signal to come aboard So, as soon as he came up with them, he was taken into the ship. But without seeing her of letting himself be seen by her, he went loward by humself, and sat alone, without a word, in the sluy's prow, covering has face with his two hunds. In the meanwhile, some of Cesar's light Liburnian ships, that were in

pursuit, came in sight. But on Antony's commanding to face about, they all gave back except Eurycles the Laconian, who pressed on, shaking a lance from the deck, as if he meant to hurl it at him. Antony, standing at the prow, demanded of him, "Who is this that pursues Antony?" "I am," said he, " Eurycles, the son of Lachares, armed with Casar's fortune to revenge my father's death." Lachares had been condemned for a robbery, and beheaded by Antony's orders. However, Eurycles did not attack Antony, but ran with his full force upon the other admiral-galley (for there were two of them), and with the blow turned her round, and took both her and another ship, in which was a quantity of rich plate and furniture, So soon as Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to his posture and sate silent, and thus he romained for three days, either in anger with Cleopatra, or wishing not to upbraid her, at the end of which they touched at Tenarus. Here the women of their company succeeded first in bringing them to speak, and afterwards to eat and sleep together. And, by this time, several of the ships of burden and some of his friends began to come in to him from the rout, bringing news of his fleet's being quite destroyed, but that the land forces, they thought, still stood firm. So that he sent messengers to Canidius to march the army with all speed through Maccdonia into Asia. And, designing himself to go from Tænarus into Africa, he gave one of the merchant ships, laden with a large sum of money, and vessels of silver and gold of great value, belonging to the royal collections, to his friends, desiring them to share it amongst them, and provide for their own safety. They refusing his kindness with tears in their eyes, he comforted them with all the goodness and humanity imaginable, entreating them to leave them, and wrote letters in their behalf to Theophilus, his steward, at Corinth, that he would provide for their security, and keep them concessed till such time as they could make their neace with Casar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who had such interest with Antony, who was the first of all his freedmen that went over to Casar, and who settled afterwards at Corinth. In this posture were affairs with Antony.

But at Actium, his fleet, after a long resistance to Cesar, and suffering the most damage from a heavy sea that so in right ahead, scarcely at four in the afternoon, gave up the contest, with the loss of not more than five thousand men killed, but of three hundred ships taken, as Cesar himself has recorded. Only a few had known of Antony's flight; and those who were told of it could not at first give any belief to so incredible a thing as that a general who had nineteen entire legions and twelve thousand horse upon the seashore, could abandon all and fiv away, and he, above sil, who had so often experienced both good and evil fortune, and had in a thousand wars and battles been irured to changes His soldiers, however, would not give up their desires and expectations, still fancying he would appear from some part or other, and showed such a generous fidelity to his service that, when they were thoroughly assured that he was fird in earnest, they kept themselves in a body seven days, making no account of the messages that Casar sent to them But at last, seeing that Camdrus himself, who commanded them, was fled from the camp by might, and that all their officers had quite abandoned them, they gave way, and made their submission to the conqueror After this, Casar set sail for Athens, where he made a settlement with Greece, and distributed what remained of the provision of corn that Antony had made for his army among the cities, which were in a miserable condition, despoiled of their money, their slaves, their horses, and beasts of service My great-grandfather Nicharchus used to relate that the whole body of the people of our city were put in requisition to carry each one a certain measure of corn upon their shoulders to the seaside near Anticyra, men standing by to quicken them with the lash. They had made one journey of the kind, but when they had just measured out the corn, and were putting it on their backs for a second, news came of Antony's defeat, and so saved Cherones, for all Antony's purveyors and soldiers fled upon the news, and left them to divide the corn among themselves

When Antony came into Africa, he sent on Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and stayed himself in the most entire solutude that he could desire, roaming and wandering about with only two inends, one a Greek, Aristocrates, a rhetorician, and the other a Roman, Lucibus, of whom we have elsewhere spoken, how, at Philippi, to give Brutus time to escape, he suffered himself to be taken by the pursuers, pretending he was Brutus Antony gave her his life, and on this account he remained true and farthful to hum to the last

But when also the officer who commanded for him in Africa, to whose care he had committed all his forces there, took them over to Casar, he resolved to kill himself, but was hindered by his inends And coming to Alexandria, he found Cleopatra busied in a most bold and wonderful enterprise Over the small

space of land which divides the Red Sea from the sea near Egypt. which may be considered also the boundary between Asia and Africa, and in the narrowest place is not much above three hundred furlangs across, over this neck of hand Cleonatra had formed a project of drapping her fleet and setting it affect in the Arabian Gulf, thus with her soldiers and her treasure to secure herself a home on the other side, where she might live in peace for away from war and slavery. But the first calleys which were carried over being burnt by the Arabians of Petra, and Antony not knowing but that the army before Actium still held together, she desisted from her enterprise, and gave orders for the fortifying all the approaches to Egypt. But Antony. leaving the city and the conversation of his friends, built him a dwelling-place in the water, near Pharos, upon a little mole which he cast up in the soa, and there, sechiding himself from the company of mankind, said he desired nothing but to live the life of Timon; as indeed, his case was the same, and the ingratitude and minries which he suffered from these he had esteemed his friends made him hate and distrust all mankind.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived much about the Peloponnesian war, as may be seen by the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is ridiculed as hater and enemy of mankind. He avoided and repelled the approaches of every one, but embraced with kisses and the greatest show of affection Alcibiades, then in his hot youth. And when Apementus was astonished, and demanded the reason, he replied that he knew this young man would one day do infinite mischief to the Athenians. He never admited any one into his company, except at times this Anemantus, who was of the same sort of temper, and was an imitator of his way of life. At the celebration of the festival of flagons, these two kept the feast together, and Apemantus, saying to him, " What a pleasant party, Timon!" "It would be," he answered, "if you were away." One day he got up in a full assembly on the speaker's place, and when there was a dead silence and great wonder at so unusual a sight, he said, " Ye men of Athens, I have a little plot of ground, and in it grows a fig-tree; on which many citizens have been pleased to hang themselves; and now, having resolved to build in that place. I wish to appounce it publicly, that any of you who may be desirous may go and hang yourselves before I cut it down." He died and was buried at Hale, near the sea. where it so happened that, after his burial, a land-slip took place on the point of the shore, and the sea, flowing in surrounded his temb, and made it maccessable to the foot of man It bore this incription —

" Here am I faid, my life of misery done Ask not my name, I curse you every one "

And this epitaph was made by himself while yet alive, that which is more generally known is by Callimachus —

"Times, the meanthrope, and I below Go, and revole me, traveller, only go

Thus much of Timon, of whom much more might be said Canidus now came, bringing word in person of the loss of the army before Actum Then he received news that Herod of Judga was gone over to Cosar with some legions and cohorts. and that the other kings and princes were in like manner deserting him, and that, out of Egypt, nothing stood by him. All this, however, seemed not to disturb him, but, as if he were glad to put away all hope, that with it he might be rid of all care, and leaving his habitation by the sea, which he called the Timoneum, he was received by Geonatra in the palace, and set the whole city into a course of feasting, drinking, and presents The son of Casar and Cleopatra was registered among the youths, and Antyllus, his own son by Fulvia, received the gown without the purple border given to those that are come of age, without the purple corder given to those that are come of age, in honour of which the cluzens of Alexandra did nothing but feast and revel for many days. They themselves broke up the Order of the Immitable Livers, and constituted another in its place, not inferior in splendour, luxury, and sumptuosity, calling it that of the Diers Torether For all those that said they would de with Antony and Cleopatra gave in their names, for the present passing their time in all manner of pleasures and a regular succession of banquets But Chopatra was busied in making a collection of all varieties of poisonous drugs, and, in order to see which of them were the least painful in the operation, she had them tried upon prisoners condemned to die But, finding that the quick poisons always worked with sharp pams, and that the less pamilul were slow, she next tried venomous animals, and watching with her own eyes whilst they were applied, one creature to the body of another. This was her daily practice, and she pretty well satisfied herself that nothing was comparable to the bits of the usp, which, without convulsion or greaning, brought on a heavy drowsiness and lethargy, with a gentle sweat on the face, the senses being stupefied by degrees, the patient, in appearance, being sensible of no pain, but rather troubled to be disturbed or awakened like those that are in a profound natural sleep.

At the same time, they sent ambassadors to Casar into Asia Cleopatra asking for the kingdom of Egypt for her children, and Antony, that he might have leave to live as a private man in Egypt, or, if that were thought too much, that he might retire to Athens. In lack of friends, so many having deserted, and others not being trusted. Euphronius, his son's tutor, was sent on this embassy. For Alexas of Laodicea, who, by the recommendation of Timagenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, and had been more powerful with him than any Greek, and was, of all the instruments which Cleopatra made use of to persuade Antony, the most violent, and the chief subverter of any good thoughts that from time to time might rise in his mind in Octavia's favour, had been sent before to dissuade Herod from desertion: but betraying his master, stayed with him and, confiding in Herod's interest, had the boldness to come into Casar's presence. Herod, however, was not able to help him. for he was immediately put in chains and sent into his own country, where, by Casar's orders, he was put to death. This reward of his treason Alexas received while Antony was yet alive

Cresar would not listen to any proposals for Antony, but he made answer to Cleopatra, that there was no reasonable favour which she might not expect, if she put Antony to death, or expelled him from Egyot. He sent back with the ambassadors his own freedman, Thyrsus, a man of understanding, and not at all fil-qualified for conveying the messages of a youthful general to a woman so proud of her charms and possessed with the opinion of the power of her beauty. But by the long andiences he received from her, and the special honours which she paid him, Antony's jealousy began to be awakened; he had him seized, whipped, and sent back: writing Casar word that the man's busy, impertinent ways had provoked him; in his circumstances he could not be expected to be very patient: "But if it offend you," he added, "you have got my freedman, Hipparchus, with you; hang him up and scourge him to make us even." But Cleopatra, after this, to clear herself, and to allay his jealousies, paid him all the attentions imaginable, When her own birthday came, she kept it as was suitable to their fallen fortunes; but his was observed with the utmost prodigality of splendour and magnificence, so that many of the guests sat down in want, and went home wealthy men. Meantime, communal letters came to Cesar from Agrippa, telling him his presence was extremely required at Rome

And so the war was deferred for a season. But, the winter being over, he began his march, he houself by Syria, and his captains through Africa. Pelusium being taken, there went a report as if it had been delivered up to Cassir by Seleucus, not without the consent of Cleopatra, but she to justife hersell, gave up into Antony's hands the wife and children of Seleucus to be put to death. She had caused to be built, toming to the temple of Isis, several tombs and moruments of wonderful beight, and very remarkable for the workmanship, thither she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeraldy, pearls, ebony, every, connamon, and, after all, a great quantity of torchwood and tow Upon which Casar began to fear lest she should, in a desperate fit, set all these riches on fire, and, therefore, while he was marching towards the city with his army, he omitted on occasion of giving her new assurances of his good intentions He took up his position in the Hippodrome, where Antony made a fierce sally upon him, routed the horse, and best them back into their trenches, and so returned with great satisfaction to the relace, where, meeting Geonatra, armed as he was, he kissed ber, and commended to her favour one of his men, who had most signalised himself in the fight, to whom she made a present of a breastplace and belinet of gold, which he having received went that very night and deserted to Cretar

After this, Antony sent a new challenge to Casar to fight him hand to-hand, who made him answer that he might find several other ways to end his bie, and he, considering with hunself that he could not die more honourably than in battle, resolved to make an effort both by land and sea. At supper, it is said, he bade his servants help him freely, and pour him out wine plenti fully, since to-merrow, prinsps, they should not do the same, but he servants to a new master, whilst he should he on the ground, a dead corpse and nothing. His friends that were about him wept to bear him talk so, which he perceiving, told them he would not lead them to a battle m which he expected rather an horourable death than either safety or victory That night, it is related, about the middle of it, when the whole city was in a deep silence and general sadness, expecting the event of the next day, on a sudden was heard the sound of all sorts of instruments, and voices surging in time, and the cry of a crowd of people shouting and darking, like a troop of bacchanals on its way. This tumultuous procession seemed to take its course right through the middle of the city to the gate nearest the enemy; here it became the londest, and suddenly passed out. People who reflected considered this to signify that Bacchus, the god whom Antouy had always made it his study to copy and initiate, had now forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he marched his infentry out of the city, and posted them upon a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet make up to the enemy. There he stood in expectation of the event; but as soon as the fleets came near to one another, his men saluted Casar's with their pars; and on their responding, the whole body of the ships, forming into a single fleet, rowed up direct to the city. Antony had no sooner seen this, but the horse deserted him, and went over to Casar; and his foot being defeated, he retired into the city, crying out that Cleonatra had betrayed him to the enemies he had made for her sake. She, being afraid lest in his fury and despair he might do her a mischief, fled to her monument, and letting down the falling doors, which were strong with bars and bolts, she sent messengers who should tell Antony she was dead. He, believing it, cried out, "Now, Antony, why delay longer? Fate has snatched away the only pretext for which you could say you desired yet to live." Going into his chamber, and there loosening and opening his coat of armour, "I am not," said he, "troubled, Cleopatra, to be at present bereaved of you, for I shall soon be with you; but it distresses me that so great a general should be found of a tardier courage than a woman." He had a faithful servant, whose name was Eros; he had engaged him formerly to kill him when he should think it necessary, and now be put him to his promise. Eros drew his sword, as designing to kill him, but, suddenly turning round, he slew himself. And as he fell dead at his feet, "It is well done, Eros," said Antony; "you show your master how to do what you had not the heart to do yourself; and so he ran himself into the belly, and laid himself upon the couch. The wound, however, was not immediately mortal; and the flow of blood ceasing when he lay down, presently he came to himself, and entreated those that were about him to put him out of his pain; but they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and struggling, until Diomede, Cleopatra's secretary, came to him,

having orders from her to bring him into the monument.

When he understood she was alive, he eagerly gave order to
the servants to take him up, and in their arms was carried to
the door of the building. Cleopatra would not open the door,

but, looking from a sort of window, she let down ropes and cords, to which Antony was fastened, and she and her two women, the only persons she had allowed to enter the monument, drew him up These that were present say that nothing was eyer more sad than this spectacle, to see Antony, covered all over with blood and just expung, thus drawn up, still holding up his hands to her, and lifting up his body with the little force he had left. As, indeed, it was no easy task for the women. and Cleopatra, with all her force, chinging to the rope, and strainme with her head to the ground, with difficulty polled him up, while those below encouraged her with their cries, and toined in all her efforts and anxiety. When she had got him up, she laid him on the bed, tearing all her clothes, which she spread npon hun, and, heating her breast with her hands, lacerating herself, and disfiguring her own face with the blood from his wounds, she called him her lord, her bushand, her emperor, and seemed to have pretty nearly forgotten all her own evils, she was so intent upon his misfortunes. Antony, stopping her lamentations as well as he could, called for wine to drink, e,ther that he was thirsty, or that he unagmed that it might put him the somer out of pain. When he had drunk, he advised her to bring her own affairs, so far as might be honourably done, to a sale conclusion, and that, among all the friends of Casar, she should rely on Proculeus, that she should not puty him in this last turn of fate, but rather rejoice for him in remembrance of his past happiness, who had been of all men the most illustracus and powerful, and m the end had fallen not synobly, a Roman by a Roman evercome.

Just as he breathed his last, Proculeius arrived from Cresar. . bursell tra wound, and was carried into for when Antony Georgian, one of guards, Dercetzeus, took up Antony's sword and hid it, and when he saw his opportunity, stole away to Casar, and brought him the first news of Antony's death, and withal showed I un the bloody sword Casar, prom this, retired into the inner part of his tent, and giving some tears to the death of one that had been nearly alised to hum in marriage, his colleague in empire, and companion in so many wars and dangers, he care out to his friends, and, bringing with him many letters. he read to them with how much reason and moderation be had always addressed himself to Antony, and in return what overbearing and arrogant answers he received. Then he sent Proculeus to use his utmost endeavours to get Geopatra alive into his power, for he was alread of losing a great treasure, and, besides, abe would be no small addition to the glory of his triumph. She, however, was creed not to put hered in Proculsius's power; but from within her monument, he standing on the outside of a door, on the level of the ground, which was strongly harred, but so that they might well enough hear one another's voice, he held a condensor with him; she demanding that her langdom might be given to her children, and he hindies that her langdom on the her children, and he hindies her to be of good courses, and trust Casar in everything.

Having taken particular notice of the place, he returned to Casar, and Gallius was sent to parley with her the second time; who, being come to the door, on purpose prolonged the conference, while Proculeius fixed his scaling-ladders in the window through which the women had pulled up Antony. And so entering, with two men to follow him, he went straight down to the door where Cleopatra was discoursing with Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up in the monument with her cried out. "Miserable Cleopatra, you are taken prisoner!" Upon which she turned quick, and, looking at Proculeius, draw out her dagger which she had with her to stab herself. But Proculeius ran up quickly, and seizing her with both his hands, "For shame," said he, " Cleonatra: you wrong yourself and Cosar much, who would cob him of so fair an occasion of showing his elemency, and would make the world believe the most gentle of commanders to be a faithless and implacable enemy." And so, taking the dagger out of her hand, he also shook her dress to see if there were any poison hid in it. After this, Casar sent Enaphroditus, one of his freedmen, with orders to treat her with all the gentleness and civility possible, but to take the strictest precautions to keep her alive.

In the meanwhile, Cases made his entry into Alexandria, with Arries the philosopher at his side, holding him by the hand and tabling with him; desiring that all his follow-citizents should see what henour was paid to him, and should look up to him accordingly from the very first moment. Then, entring the exercise ground, he mounted a platform except four the upon, and from thence commanded the citizens (who, in great four and constronin, full protestar at his first) to stand up, and told them that he freque acquirted the people of all blame, first, for the sake of his control of the property of the stand up, and told them that the freque acquirted the people of all blame, first, for the sake of the first of the sake of the sake of the sake of the freque acquired the people of all blame, first, for the sake of the first of the sake of the sake

Such great honour did Areius receive from Caesar; and by his intercession many lives were saved, amongst the zest that of Philostratus, a man, of all the professors of logic that ever were, the most ready in extempore speaking, but quite destitute of any right to call himself one of the philosophers of the Academy-Cesar, out of disgust at his character, refused all attention to his entreaties. So, growing a long white beard, and dressing himself in black, he followed belind Arens, shouting out the verse,

"The wise if they are after will save the wise "

Which Casar hearing, gave him his pardon, to prevent rather any odium that might attach to Aresus, than any harm that

Philostratus might suffer

Of Antony's challens, Austhus, his son by Tulius, being be trajed by his tutor, Theodorus, was got to detail, and is blie he oldiers were clusted of the head, his tutor contins of to stead a precious jew it histh he work about it is nock, and got it in his pocket, and distributed the task, and the second of the process of the process

" Too many Casars are not well."

So afterwards, when Cleopatra was dead he was killed

Many kings and great commanders made petition to Carast for the lody of Jakony, to give him his furnal rise, but he would not take away his empse from Geopatra by whose hands he as burned with royal psychodic and magnificace, it being minded to her to employ what she pleased on his funeral. In the extremely of great and corroy, and having inflamed and silectar'd her heasts with heating them, he fell into a high core, and was very glid of the occasion, hoping, under this presert, to abstant from food, and as to do in quart without interference. She had her own physican, Glympus, to whom the told the truth, and sated his advice and help to put an end to besself, as Glympus hamelf has told us, an activitie which he wrote of these events. But Casay, suspecting her purpose, from for them, for suggest about the righter, and excited her four is of them, for suggest about her indeed, and excited her way, so that the suffered does her parpose shook and gave way, so that the suffered does her parpose is took and gave

Some few days after, Casar himself came to make her a visit and comfort her. She lay then upon her pallet-bed in undress. and, on his entering, sprang up from off her bed, having nothing on but the one garment next her body, and flung herself at his feet, her hair and face looking wild and disfigured, her voice quivering, and her eyes sunk in her head. The marks of the blows she had given herself were visible about her bosom, and altogether her whole person seemed no less afflicted than her soul. But, for all this, her old charm, and the boldness of her youthful beauty, had not wholly left her, and, in spite of her present condition, still sparkled from within, and let itself appear in all the movements of her countenance. Casar, desiring her to repose herself, sat down by her; and, on this opportunity, she said something to justify her actions, attributing what she had done to the necessity she was under, and to her fear of Antony; and when Casar, no each point, made his objections, and she found herself confuted, she broke off at once into language of entreaty and deprecation, as if she desired nothing more than to prolong her Efe. And at last, having by her a list of her treasure, she gave it into his hands; and when Seleucus, one of har stewards, who was by, pointed out that various articles were omitted, and charged her with secreting them, she flew up and caught him by the hair, and struck him several blows on the face. Casar smiling and withholding her, " Is it not very hard, Casar," said she, "when you do me the honour to visit me in this condition I am in that I should be accused by one of my own servants of laving by some women's toys, not meant to adorn. be sure, my unhappy self, but that I might have some little present by me to make your Octavia and your Livia, that by their intercession I might hope to find you in some measure disposed to mercy?" Casar was pleased to hear her talk thus, being now assured that she was desirous to live. And, therefore, letting her know that the things she had laid by she might dispose of as she pleased, and his usage of her should be honourable above her expectation, he went away, well satisfied that he had overreached ber, but, in fact, was himself deceived.

There was a young man of distinctions among Crear's comtractions named Cornelius Dolabella. He was not without a certain trederense for Geopatra, and sent her word privately, as she had becought him to de, that Crear was about to return through Syrin, and that she and her challeran were to be sent on within three days. When she understood this, she made her request to Crear that he would be pleased to primit her to make oblations to the departed Antony, which being granted, she ordered herself to be carried to the place where he was hursed, and there, accompanied by her women, she embraced his tomb with tears in her eyes, and spoke in this manner "O, dearest Antony," said she, " it is not long since that with these bands I huned you, then they were free, now I am a captive, and pay these last duties to you with a guard upon me, for fear that my just griefs and sorrows should manage my service body, and make it less fit to appear in their triumph over you. No further offer mgs or libations expect from me, these are the last honnurs that Cheopatra can pay your memory, for she is to be hurried away far from you Nothing could part us whilst we lived, but death seems to threaten to time ens You a Romer born, have found a grave in Egypt, I, an Egyptian, am to seek that favour, and none but that, in your country But if the gods below, with whom you now are, either ean or will do anything (since those above have betraved us), suffer not your living wife to be abandoned, let me not be led m trumph to your shame, but hide me and bury me here with you, since, amongst all my bitter musfortunes, nothing has afflicted me like this brief time that I have heed away from you"

Having made these lamentations, crowning the tomb with garlands and kissing it, she gave orders to prepare her a bath, and, coming out of the bath, she lay down and made a sumptions meal And a country fellow brought her a little basket, which the guards intercepting and asking what it was, the fellow purt the leaves which lay opperment aside, and showed them it was full of fee, and on their admiring the larreness and beauty of the figs, be laughed, and invited them to take some, which they refused, and, suspecting nothing, bade him carry them in After her repast, Cleopatra sent to Casara letter which she had wretted and scaled, and, putting everybody out of the monument but her two women, she shut the doors Casar, opening her letter, and finding pathetic prayers and entreaties that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, soon guessed what was doing At first he was going himself in all haste, but, changing his mind, he sent others to see The thing had been quickly done The messengers came at full speed, and found the guards apprehensive of nothing, but on opening the doors they saw her stone-dead, lving upon a bed of gold, set out in all her royal ornaments Iras, one of her women, lay dying at her feet, and Charmon, just ready to fall, searce able to hold up her head, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. And when one that came in said angrily, "Was this well done of your lady, Charmion?"
"Extremely well," she answered, "and as became the descendant of so many kings;" and as she said this, she fell down dead by the bedside.

Some relate that an asp was brought in amongst those fire and covered with the leaves, and that Cleopatra had arranged that it might settle on her hefore she knew, but, when she took away some of the figs and saw it, she said, "So here it is," and held out her bare arm to be bitten. Others say that it was kept in a vase, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm. But what really took place is known to no one, since it was also said that she carried poison in a hollow bodkin, about which she wound her hair; yet there was not so much as a spot found, or any symptom of poison upon her body. nor was the asp seen within the monument; only something like the trail of it was said to have been noticed on the sand by the sea, on the part towards which the building faced and where the windows were. Some relate that two faint puncture-marks were found on Cleopatra's arm, and to this account Casar seems to have given credit; for in his triumph there was carried a figure of Cleopatra, with an asp tlinging to her. Such are the various accounts. But Casar, though much disappointed by her death, yet could not but admire the greatness of her spirit, and gave order that her body should be buried by Antony with royal splendour and magnificence. Her women, also, received honourable burial by his directions. Cleopatra had lived nine-and-thirty years, during twenty two of which she had reigned as queen, and for fourteen had been Antony's partner in his empire. Antony, according to some authorities, was fifty-three, according to others, fifty-six years old. His starues were all thrown down. but those of Cleonatra were left untouched; for Archibius, one of her friends, gave Casar two thousand talents to save them from the fate of Antony's.

Antony left by his there wives seven children, of whom only harfyling, the elects, was put to death by Cessar; Octavin took the rest, and brought them up with her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was given in saminge by blue, the most accomplished of kings; and Antony, his sou by Fulvia, attained such high Aurory that, whereas Agrepup was considered to hold the first place with Casar, and the sous of Livia the second, the third, without dispute, was possessed by Antonyo. Cetavia, also, having had by her first husband, Marcellus, two daughters, and see na manned Marcelles, this con Casar adopted, and gave him

his daughter in marriage, as did Octavia one of the daughters to Agrippa But Marcellus dying almost primediately after his marriage, she, perceiving that her brother was at a loss to find elsewhere any sure friend to be his son in law, was the first to recommend that Agnpa should put away her daughter and retry Jula To this Cesar first, and then Agnppa himself, gave assent, so Agnppa married Joha, and Octavia, receiving her daughter, married her to the joung Antony Of the two daughters whom Octavia had borne to Antony, the one was married to Domitsus Abenobarbus, and the other, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drivers. the son of Lives, and stepson to Cassar Of these parents were born Germanicus and Claudius Claudius reigned later, and of the children of Germanicus, Carus, after a reign of distinction, was killed with his wife and child. Agripping, after bearing a son Lucius Domitius, to Ahenobarbus, was married to Caudius Casar, who adopted Domitius, giving him the name of Neto Germanicus He was emperor at our time, and put his mother to death, and with his madness and folly came not far from ruining the Foman empire, being Antony's descendant in the fifth generation.

THE COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY

As both are great examples of the vicusitudes of fortune, let us first consider in what way they attained their power and glory Demetrus hired a kingdom already won for him by Antigonius, the more powerful of the Successors, who, before Demetrus grew m be a man, traversed with his armies and subdued the greater mart of Asia. Antony's father was well enough in other respects. but was no warner, and could bequeath no great legacy of repu tation to his son, who had the boldness, nevertheless, to take and has the government, to which birth give hun no claim, which had been held by Casar, and became the inheritor of his great labours. And such power did he attain, with only himself to thank for it, that, in a division of the whole empire into two portions, he took and received the nobler one, and, absent himself, by his mere subalterns and heutenants often defeated the Parthans, and drove the harbarous nations of the Caucasus back to the Caspian Sea. Those very things that procured him ill-repute bear witness to his greatness. Antigonius considered Antipater's daughter Phila, in spite of the disparity of her years, an advantageous match for Demetrius. Antony was thought dis-

graced by his marriage with Cleapatra, a queen superior in power and glory to all, except Arsness, who were kings in her time. Antony was so great as to be thought by others worthy of higher

things than his own desires.

As regards the right and justice of their aims at empire, Demetrius need not be blamed for seeking to rule a people that had always had a king to rule them. Antony, who enslaved the Roman people, just liberated from the rule of Casar, followed a cruel and tyrannical object. His greatest and most illustrious work, his successful war with Brutus and Cassius, was done to crush the liberties of his country and of his fellow-citizens. Demetrius, till he was driven to extremity, went on, without intermission, maintaining liberty in Greece, and expelling the foreign garrisons from the cities; not like Antony, whose boast was to have slain in Macedonia those who had set up liberty in Rome. As for the profusion and magnificence of his gifts, one point for which Antony is lauded, Demetrius so far outdid them that what he gave to his enemies was far more than Antony ever gave to his friends. Antony was renowned for giving Brutus honourable burial: Demetrius did so to all the enemy's dead, and sent the prisoners back to Ptolemy with money and presents.

Both were insolent in prosperity, and abandoned themselves to luxuries and enjoyments. Yet it cannot be said that Dometrius, in his revellings and dissipations, ever let alio the time for action; pleasures with him attended only the superabundance of his case, and his Lamia, like that of the fable, belonged only to his playful, half-waking, half-sleeping hours. When war demanded his attention, his spear was not wreathed with ivy, nor his believe redolent of unspents; he did not come out to battle from the women's chamber, but, hushing the bacchanal shouts and nutting an end to the orgies, he became at once, as Euripides calls it. " the minister of the unpriestly Mars; " and, in short, he never once incurred disaster through indolence or self-indulgence. Whereas Antony, like Hercules in the picture where Omphale is seen removing his club and stripping him of his lion's skin, was over and over again disagned by Cleopatra, and beguiled away. while great actions and enterprises of the first necessity fell, as it were, from his hands, to go with her to the seashere of Canopus and Taphosiris and play about. And in the end, like another Paris, he left the battle to fly to her arms; or rather, to say the

truth, Paris fled when he was already beaten, Antony fled first, and, following Cleopatra, abandoned his victory.

There was no law to prevent Demetrous from marrying several wives, from the time of Philip and Alexander it had become usual with Hacedonian kings, and he did no more than was done by Lynmachus and Ptolemy And those he married he treated honourably But Antony, first of all, in marrying two wives at once, did a thing which no Roman had ever allowed himself, and then he drove away his lawful Roman wife to please the foreign and unlawful woman And so Demetrius mcurred no harm at all. Antony procured his ruin by his marriage On the other hand, no beentious act of Antony's can be charged with that impiety which marks those of Demetrius Historical writers tell us that the very dogs are excluded from the whole Acropolis because of their gross, uncleanly habits. The very Parthenon itself saw Depoetnus consorting with harlots and debauching free women of Athens The vice of cruelty, also, remote as it seems from the indulgence of voluptuous desires, must be attributed to him, who, in the pursuit of his pleasures. allowed or, to say more truly, compelled the death of the most beautiful and most chaste of the Athenians, who found no way but this to escape his violence. In one word, Antony himself suffered by his excesses, and other people by those of Demetrius

In his conduct to his parents, Denetims was prepreachable activity green by his mather's britisher, in order that he might have leave to fall Green, the steel being so cruel and shedding an act that Antony would hardly be forgiven if Green's death had been the price of this suck's safety. In respect of breaches of cashs and trauses, the sensure of Arthabars, and the assessment on a Alexander, Antony may surge the plea which no one dense to be tree, that Artabars for stress which no one dense to be tree, that Artabars for stress abundoned and betrayed him in Media, Denetrius is alleged by many to have an entitle dispersion of his act, and not be have realished for numers.

but to have accused one whom he impred himself

The achievements of Demetrias are all his own work about y subdet set greatest victories were won in his absence by his leutemants. For their fail desisters they have both only to thank themselves, not, heaver, in an equal degree Demetrias was descried, he likestedmans recolled from him, Authory descried others, and ran away while men were lighting for him at the rul of their lives. The fault to be found with the one is that he had thus coursely alimated the affections of this solikiers, the other's condemnation is that he handoned so the solicity in the other's condemnation is that he handoned so

Dion

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much love and faith as he still possessed. We cannot admit the death of either, but that of Damethia sociates our greater contempt. He let himself become a prisoner, and was thankful to gain a three years' secssion of life in captivity. He was lamed like a wild beast by his belly, and by wire; Antony took himself out of the world in a overaely, pittill, and ignoble meanure, but still in time to prevent the enemy having his person in their power.

DION

IF it be true, Sosius Senecio, that, as Simonides tells us-

" Of the Corinthians Troy does not complain "

for having taken part with the Achgans in the siego, because the Trojans also had Corinthians (Giaucus, who sprang from Corinth) fighting bravely on their side, so also it may be fairly said that peither Romans nor Greeks can quarrel with the Academy, each nation being equally represented in the following pair of lives, which will give an account of Brutus and of Dion .- Dion, who was Plate's own hearer, and Brutus, who was brought up in his philosophy. They came from one and the self-same school, where they had been trained alike to run the race of honour: nor need we wonder that in the performance of actions often most nearly allied and akin, they both bore evidence to the truth of what their guide and teacher said, that, without the concurrence of power and success, with fustice and prudence, public actions do not attain their proper, great, and noble character. For as Hippomachus the wrestling master affirmed, he could distinguish his scholars at a distance, though they were but carrying meat from the shambles, so it is very probable that the principles of those who have had the same good education should appear with a resemblance in all their actions, creating in them a certain harmony and proportion, at once agreeable and becoming.

We may also draw a close parallel of the lives of the two men from their fortunes, wherein chance, even more than their own designs, made them activy alike. For they were both cut off by an unfinely death, not being able to accomplish those ends which through many risks and difficulties they aimed at But above all this is most wonderful that by preternatural inter position both of them had notice given of their approaching death by an unprop usus form which visibly appeared to them Although there are people who atterly deny any such thing and say that no man in his right senses ever yet saw any super natural phantom or apparet on but that chakiren only and silly women or men disordered by a ckness in some aberration of the mind or distemperature of the body have had empty and extravagant imaginations whilst the real evil genris super station was in themselves let if Don and Brutis men of solid und retanding and philosophers not to be easily deluded by fancy or discomposed by any sudden apprehension were thus affected by vis ons that they forthwith declared to t. eir friends what they had seen I know not how we can avoid admitting again the atterly exploded opinion of the oldest times that evil and beguling spints out of eavy to good men and a des re of impeding their good deeds make efforts to excite in them feelings of terror and distraction to make them shake and totter in their virtue lest by a steady and unbiassed perseverance they should obtain a happ or condition than these beings after death. But I shall leave these things for another opportunity and in thus twelfth book of the lives of great men compared one with another begin with his who was the elder

Donysms the First having possessed himself of the rovern ment at once took to wife the daughter of Hermocrates, the Sympusan. She in an outbreak which the citizens made before the new power was well settled was abused in such a barbarous and outrageous manner that for shame she put an end to her own life But D onysius when he was re-established and con firmed in his supremacy married two wives together one named Doris of Loca the other Anstomache a native of 5 cily and daughter of H pparinus a man of the first quality in Syracuse and colleague with Donys us when he was first chosen general with unhim ted powers for the war. It is said he married them both in one day and no one ever knew which of the two be first made his wife and ever after be divided his kindress equally between them both accompanying him together at h s table and in his bed by turns. Indeed the Syracusans were urgant that the rown countrywoman nught be preferred before the stranger but Dons to compensate her for her foreign ex traction had the good fortune to be the mother of the son and her of the family whilst Anstomache continued a long time without issue, though Dionysius was very desirous to have children by her, and, indeed, caused Doris's mother to be put to death, laying to her charge that she had given drugs to Aristomache to prevent her being with child.

Dion, Aristomache's brother, at first found an honourable reception for his sister's sake: but his own worth and parts soon procured him a nearer place in his brother-in-law's affection, who, among other favours, gave special command to his treasurers to furnish Dion with whatever money he demanded, only telling him on the same day what they had delivered out. Now, though Dion was before reputed a person of lofty character, of a noble mind, and daring courage, yet these excellent qualifications all received a great development from the happy chance which conducted Plato into Sicily; not assuredly by any human device or calculation, but some supernatural power, designing that this remote cause should hereafter occasion the recovery of the Sicilians' lost liberty and the subversion of the tyrangical government, brought the philosopher out of Italy to Syracuse. and made acquaintance between him and Dion. Dion was indeed, at this time extremely young in years, but of all the scholars that attended Plato he was the quickest and aptest to learn, and the most prompt and cager to practise, the lessons of virtue, as Plate himself reports of him and his own actions sufficiently testify. For though he had been bred up under a tyrant in habits of submission, accustomed to a life on the one hand of servility and intimidation, and yet on the other of vulgar display and luxury, the mistaken happiness of people that knew no better thing than pleasure and self-indulgence, yet, at the first taste of reason and a philosophy that demands chedience to virtue, his soul was set in a flame, and in the simple innocence of youth, concluding, from his own disposition, that the same reason would work the same effects upon Dionysius, he made it his business, and at length obtained the favour of him, at a leisure hour, to hear Plate.

At this their meeting, the subject-matter of their discourse in general was human virtue, but, more particularly, they discourse concerning fortitude, which Plata proved tyrants, of all men, had the feast pretence to; and thence proceeding to treat of justice, asserted the inspress exists of the just and the miscrable condition of the unjust; arguments which Dionysius would not hear our, but, feding himself, as it were, convicted by his words, and much displeased to see the rest of the sublitors full of admiration for the senter and captived with his doctrine, at last,

exceedingly exasperated, he asked the philosopher in a rage, what business he had in Sicily To which Plato answered, "I came to seek a virtuous man" "It seems, then," replied Dionysias, "10u have lost your labour" Dion, supposing that this was all, and that nothing further could come of his anger, at Plato's request, conveyed him aboard a galley, which was conveying Polls, the Spartan, into Greece But Dionysius privately dealt with Polhs, by all means to kill Plato in the voyage, if not, to be sure to sell him for a slave he would, of course, take no harm of it, being the same just man as before, he would enjoy that happiness, though he lost his liberty Pollis, therefore, it is stated, carried Plato to Ægina, and there sold him, the Æginetans, then at war with Athens, having made a decree that whatever Athenian was taken on their coasts should forthwith be exposed to sale Notwithstanding, Dion was not in less favour and credit with Diony sus than formerly, but was intrusted with the most considerable employments, and sent on important embassies to Carchage, in the management of which he gamed very great reputation Besides, the usurper tore with the liberty he took to speak his mind freely, he being the only man who, upon any occasion, durst boldly say what he thought, as, for example, in the rebuke he gave him about Gelon. Dionysus was reducing Gelon's government, and, alluding to his name, said he had been the laughing-stock of Sicily While others seemed to admire and applaud the quibble, Dion very warmly replied, " Nevertheless, it is certain that you are sole governor here, because you were trusted for Gelon's sale, but for your sake no man will ever hereafter be trusted again" For, indeed, Gelon had made a monarthy appear the best, whereas Dionysius had convinced men that it was the

worst of governments
Desyman had three children by Dons, and by Arustomache
four, two of which were daughten, Sopheroyae and Arete
four, two of which were daughten, Sopheroyae and Arete
Sopherone was marined to has one Sopheroyae, Arets, to his
brother Thearden, after whose death Don received in nice
Arts to wie. Now when Donyass was next and file to die,
Don crudeavoured to speak with hum in behalf of the children
the shadow Antomache but was still prevented by the physicians,
who wanted to rigitative theories with the next successful,
who wanted to rigitative theories with the next successful,
who shadow Artimizer sports, gave burn a slepting polino which
he akked for, which problemed as meenfolishly only followed by
he death.

Nevertheless, at the first council which the young Dionysius

held with his friends, Dion discoursed so well of the present state of affairs that he mede all the rest appear in their politics but children, and in their votes rather slaves than counsellors, who timorously and disingenously advised what would please the young man, rather than what would advance his interest. But that which startled them most was the proposal he made to avert the immission danger they feared of a war with the Carthaginians, undertaking, if Dionysius wanted peace, to sail immediately over into Airica, and conclude it there upon homosoruble cerna; bet, if he rather preferred war, then he would fit out and maintain at his own cost and charges fifty galleys ready for the service.

Dionysius wondered much at his greatness of mind, and received his offer with satisfaction. But the other courtiers, thinking his generosity reflected upon them, and jealous of being lessened by his greatness, from hence took all occasions by private slanders to render him obnoxious to the young man's displeasure; as if he designed, by his power at sea, to surprise the government, and by the help of those payal forces confer the supreme authority upon his sister Aristomache's children. But, indeed, the most apparent and the strongest grounds for dislike and hostility existed already in the difference of his habits, and his reserved and separate way of living. For they, who, from the beginning by flatteries and all unworthy artifices, courted the favour and familiarity of the prince, vouthful and voluptuously bred, ministered to his pleasures, and sought how to find him daily some new amours and occupy him in vain amusements, with wine or with women, and in other dissipafire, seemed, indeed, to the subject, to be more moderate and pentle, and to abate somewhat of its extreme severity; the edge of it being blunted, not by the elemency, but rather the sloth and degeneracy of the sovereign, whose dissoluteness, gaining ground flaily, and growing upon him, soon weakened and broke those "adamantine chains," with which his father, Dionysius, said he had left the monarchy fastened and secured. It is reported of him that, having begun a drunken debauch, he continued it pinety days without intermission; in all which time no person on business was allowed to appear, nor was any serious conversation heard at court, but drinking, singing, dancing, and buffoonery reisned there without control.

It is likely then they had little kindness for Dion, who never indulged himself in any youthful pleasure or diversion. And to his very virtues were the matter of their calumnies, and were represented under one or other plausible name as vices, they called his gravity pride, his plain-dealing self will, the good advice he gave was all construed into reprimand, and he was censured for neglecting and scorning those in whose misdemearours he declined to participate. And to say the truth, there was in his natural character something stately, austere, reserved, and imsociable in conversation, which made his com-pany unpleasant and disagreeable not only to the young tyrant, whose ears had been corrupted by flatteries, many also of Dion's own interace friends, though they loved the integrity and generosity of his temper, yet blamed his manner, and thought he treated those with whom he had to do less cour ternaly and affably than became a man energed in cryll business Of which Plato also afterwards wrote to him, and, as it were, prophetically advised him carefully to avoid an arbitrary temper. whose proper helpmate was a solitary life And, indeed, at this yen time, though circumstances made him so important, and in the danger of the tottering government be was recognised as the only or the ablest support of it, yet he well understood that he owed not his aigh position to any good will or Lindness, but to the mere necessities of the usurper

And, supposing the cause of this to be ignorance and want of education, he endeavoured to induce the young man into a course of Liberal studies, and to give him some knowledge of moral truths and reasonings, hoping he might thus lose his fear of virtuous living and learn to take pleasure in laudable actions Dienvisius, in his own nature, was not one of the worst kind of tyrants, but his father, fearing that if he should come to under stand himself better, and converse with wise and reasonable men, he might enter into some design against him, and dis possess him of his power, kept him closely shut up at home. where, for want of other company, and ignorant how to spend his time better, he busied himself in making little chariots, candlesticks, stools, tables, and other things of wood For the elder Diocysius was so diffident and suspicious, and so con tousliv on his guard against all men, that he would not so much as let his hair be trimmed with any barber's or hair cutter's instruments, but made one of his artificers singe him with a live coal Veither were his brother or his son allowed to come into his spartment in the diess they wore, but they, as all others, were stript to their sams by some of the guard, and, after being seen naked, put on other clothes before they Dion 337

were admitted into the presence. When his brother Leptines was once describing the situation of a place, and took a javelin from one of the guard to draw the plan of it, he was extremely angry with him, and had the soldier who gave him the weapon put to death. He declared the more judicious his friends were the more he suspected them; because he knew that, were it in their choice, they would rather be tyrants themselves than the subjects of a tyrant. He slew Marsyas, one of his captains whom he had preferred to a considerable command, for dreaming that he killed him: without some previous waking thought and ourpose of the kind, he could not, he supposed, have had that fancy in his sleen. So timorous was he, and so miserable a slave to his fears, yet very angry with Plato, because he would not allow him to be the valuantest man alive.

Dion, as we said before, seeing the son thus deformed and spoilt in character for want of teaching, exhorted him to study. and to use all his entreaties to persuade Plato, the first of philosonhers, to visit him in Sicily, and when he came, to submit bimself to his direction and advice: by whose instructions he might conform his nature to the truths of virtue, and, living after the likeness of the Divine and glorious Model of Being, out of obedience to whose control the general confusion is changed into the beautiful order of the universe, so he in like manner might be the cause of great happiness to himself and to all his subjects, who, obliged by his justice and moderation, would then willingly pay him obedience as their father, which now grudgingly, and upon necessity, they are forced to yield him as their master. Their usurping tyrant he would then no longer be, but their lawful king. For fear and force, a great pavy and standing army of ten thousand hired barbarians are not, as his father had said, the adamentine chains which secure the rotal power. but the love, zeal, and affection inspired by elemency and justice: which, though they seem more pliant than the stiff and hard bonds of severity, are nevertheless the strongest and most durable ties to sustain a lasting government. Moreover, it is mean and dishonourable that a ruler, while careful to be splendid in his dress, and hoxurious and magnificent in his habitation. should, in reason and power of speech, make no better show than the commonest of his subjects, nor have the princely nalnee of his mind adorned according to his royal dignity.

Dion frequently entertaining the king upon this subject, and, as occasion offered, repeating some of the philosopher's savings. Dionysius grew impatiently desirous to have Plato's company,

and to hear him discourse Forthwith, therefore, he such letter upon letter to him to Athers, to which Does added his treatest, as he weight pliceopiers of the Pythigeogene sext from Italy sent item recommendations, upong him to come and others a bold upon this pleats, youthful soul, which his solid and weighty reasonings might standy, as if were, upon the seas of absolute power and suthorty. Phate, as he tells its himself, out of share more than any other feeling, let it should seem that he was all mere theory, and did of his own good will be would never venture into action, hoping withal, that if he could work a cure upon one man, the head and guide of the rest, he might remedy the distempers of the whole saland of Sixily, valled to their rements.

But Dion's enemies, fearing an alteration in Dionynus, persusded him to recall from banishment Philistus, a man of learned education, and at the same time of great exprisence in the ways of tyrants, and who might serve as a counterpoise to Plato and his philosophy For Philistus from the beginning had been a great matrument in establishing the twingers, and for a long time had held the office of captain of the citadel. There was a report that he had been entimate with the mother of Diograms the first, and not without his privity. And when Leptines, having two daughters by a married woman who he had debanched, gave one of them m marriage to Philistus, without aconsmung Dionysius, he, in great anger, put Leptines's mistress in prison, and banashed Philistus from Sicily Whermings, he fled to some of his friends on the Adriatic coast, in which retirement and leasure it is probable he wrote the greatest part of his bustery, for he returned not unto his country during the reign of that Dionysias

But after his death, as is just related, bon's enemies occamoned him to be recalled home, as fitted to their purpose, and a firm friend to the satistrary government. And this, judeed, vanichated upon his return he set homself to maintain, and at the saline time values realizations and secusions against Dion were the others brought to the king, as that he held correspondence with Theodelies and Herachida, to subsert the government, as, doubtless, it is fix-the enough, that Dion had entertand hopes, by the comming of Platis, to mutgate the rigid and despone severity of the tyrazurs, and to give Dunysius the character of a fur and living Governor, and had detenment, if he should continue averse to that, and were not to be reclaimed, to deponting and store the commingenesh to the Syrachists. that he approved a democratic government, but thought it altogether preferable to a tyranny, when a sound and good

aristocracy could not be procured.

This was the state of affairs when Plato came into Sicily, who, at his first arrival, was received with wonderful demonstration of kindness and respect. For one of the royal chariots, richly ornamented, was in attendance to receive him when he came on shore: Dionysius himself sacrificed to the gods in thankful acknowledgment for the great happiness which had befallen his government. The citizens, also, began to entertain margellous hopes of a speedy reformation, when they observed the modesty which now ruled in the banquets, and the general decorrors which prevailed in all the court, their tyrant himself also behaving with gentleness and humanity in all their matters of business that came before him. There was a general passion for reasoning and philosophy, insomuch that the very palace, it is reported, was filled with dust by the concourse of the students in mathematics who were working their problems there. Some few days after, it was the time of one of the Syrneysan sacrifices, and when the priest, as he was wont, prayed for the long and safe continuance of the tyranny, Dionysius, it is said, as he stood by, cried out, " Leave off praying for evil upon us." This sensibly vexed Philistus and his party, who conjectured, that if Plato, upon such brief acquaintance, had so far transformed and altered the young man's mind, longer converse and prestor intimacy would give him such influence and authority that it would be impossible to withstand him. Therefore, no longer privately and spart, but jointly and in

Intercore, no conger privately and spart, our jointly hints my public, all of them, they began to shaded Dion, richesjit about that he had channed and bewitched Dionyslus by Plate's explicitly, to the end that when he was persuaded voluntarily to put with his power, and key down his authority, Dion might take it up, and settle it upon his sister Aristransche's children. Others professed to be indignant that the Athenians, who formerly had count of Sicily with a great fatest and a numerous find army, and perished miscrably without being able to take to the city of Syracus, should now, by means of one suphister, overthan the severeignty of Dionysius; invesiging him to cashier his grant of the Housand hence, sliamine a navy of four hundred galleys, disbund an army of ten threatend hone had many time over that number of flows, and go seek in the estopois an unknown and imaginary bikes, and learn by the mathematic how to be huppy; while, in the meandame, the substantial enjoy-

ments of absolute power, riches and pleasure would be handed over to Don and his sister's children

B) these means, Dion began to mour at first suspicion, and by degrees more apparent displeasure and hosplity A letter, abo, was intercepted and brought to the young princ- which Dion had written to the Cartbagman agents, advising them that, when they treated with Dionysus concerning the peace, they should not come to their audience without communicating with him they would not fail to obtain by this means all that they wanted When Dronys us had shown this to Philistus, and consulted with him as Timorus relates, about it, he over reached Dion by a feigned reconciliation, professing, after some fair and reasonable expression of his feelings, that he was at frends with him, and thus, leading him alone to the senside. under the castle wall he showed him the I mer, and taxed him with conspiring with the Carthaginians against him Ard when Dion essayed to speak in his own defence, Dionysius suffered him not, but immediately forced him aboard a boat, which las there for that purpose and commanded the sailors to set him ashore on the coast of Italy

When this was publicly known, and was thought very bard usaer, there was much hormitation in the tyrant's own household on account of the women, but the citizens of Symptes encouraged themselves expecting that for his sake some dis turbance would easte, which, together with the mistrust others would now feel might occasion a gen-ral change and revolution in the state Dionyana seeing this took alarm, and endeavoured to pacify the women and others of Dion's kindred and friends, assuring them that he had not banished, but only sent him out of the way for a time, for fear of his own passion, which might be emveked some day by Dion's self will into some act which he should be sorry for He gave also two ships to his relations. with liberty to send into Peloponnesus for him whatever of his property or servants they thought fit,

Don was very nich, and had his house furnished with little less than royal splendour and magnificence. These valuables his friends packed up and conveyed to him, besides many rich presents which were sent him by the women and his adherents So that, so far as wealth and riches went, he made a noble appearance among the Greeks, and they might judge, by the affluence of the exile what was the power of the twant

Dienvisus mamedistely removed Plato into the castle, design ing, under colour of an honourable and Lind reception, to set a Diop 341

guard upon him, lest he should follow Dion, and declare to the world, in his behalf, how injuriously he had been dealt with. And, moreover, time and conversation (as wild beasts by use grow tame and tractable) had brought Dionysius to endure Plato's company and discourse, so that he began to love the philosopher, but with such an affection as had something of the tyrant in it, requiring of Plato that he should, in return of his kindness, love him only, and attend to him above all other men: being ready to permit to his care the chief management of affairs, and even the government, too, upon condition that he would not prefer Dion's friendship before his. This extravagant affection was a great trouble to Plato, for it was accompanied with petulant and jealous humours, like the fond passions of those that are desperately in love; frequently he was angry and fell out with him, and presently begged and entreated to be friends again. He was beyond measure desirous to be Plato's scholar, and to proceed in the study of philosophy, and yet he was ashamed of it with those who spoke against it and professed to think it would ruin him.

But a war about this time breaking out, he sent Plate away, promising him in the summer to recall Dion, though in this he broke his word at once; nevertheless, he remitted to him his revenues, desiring Plato to excuse him as to the time appointed, because of the war, but, as soon as he had settled a peace, he would immediately send for Dion, requiring him in the interim to be quiet, and not raise any disturbance, nor speak ill of him among the Grecians. This Plate endeavoured to effect, by kespiter Dion with him in the academy, and busying him in philosophical studies,

Dien sojourned in the Upper Town of Athens, with Callippus, one of his acquaintance; but for his pleasure he bought a seat in the country, which afterwards, when he went into Sicily, he gave to Speusiopus, who had been his most frequent companion while he was at Athens, Plato so arranging it, with the hope that Dion's austere temper might he softened by agreeable company, with an occasional mixture of seasonable mirth. For Spensippus was of the character to afford him this; we find him spoken of in Timon's Silli, as "good at a jest." And Plato himself, as it happened, being called upon to furnish a chorus of boys, Dion took upon him the ordering and management of it, and defrayed the whole expense, Plato giving him this opportunity to oblige the Athenians, which was likely to procure his friend more kindness than himself credit. Dion went also to

see several other crurs, visiting the mobilest and most atternanible persons in Greece, and poining in their receivations and contextnaments in their miss of festivat. In all which, no sort of vulgar yearance, or tryannes compation, or incurrousness was remarked in link, learness compation, or incurrousness was remarked in link, learness contrainty, a great deal of temperance, generously, and on corting, a great deal of temperance, generously, and on corting, a great deal of temperance, generously, and a well-becoming taste for reasoning and philosophic discourses. By which means he gained the love most decreed him, the Lacrdesmonians making and published and Eparts, who has regard to the depleasance of Drowyous, shough at that time he was sading them in their was accurate the Lichaus.

was against the account, upon institution, be went to pay a vosit to Principionis, the Miguistria, a man, it would been, of wealth and importance, and after the principionis count of the concounts which the principionis count of the concounts of the principionis country of the prin

After some little time, Dionysius, envying Dion, and jealous of the favour and interest be had among the Grecians, put a stop upon he incomes, and no longer sent him his revenues. making his own commissioners trustees of the estate But. endeavouring to obviate the ill-will and discredit which, upon Plato's account, might accrue to him among the philosophers, he collected in his court many reputed learned men, and ambitiously desiring to surpass them in their debates, he was forced to make use, oftia incorrectly, of arguments he had picked up from Plato And now be wished for his company again, repenting he had not made better use of it when he had it, and had oven no greater heed to his admirable lessons Like a tyrant, therefore, moon derate in his desires, headstrong and violent in whatever he took a will to, on a sudden he was eagerly set on the design of recalling him, and left no stone unturned, but addressed numself to Archytas, the Pythagorean (his acquaintance and hiendly relations with whom owed their origin to Plato), and persuaded hun to stand as surety for his engagements, and to request Plato to revisit Secily

Archytas, therefore, sent Archedemus and Dionysius some galleys, with divert friends, to entreat his return, moreover, he wrote to him himself expressly and in plain terms, that Dion must be er look for any favour or kindness if Plato would not be persulad with to came into Sicily; but if Plate did come Dion should be assured of whatever he desired. Dion also received letters foil of solicitations from his sitter, and his wife, urging him to beg Plate to gratily Dionysius in this request, and not give him an excuse for further ill-doing. So that, as Plate says to himself, the third time he set sail for the Strait of Scylla.—

" Venturing again Charybdis's dangerous gulf."

This nerival brought great joy to Dionysius, and no less hopes to the Siciliums, who were carnest in their prayers and gowthen that Plate unjeke get the better of Philitans, and philosophy triumph over tyranoy. Neither was he unbettiended by the women, who satisfied to oblige him; and he had with Dionysius that peculiar credit which no man else ever obtained, anamely, liberty to come into his presence without being examined or tearched. When he would have given him a considerable sum of money, and, on serveal repeated occasions, made fresh offers, which Plate as often declined, Aristippus, the Cyrenaxan then present, said that Dionysius was very said in his munificance, he gave little to those who were ready to take all they could get, and agreet deal to Place, who would accept of nothing.

After the first compliments of kindness were over, when Plato began to discourse of Dion, he was at first diverted by excuses for delay, followed soon after by complaints and discusts, though not as yet observable to others. Dionysius endeavouring to conceal them, and, by other civilities and honourable usage, to draw him off from his affection to Dion. And for some time Plato himself was careful not to let anything of this dishonesty and breach of promise appear, but bore with it, and dissembled his annovance. While matters stood thus between them, and, as they thought, they were unobserved and undiscovered, Helicon, the Cyzicenian, one of Plato's followers, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which happened according to his prediction: for which he was much admired by the tyrant, and rewarded with a talent of silver: whereupon Aristippus, jesting with some others of the philosophers, told them, he also could predict something extraordinary; and on their entreating him to declare it, "I foretell," said he, " that before long there will be a quarrel between Dionysius and Plato."

At length, Dionysius made sale of Dion's estate, and converted the money to his own use, and removed Plate from an apartment be had in the gardens of the palace to lodgings among

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344 the guards he kept in pay, who from the first had hated Plato. and sought opportunity to make 20 2y with him, supposing he advised Dionysus to lay down the government and disband his soldiers

When Archytas understood the danger he was in, he immediately sent a galley with messengers to demand him of Dionysius, alleging that he stood engaged for his safety, upon the confidence of which Plate had come to Sicily Dionysius, to palliate his secret hatred, before Plato came away, treated him with great entertainments and all seeming demonstrations of kindness, but could not forbear breaking out one day into the expression, "No doubt, Plate, when you are at home among the philosophers, your companions, you will complain of me, and reckon up a great many of my faults" To which Plato answered with a smile, "The Academy will never, I trust, be at such a loss for subjects to discuss as to seek one in you" Thus, they say, Plato was dismissed, but his own writings do not altogether agree with this account.

Dion was angry at all this, and not long after declared open enmity to Dionysius, on hearing what had been done with his wife, on whith matter Plato, also, had had some confidential when on which marker rates, and, and that some continuous correspondence with Dionysius. Thus it was After Dion's banashment, Dionysius, when he sent Plato back, had desired him to ask Dion privately, if he would be averse to his wife's marrying another man. For there went a report, whether true, or raised by Dion's enemies, that his marriage was not pleasing to him, and that he byed with his wife on uneasy terms When Plato therefore came to Athens, and had mentioned the subject to Dion, he wrote a letter to Dionysius speaking of other matters openly, but on this in language expressly designed to be understood by him alone, to the effect that he had talked with Dion about the busmess, and that it was evident be would highly resent the affront, if it should be put mto execution At that time, therefore, while there were yet great hopes of an accommodation, be took no new steps with his sister, suffering ber to live with Dion's child But when things were come to that pass, that no reconciliation could be expected, and Plato, after his second visit, was again sent away in displeasure, he then forced Arete, against her will, to marry Timocrates, one of his favountes, in this action coming thort even of his father's justice and lenity, for he, when Polyxenus, the husband of his sister, Theste, became his enemy, and fled in alarm out of Sicily, sent for his sister, and taxed her, that, heing privy to her

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Instituted's flight, she had not declared it to him. But the lady confident and fearless, made him this reply: "Do you believe me, brother, so had a wife, or as insuranes a weamn, that, having known my husband's flight, I would not have home his company, and shared his fortunes? I knew anthing of it; since otherwise it had been my better but to be called the wife of the citie? Polyvenus than the sister of the tymen Disnovisia." It is said, he admired her free and ready suswer, as did the Syranous side her courage and withen, isosometh that he retained her dignity and princely retinue after the dissolution of the tyranay, and when she died, the citizens, by public decree, attented the selemnity of her funeral. And the story, though a digression from the present purpose, was well worth the cliffical,

From this time, Dion set his mind upon warlike measures: with which Plato, out of respect for past hospitalities, and because of his age, would have nothing to do. But Speusippus and the rest of his friends assisted and encouraged him, bidding him deliver Sicily, which with lift-up hands implored his help. and with onen arms was ready to receive him. For when Plato was staying at Syracuse, Speusippus, being oftener than he in company with the citizens, had more thoroughly made out how they were inclined; and though at first they had been on their mard, suspecting his bold language, as though he had been set on by the tyrant to trepen them, yet at length they trusted him. There was but one mind and one wish or prayer among them all, that Dien would undertake the design, and come, though without either pavy, men, horse, or arms; that he would simply put himself aboard any ship, and lend the Sicilians his person and name against Dionysius. This information from Speusippus encouraged Dion, who, concealing his real purpose, employed his friends privately to raise what men they could; and many statesmen and philosophers were assisting him, as, for instance, Eudemus the Cyprian, on whose death Aristotle wrote his Dialogue of the Soul, and Timonides the Leucadian. They also engaged on his side Miltas the Thessalian, who was a prophet, and had studied in the Academy. But of all that were banished by Dionysius, who were not fewer than a thousand. five and twenty only joined in the enterprise; the rest were afraid, and abandoned it. The rendezvous was in the island Zacynthus, where a small force of not make sight hundred men came together, all of them, however, persons already distinguished in plenty of previous hard service, their bodies well trained and practised, and their experience and courage amply

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sufficient to animate and embolden to action the numbers whom Dion expected to soin him in Sicily

let these men, when they first understood the expedition was against Dionysius, were troubled and disheartened, blaming Dien, that, hurned on like a madman by mere passion and despair, he rashly threw both himself and them into certain rum Nor were they less angry with their commanders and muster masters that they had not in the beginning let them know the design But when Dion in his address to them had set forth the unsafe and weak condition of arbitrary govern ment, and declared that he carried them rather for commanders than soldiers, the citizens of Syracuse and the rest of the Sicilians having been long ready for a revolt, and when, after him, Alcimeaes, an Achean of the highest birth and reputation, who accompanied the expedition, harangued them to the same effect. they were contented

It was now the middle of summer, and the Etesian winds blowing steadily on the seas, the moon was at the full, when Dien prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and with great solemnity marched his soldiers to the temple in all their arms and accountements. And after the sacrifice, he feasted them all m the race-course of the Zacynthians, where he had made provision for their entertainment. And when here they beheld with wonder the quantity and the richness of the gold and silver plate, and the tables laid to entertain them, all far exceeding the fortunes of a private man, they concluded with themselves that a man now past the prime of lde, who was master of so much treasure, would not engage himself m so hazardous an enterprise without good reason of hope, and certain and suffi cient assurances of aid from friends over there | Just after the hbations were made, and the accompanying prayers offered, the moon was eclipsed, which was no wonder to Dion, who under stood the revolutions of ecloses, and the way in which the moon is overshadowed and the earth interposed between her and the sun But because it was necessary that the soldiers, who were surprised and troubled at it, should be satisfied and encouraged, Miltas the diviner, standing up in the midst of the assembly, bade them be of good cheer, and expect all happy success, for that the divine powers foreshowed that something at present glorious and resplendent should be eclipsed and obscured, nothing at this time being more splendid than the sovereignty of Dionysius, their arrival in Sixly should dim this glory, and extinguish this brightness Thus Wiltas, in public, descanted

upon the incident. But concerning a swarm of bees which settled on the poop of Dion's ship, he privately told him and his friends that he feared the great actions they were like to perform, though for a time they should thrive and flourish. would be of short continuance, and soon suffer a decay. It is reported, also, that many prodigies happened to Dionysius at that time. An eagle, snatching a javelin from one of the guard. carried it aloft, and from thence let it fall into the sea. The water of the sea that washed the castle walls was for a whole day sweet and potable, as many that tasted it experienced, Pigs were farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. This the diviners declared to portend revolt and rebellion. for that the subjects would no longer give ear to the commands of their superiors. They expounded the sweetness of the water to signify to the Syracusans a change from hard and grievous times into easier and more happy circumstances. The eagle being the bird of Tupiter, and the spear an emblem of power and command, this prodicy was to denote that the chief of the rods designed the end and dissolution of the present government. These things Theoperapus relates in his history.

Two ships of burden carried all Dion's men: a third vessel, of no great size, and two galleys of thirty oars attended them. In addition to his soldiers' own arms, he carried two thousand shields, a very great number of darts and lances, and abundant stores of all manner of provisions, that there might be no want of anything in their voyage; their purpose being to keep out at sea during the whole voyage, and use the winds, since all the land was hostile to them, and Philistus, they had been told, was in Iapygia with a fleet, looking out for them. Twelve days they sailed with a fresh and gentle breeze; on the thirteenth, they made Pachynus, the Sicilian cape. There Protos, the chief pilot, advised them to land at once and without delay, for if they were forced again from the shore, and did not take advantage of the headland, they might ride out at sea many nights and days, waiting for a southerly wind in the summer season. But Dion, fearing a descent too near his enemies, and desirous to begin at a greater distance, and further on in the country. sailed on past Pachynus. They had not gone far, before stress of weather, the wind blowing bard at north, drove the fleet from the coast; and it being now about the time that Arcturus rises, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, with thunder and lightning; the mariners were at their wits' end, and improvent what course they ran, until nn a sudden they found they were

drawing with the sea on Cerema, the island on the coast of Africa, just where it is most craggy and dangerous to run upon Unon the chiffs there they escaped narrowly of being forced and staved to pieces, but, labouring hard at their oars, with much difficulty they kent clear until the storm ceased Then, lighting by chance upon a vessel, they understood they were upon the Heads, as it is called, of the Great Syrtis, and when they were now again disheartened by a sudden calm, and beating to and iro without making any way, a soft air began to blow from the land, when they expected anything rather than wind from the south, and scarce believed the happy change of their fortune The gale gradually increasing, and beginning to blow fresh, they clapped on all their sails, and, praying to the gods, put out again into the open seas, steering right from Africa for Sicily. And, running steady before the wind, the fifth day they surrived at Minos, a little town of Sicily, in the dominion of the Carthaginians, of which Synalus, an acquamtance and friend of Dion's, happened at that time to be governor, who, not knowing it was Dion and his feet, endeavoured to hinder his men from landing. but they rushed on shore with their swords in their hands, not slaving any of their opponents (for this Dion had forbidden, because of his friendship with the Carthaginians), but forced them to retrest, and, following close, pressed in a body with them into the place, and took it. As soon as the two commanders met, they mutually saluted each other, Dion delivered up the place again to Synalus, without the least damage done to any one therem, and Synalus quartered and entertained the soldiers, and supplied Dien with what he wanted.

They were most of all encouraged by the happy accident of Dionysius's absence at this nick of time, for it appeared that he was lately gone with eighty sail of ships to Italy Therefore, when Diou was desirous that the soldiers should refresh themselves there, after their tedious and troublesome voyage, they would not be prevailed with but earnest to make the best use of that opportunity, they used Dion to lead them straight on to Syracuse. Leaving, therefore, their baggage, and the arms they did not use, Dion desired Synahus to convey them to him as he had occasion, and marched directly to Syracuse

The first that came in to him upon his march were two hundred horse of the Agrigentimes who were settled near Echomum, and, after them, the Geloans But the news soon flying to Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and was the principal man among his friends now remaining in the city, immediately despatched a courier to Dionysius, with letters announcing Dion's arrival: while he himself took all possible care to prevent any stir or turnult in the city, where all were in great excitement, but as yet continued quiet, fearing to give too much credit to what was reported. A very strange accident happened to the messenger who was sent with the letters; for being arrived in Italy, as he travelled through the land of Rhegium, hastening to Dionysius at Caulonia, he met one of his acquaintance, who was carrying bome part of a sacrifice. ' He accepted a piece of the flesh, which his friend offered him, and proceeded on his journey with all speed; having travelled a good part of the night, and being, through weariness, forced to take a little rest, he laid bimself down in the next convenient place he came to, which was in a wood near the road. A wolf, scenting the flesh, came and seized it as it lay fastened to the letter-bag, and with the flesh carried away the bag also, in which were the letters to Dionysius. The man, awaking and missing his bag, sought for it up and down a great while, and, not finding it, resolved not to go to the king without his latters, but to conceal himself, and keep out of the way.

Dionysius, therefore, came to hear of the war in Sicily from other bands, and that a good while after. In the meantime, as Dion proceeded in his march, the Camarineaus joined his forces, and the country people in the territory of Syracuse rose and joined him in a large body. The Leontines and Campanians, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipola, receiving a false alarm which was spread on purpose by Dion, as if he intended to attack their cities first, left Timocrates, and hastened off to carry succour to their own homes. News of which being brought to Dion, where he lay near Macrae, he raised his camp by night, and came to the river Anapus which is distant from the city about ten jurlongs; there he made a halt, and sacrificed by the river, offering vows to the rising sun. The southsayers declared that the gods promised him victory; and they that were present. seeing him assisting at the sacrifice with a garland on his head. one and all crowned themselves with garlands. There were about five thousand that had joined his forces in their march; who, though but ill provided, with such weapons as came next to hand, made up by zeal and courage for the want of better arms; and when once they were told to advance, as if Dion were already congneror, they ram forward with shouts and acclamations, encouraging each other with the hopes of liberty.

The most considerable men and better sort of the cutarens of Syparuse, dad all in white, met hom at the gates. The populate set upon all that were of Denyause's party, and principally searciased for those they called setters or informers, a number of worked and hatchel writches, who made it ther business to go up and down the city, thristing themselves into all companies, that they might inform Donyaus what men saud, and how they stood selected. These were the first that suffered, being beaten to death by the growd

to desta by the crows. Timocrates, not being able to force his way, to the garmson that kept the estile, took here, and field out of the city, filling all the places where he came with lear and centiumin, magnifying the amount of Don's forces that he might not be supposed to have deserted the clarge without good reason for it. By this time, Dion was come on, and appeared in the sight of the people, he marched first in a rule with a rule of amount of the Don's deserved to the contract of th

of forty-eight years, of liberty and popular government

Dion entered by the Mentad gate, and, having by sound of trumpet quieted the noise of the people, he caused proclamation to be made, that Dion and Megacles, who were come to overthrow the tyrannical government, did declare the Syractisans and all other Sicilians to be free from the tyrant But, being desirous to harangue the people hunself, he went up through the Achradus. The citizens on each side the way brought victims for sacrifice, set out their tables and goblets, and as he passed by each door threw flowers and ornaments upon him, with yows and acclamations, honouring him as a god There was under the castle and the Pentapyla a lolty and conspicuous sun dial, which Dionysius had set up Getting up upon the top of that, he made an oration to the people, calling upon them to maintain and defend their liberty, who, with great expressions of joy and acknowledgment, created Dion and Megacles generals, with plenary powers, joining in commission with them, at their desire and entreaty, twenty colleagues, of whom half were of those that had returned with them out of banishment. It seemed also to the diviners a most happy omen that Dion, when he made his address to the people, had under his feet the stately Dion 35

monument which Dianysius had been at such pains to erect; but because it was a sun-dial on which he stood when he was made general, they expressed some fears that he great actions he had performed might be subject to change, and admit some rapid turn and declination of future.

After this, Dien, taking the Epipoin, released the citizen who were imprisoned there, and then raised a well to invest the castle. Seven days after, Dienysius arrived by sea, and got into the citedal, and about the same time came carriage, bringing the arms and armomition which Dien had left with Synales. These he distributed among the citizen; and the rest that wanted furnished themselves as well as they could, and put thenselves in the condition of zasious and serviceable men 4-strms.

Dionysius sent agents, at first privately, to Dion, to try what terms they could make with him. But he declaring that any overtures they had to make must be made in public to the Symousans as a free people, envoys now went and came between the tyrant and the people, with fair proposals, and assurances that they should have abatements of their tributes and taxes. and freedom from the burdens of military expeditions, all which should be made according to their own approbation and consent with him. The Syracusans laughed at these offers, and Dion returned answer to the envoys, that Dionysius must not think to treat with them upon any other terms but resigning the government; which if he would actually do, he would not forget how nearly he was related to him, or he wanting to assist him in procuring oblivion for the past, and whatever else was reasonable and just. Dionysius seemed to consent to this, and sent his agents again, desiring some of the Syracusans to come into the citadel and discuss with him in person the terms to which on each side they might be willing, after fair debate, to consent. There were, therefore, some deputed, such as Dion approved of: and the general rumour from the castle was, that Dionysius would voluntarily resign his authority, and rather do it himself as his own good deed than let it be the act of Dion. But this profession was a more trick to amuse the Syracusans. For he put the denuties that were sent to him in custody, and by break of day, having first to encourage his men made them drink plentifully of raw wine, he sent the garrison of mercenaries out to make a sudden sally against Dion's works. The attack was quite unexpected, and the barbarians set to work holdly with load cries to pull down the cross-wall, and assailed the Syracusans so furiously that they

were not able to maintain their post. Only a party of Dion's hared soldiers on first taking the alarm advanced to the rescue neither did they at first know what to do or how to employ the aid they brought not being able to hear the commands of their officers amudst the noise and confusion of the Syr cusans who fl d from the enemy and ran in among them breaking through their ranks until Drou seeing none of his orders could be heard resolved to let them see by example what they ought to do and charged into the thickest of the enemy The fight about him was heree and bloody he being as well known by the enemy as by his own party and all running with loud cries to the quarters where he fought. Though his time of his was no longer that of the bodily strength and agulty for such a combat still his determination and courage were sufficient to maintain him against all that attacked him but while bravely driving them back he was wounded in the hand with a lance his body armour also had been much battered and was scarcely any longer serviceable to protect him e ther against missiles or blows hand to-hand Many spears and jav-lins had passed into it through the shield and on these being broken back he fell to the ground but was immediately rescued and carried
off by his soldiers. The command in the fell to Timonides. and mounting a horse rode about the city rallying the Sym cusans that fied and ordering up a detachment of the foreign soldiers out of Achridina where they were posted on guard he brought them as a fresh reserve eager for battle upon the tired and faling enemy who were already well inclined to give up then denge. For having hopes at their first sally to take the whole are when beyond their expectation they found them selves engaged with bold and practised fighters they fell back towards the castle As soon as they gave ground the Greek soldiers pressed the barder spon them tall they turned and fled within the walls There were lost in this action seventy four of Dion s men and a very great number of the enemy This being a signal victory and principally obtained by the valour of the fore on soldiers the Syracusans rewarded them in bonour of it with a hundred mine and the soldiers on their part presented Dien with a crown of cold

Soon after there came heralds from Drony sus bringing D on briters from the women of his family and one addressed our side. To his father from Hippannas: this was the name of Don swn though Thimeus says be was from his mother Arets of name called Arcters' but I think credit is rather to be given

to Timonides's report, who was his father's fellow-soldier and confidant. The rest of the letters were read publicly, containing many solicitations and bumble requests of the women; that professing to be from his son, the heralds would not have them open publicly, but Dion, putting force upon them, broke the seal. It was from Dionysius, written in the terms of it to Dion. but in effect to the Syracusans, and so worded that, under a plausible justification of himself and entreaty to him, means were taken for rendering him suspected by the people. It reminded him of the good service he had formerly done the usurping government, it added threats to his dearest relations, his sister, son, and wife, if he did not comply with the contents, also passionate demands mingled with lamentations, and, most to the purpose of all, preent recommendations to him not to destroy the government, and put the power into the hands of men who always hated him, and would never forget their old piques and quarrels: let him take the sovereignty himself, and so secure the safety of his family and his friends.

When this letter was read, the Syracusans were not, as they should have been, transported with admiration at the unmovable constancy and magnanimity of Dion, who withstood all his dearest interests to be true to virtue and justice, but, on the contrary, they saw in this their reason for fearing and suspecting that he lay under an invincible necessity to be favourable to Dionysius; and they began, therefore, to look out for other leaders, and the rather because to their great joy they received the news that Heraclides was on his way. This Heraclides was one of those whom Dionysius had banished, a very good soldier, and well known for the commands he had formerly had under the tyrant: yet a man of no constant purpose, of a fickle temper, and least of all to be relied upon when he had to act with a colleague in any honourable command. He had had a difference formerly with Dion in Pelononnesus, and had resolved. upon his own means, with what ships and soldiers he had, to make an attack upon Dionysins. When he arrived at Syracuse, with seven galleys and three small vessels, he found Dionvsius already close besieged, and the Syracusans high and proud of their victories. Forthwith, therefore, he endeavoured by all ways to make himself nopular; and, indeed, he had in him naturally something that was very insinuating and taking with a populace that loves to be courted. He gained his end, also, the easier, and drew the people over to his side, because of the dislike they had taken to Dion's grave and stately manner,

which they thought overhearing and assuming, their successes having made them so careless and confident that they expected popular arts and flattenes from their leaders before they had in reality secured a popular government

Getting, therefore, together in an irregular ascembly, they chose Henchides their advantal, but when Done came forward, and fold threat factoring this trust upon Herachides was and fold threat factoring this trust upon Herachides was seen to the same they had greated than, for he of the property of the same of the property of the same of the same, they repeated there order, and, though much against their will, cancelled the new appositionent. When this bisances was over, Don nived Herachides to his house, and pointed out to him in grathe terms, that he had not noted wardy or well to open the same three three terms, that he had not noted wardy or well to be last false step might be the run of all, and then, caller a first hassembly of the people, he there aimed Herachides admiral, and prevailed with the clusters to allow him a hie-guard, as he hasself had

Henchles openly puriesed the highest respect for Don, and made him great acknowledgement for this favour, strending him with all deference, as ready to receive his cerimands, but underhand he kept up hat dealings with the populate and the surviver ciniers, surveiting their reads and disturbing them with his ecophiat, and pointing bloom at the human's templeary and disquest. For it he advanced to give Diseignma leave to quate the existle, he would be exposed to the imputation of spraing and protecting him, if, to avoid giving offered or suspicious, he imply continued the ages, they would say he protructed the war to keep his office of general the longer and overane the others.

There was one Soas, notmous in the city for his had conduct and his impulience, wit a favourite with the people, for the very reason that they his due over it made a part of popular privileges to carry free peech in this excess of home. This man, entre if a design against hom, stood up one day in an actenthy, and, having sufficiently railed at the citizens as a set of fools that could not see where had not also a needang on a designate and making for a lover and watchful despotent, and thus having publicly declared noises! Don't enemy, took his leave. The next day he was seen running through the streets, as it he filed from some that pure supplies the proposed him, almost maked, wounded in the bend, and bloody all over In the condition, getting people about him in the market place, he took them had been a some first the supplies that the mass which they have a first the supplies that the mass which they have a first the supplies that the supplies that they have a supplies the supplies that they have a supplies that t

men; and, to confirm what he said, showed them the wounds he had received in his head. And a good many took his part, exclaiming loudly against Dion for his cruel and tyrangical conduct. stopping the mouths of the people by bloodshed and peril of life. Just as an assembly was gathering in this unsettled and turnultuous state of mind. Dion came before them, and made it appear how this Sosis was brother to one of Dionysins's guard, and that he was set on by him to embroil the city in turnult and confusion: Dionysius having now no way left for his security but to make his advantage of their dissensions and distractions. The surgeons, also, having searched the wound, found it was rather raised than cut with a downright blow; for the wounds made with a sword are, from their mere weight, most commonly deepest in the middle, but this was very slight, and all along of an equal depth; and it was not one continued wound, as if cut at-once, but several incisions, in all probability made at several times, as he was able to endure the pain. There were credible persons, also, who brought a razor, and showed it in the assembly. stating that they met Sosis, running in the street, all bloody. who told them that he was flying from Dion's soldiers, who had just attacked and wounded him; they ran at once to look after them, and met no one, but spied this razor lying under a hollow stone near the place from which they observed he came. Sosis was now likely to come by the worst of it. But, when

Sosis was now likely to come by the worst of it. But, when to back all this, his own servants came in, and gave avidence that he had left his house alone before break of day, with the razor in his hand, Dion's securers withdrew themselves, and the mopole by a general vote condemned Sosis to die, being once again

well satisfied with Dion and his proceedings.

We they were still as justons a before of his coldines, and the rather because the war was now carried on principally by staa, Philistus being come from Luyyja with a preat fiest to Diouysia's assistance. They supposed, therefore, that there would be no longer need of the soldiers, who were all landamen and surrout accordingly, these were rather, indeed, they thought, in a condition to be protected by thousandwes, who were seamen, and had here power in their shippings. Their good opinion of themselves was also much enhanced by an advantage they got in an engagement by sea, in which they took Philiston prisoner, and used him in a kinharous and cruel manner. Ephones relates that when he saw his ship was taken, he slew kinself. But Timondes, who was with Dion from the very first, and was present at all the events as they occurred, writing to Spassippus the philosopher,

relates the story thus that Philutina's galley running aground, be was taken prasoner alive, and fint damaned, then stroped of his necrotel, and exposed takent, being now an old man, to every land of contoundy, after the experiment of the present of the head, and gave he body to the body to the body to the sound throw it not the Quarran throw it not the Quarran Timmons, to measure outery, adds further, that the boys ted him by the actives, while the Structuran stood by a gold for the him though the streets, while the Structuran stood by language and jesting at the sight of that very man thus ted and dragged about by the lay, sho had told Donry sus that, so far from flying on horseback from Syracuse, he ought to was till the should be denged out by the head. Philis tap, however, has stared that they was said to Donrysus by another, and not by harself!

Timeus avails himself of this advantage, which Philistus truly enough affords against himself in his zealous and constant adberence to the tyranny, to vent his own spleen and malice against him They, indeed, who were misred by him at the time, are perhaps excusable, if they carried their resentment to the length of indignities to his dead body, but they who write history afterwards, and were noways wronged by him in his lifetime, and have received assistance from his writings, in bonour should not with opprobnous and scurrilous language upbraid hun for these misfortunes which may well enough befall even the best of men On the other side, Ephorus is as much out of the way in his encomiums For, however engenous he is in supplying unjust acts and wicked conduct with fair and worthy motives, and in selecting decorous and honourable terms, yet when he does his best, he does not himself stand clear of the charge of being the greatest lover of tyrants, and the fondest admirer of luxury and nower and rich estates and alliances of marriage with absolute He that neither praises Philistus for his conduct, nor manita over his misfortunes, seems to me to take the fittest course

After Philatur's death, Designation to Dion, differing to surredict the castle, all the stress are not Dion, differing to surredict the castle, all the stress are not provided as soldies, with full pay for them for five months, and particular soldies, with full pay for them for five months, and there to continue, and also to enjoy the revenues of Cyarta, a lunge and insuffer territory belonging to Syracus, reaching from the seased to the middle of the country. Dion rejected these proposals, and referred him to the Syracussia They, hoping in a short time to take Dionysmis alive, dismissed has anhaesadors summarily. But be, leaving he ddest son,

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Apollocrates, to defend the castle, and putting on board his ships the persons and the property that he set most value upon, took the opportunity of a fair wind, and made his escape, undiscovered

by the admiral Heraclides and his fleet.

The citizens loudly exclaimed against Heraclides for this neglect; but he got one of their public speakers. Hippo by name. to go among them, and make proposals to the assembly for a redivision of lands, alleging that the first beginning of liberty was equality, and that poverty and slavery were inseparable companions. In support of this, Heraclides spoke, and used the faction in favour of it to overpower Dion, who opposed it; and in fine, he persuaded the people to ratify it by their vote, and further to decree that the foreign soldiers should receive no pay. and that they would elect new commanders, and so be rid of Dion's oppression. The people, attempting, as it were, after their long sickness of despotism, all at once to stand on their legs, and to do their part, for which they were yet unfit, of freemen, stumbled in all their actions: and yet hated Dion, who, like a good physician, endeavoured to keep the city to a strict and temperate regimen.

When they met in the assembly to choose their commanders, about the middle of summer, unusual and terrible thunders. with other inauspicious appearances, for fifteen days together, dispersed the people, deterring them, on grounds of religious fear, from creating new generals. But, at last, the popular leaders, having found a fair and clear day, and, having got their party together, were proceeding to an election, when a draught-ox, who was used to the crowd and noise of the streets, but for some reason or other grew unruly to his driver, breaking from his yoke, ran furiously into the theatre where they were assembled, and set the people flying and running in all directions before him in the oreatest disorder and confusion; and from thence went on, learning and rushing about, over all that part of the city which the enemies afterwards made themselves masters of. However. the Syracusans, not regarding all this, elected five-and-twenty captains, and, among the rest, Heraclides, and underhand tampered with Dion's men, promising, it they would desert him, and enlist themselves in their service, to make them citizens of Syracuse, with all the privileges of natives. But they would not hear the proposals, but, to show their fidelity and courage, with their swords in their hands, placing Dion for his security in the midst of their battalion, conveyed him out of the city, not offering violence to any one, but upbraiding those they met with their

telates the story that that Philaten's galley running aground, he was taken prisence alve, and first disarmed, then striped of its norrelet, and repost of lack, hearg now no led man, to every kind of centumly, after which they out off his bead, and gave his body to the bory of the torm, bading then drag at through the Admidian, and then throw the lack bed with the concrast the moderty administration that the Quarren. Timeaus, no means the moderty administration that the boys tend him by has him let, and so diverse the heavy the stress, while the Syncassian study of the strength of the transport of the strength of t

Timeus avails himself of this advantage, which Philistus truly enough affords against himself in his zealous and constant ad herence to the tyranny, to vent his own spleen and malice against him They, indeed, who were injured by him at the time, are perhaps excusable, if they carried their resentment to the length of indignities to his dead body, but they who write history afterwards, and were noways wronged by him in his lifetime, and have received assistance from his writings, in bonour should not with opprobnous and scurrilous language upbraid him for those misfortunes which may well enough befall even the best of men On the other side, Ephorus is as much out of the way in his encomiums For, however ingenious he is in supplying unjust acts and wicked conduct with fair and worthy motives, and in selecting decorous and honourable terms, yet when he does his best, he does not himself stand clear of the charge of being the greatest lover of tyrants, and the fondest admirer of luxury and power and nch estates and alliances of marriage with absolute princes He that neither praises Philistus for his conduct, nor

musts over his minfortures, seems to me to take the fiftest course. After Philostrie's death, Donnyass seet to Donn, offenng to surreader the castle, all the arms, provisions, and garrison soldiers, with fall pay for them for five months, demanding in return that be might have safe conduct to go unmolested into Italy, and there to continue, and also to enjoy the revenues of Gyarts, a large and fruitful territory belonging to Syraccise, reaching from the seasile to the middle of the country. Don rejected their proposals, and referred ham to the Syracusan They, hoping in a short time to take Dionyanis alive, dismissed this ambastados summarily. But he, Jeaving his eldest son,

Apollocrates, to defend the castle, and putting on board his ships the persons and the property that he set most value upon, took the opportunity of a fair wind, and made his escape, undiscovered by the admiral Heraelides and his fleet.

The citizens loudly exclaimed against Heraclides for this neglect: but he got one of their public speakers, Hippo by name. to go among them, and make proposals to the assembly for a redivision of lands, alleging that the first beginning of liberty was equality, and that poverty and slavery were inseparable companions. In support of this, Heraclides spoke, and used the faction in favour of it to overpower Dion, who opposed it; and in fine, he persuaded the people to ratify it by their vote, and further to decree that the foreign soldiers should receive no pay, and that they would elect new commanders, and so be rid of Dion's oppression. The people, attempting, as it were, after their long sickness of despotism, all at once to stand on their less, and to do their part, for which they were yet unfit, of freemen, stumbled in all their actions; and yet hated Dion, who, like a good physician, endeavoured to keep the city to a strict and temperate regimen.

When they met in the assembly to choose their commanders. about the middle of summer, unusual and terrible thunders, with other inauspicious appearances, for fifteen days together, dispersed the people, deterring them, on grounds of religious fear. from creating new generals. But, at last, the popular leaders, having found a fair and clear day, and, having got their party together, were proceeding to un election, when a draught-ox, who was used to the growd and poise of the streets, but for some reason or other grew unruly to his driver, breaking from his yoke, ran furiously into the theatre where they were assembled, and set the people fiving and running in all directions before him in the greatest disorder and confusion; and from thence went on, leaving and rushing about, over all that part of the city which the enemies afterwards made themselves masters of. However, the Syracushus, not regarding all this, elected five-and-twenty captains, and, among the rest, Heraclides, and underhand tampered with Dion's men, promising, if they would desert him. and colist themselves in their service, to make them citizens of Syracuse, with all the privileges of natives. But they would not hear the proposals, but, to show their fidelity and courage, with their swords in their bands, placing Dion for his security in the midst of their battalion, conveyed him out of the city, not offering violence to any one, but unbraiding those they met with their

baseness and negratitude. The citizens, seeing they were but few, and did not offer any volunce, despised them, and, supposing that with their larg numbers they might with ease overpower and cut them off before they got out of the city, fell upon them in the rear.

Here Don was in a great strast, being necessitated either to fight against his own countrymen or tamely suffer himself and his faithful solders to be cut in pieces. He used many or trasties to the Stransans, attriching out his hands towards the castle that was full of these nemens, and showing them the solders, who in great numbers appeared on the walls and watched what was done. But when an peraximous could divert the impulse of the multitude, and the whole mass, like the sea in a stime, seemed to be driven before the breath of the demanges—a commanded his men, not to charge them, but to advance with abouts and clushing of their straw, which being done, not a man of them stood his ground, all field at once though the street, bought nonequire, dithin. For Don timme-dutable commanded his men to face about, and led them towards the city of the Loonines.

The very women hughed at the new captains for this rittest, so, to redeem their credit, they bod if a later aim themselves again, and followed dater Den, are "buy with him as he was passing an ever Some of the letter to be up and begins to himself a more time and eliging at most given and eliging at the mes, but with an angry to a Arange, as resolved not to suffer their indignature may longer, building his men face round and from in their ranks for the court, they presently turned their backs more two . than before, and field to the city, with the loss of some? "of their men."

The Lev Les received Don very honourable, gave money to has n ... made them fire of their city, sending envoys to the SST ... sai, to require them to do the soldern pastice, who, in relation and the said send to the soldern the send to the said send to the said

we held to be in fault. They, however, refused to stand to the arad of their allies, following their one concert, and making it their pride to Laten to no one, and not to have any commanders but those who would fear and obey the people

About this time, Dicinyous sent in a feet, under the command of Nypons the Neapol tan, with provious and pay for the garrison. The Syramusan fought him, had the hetter, and took four of his chips; but they made very ill use of their good success, and for want of good discipline, fell in their joy to dendiking and feasting in an extravogant manner, with so fittle regard to their main interest that, when they thought themselves are of taking the castle, they actually lost their city. Nypoins, seeing the citizens in this general disciencies, spending day and night in their drunker singing and reveiling, and their commanders well pleased with the folic, or at least not during to try and give any orders to man in their drunke least not during to try and give any orders to man in their drunk; took advantage of this opportunity, made a sally, and stormed their works; and having made his way through these, but his barkarians loose upon the city, giving up it and all that were in it to their pleasure.

The Syracusans quickly saw their folly and misfortune, but could not, in the distraction they were in, so soon redress it. The city was in actual process of being sacked, the enemy putting the men to the sword, demolishing the fortifications, and dragging the women and children, with ismentable shricks and cries. prisoners into the castle. The commanders, giving all for lost, were not able to put the citizens in any tolerable nosture of delence, finding them confusedly mixed up and scattered among the enemy. While they were in this condition, and the Achradina in danger to be taken, every one was sensible who he was in whom all their remaining hopes rested, but no man for shame durst name Dion, whom they had so ungratefully and foolishly dealt with. Necessity at last forcing them, some of the auxiliary troops and horsemen cried out, "Send for Dion and his Polopotnessans from the Leontines." No sooner was the venture made and the name heard among the people, but they gave a shout for joy, and, with tears in their eyes, wished him there. that they might once again see that leader at the head of them. whose courage and bravery in the worst of dangers they well remembered, calling to mind not only with what an undaunted spirit he always behaved himself, but also with what courage and confidence he inspired them when he led them against the enemy. They immediately, therefore, despatched Archonides and Telesides of the confederate troops and of the horsemen. Hellanicus and four others. These, traversing the road between at their horses' full speed, reached the town of the Leontines in the evening. The first thing they did was to leap from their horses and fall at Dion's feet, relating with tears the sad condition the Syracusages were in. Many of the Leantines and Peloponnesians began to throng about them, guessing by their speed and the

manner of their address that something extraordinary had occurred

Dion at once led the way to the assembly, and the prople being gathered together in a very bitle time, Archonides and Hellanious and the others came in among them, and in short declared the misery and distress of the Syracusans, begging the foreign soldiers to forget the injuries they had received, and assist the afflicted, who had suffered more for the wrong they had done than they themselves who received at would thad it been in their power) have inflicted upon them. When they had made an end, there was a profound silence in the theatre; Dion then stood up, and began to speak, but tears stopped his words, his soldiers were troubled at his grief, but bade him take good courage and proceed When he had recovered hunself a little. therefore, "Men of Peloponnesus," he said, " and of the confederacy, I asked for your presence bere, that you might consider your own interests For myself. I have no interests to consult while Syracuse is perishing, and though I may not save it from destruction, I will nevertheless hasten thather, and be buried in the ruins of my country Yet if you can find in your hearts to assist us, the most moonsiderate and unfortunate of men, you may to your eternal hopour seam retrieve this unhappy city But d the Syracusans can obtain no more oity nor relief from you, may the gods reward you for y hat you have formerly saliantly done for them, and for you a their to Dion, of whom speak hereafter as one who deserted you not when you were injured and abused, nor afterwards forsook his fellow-citizens in their afflictions and misfortunes

Before he had yet ended he speech, the soldiers leapt up, and with a great shoult statisfied their readness for the series, or me, so, so, so, to, no march ammediately to the rebet of the cuty. The Syracus messages bugged and endersheed them, parying the good to send down blesungs upon Dion and the Polycomenan all who of the cuty of the send down blesungs upon Dion and the Polycomenan all should go to their quarters to prepare for their race, and having refrisched themselves, came ready armed to their endeerous in the place where they now were, resolving that very night to attempt the reach.

Now at Syncuse, Doorsma's solders, as long as day contuned, ransacked the city, and dod all the masched they could, but when night came on, they retured into the castle, having lost some few of their number. At which the factious ringle-aders taking heart, and hoping the enterny would rest content with what they had done and make no further attempt upon them. persuaded the people again to reject Dion, and, if he came with the foreign soldiers, not to admit him; advising them not to yield, as inferior to them in point of honour and courage, but to save their city and defend their liberties and properties themselves. The populace, therefore, and their leaders, sent messengers to Dion to forbid him to advance, while the noble citizens and the horse sent others to him to desire him to hasten his march; for which reason he slacked his pace, yet did not remit his advance. And in the course of the night, the faction that was against him set a goard upon the gates of the city to hinder him from coming in. But Nypsius made another sally out of the castle with a far greater number of men, and those far more bold and enger than before, who quite ruined what of the rampart was left standing, and fell in, pell-mell, to sack and rayage the city. The slaughter was now very great, not only of the men, but of the women, also, and children; for they regarded not so much the plunder, as to destroy and kill all they met. For Dionysius, despairing to regain the kingdom, and mortally hating the Syracusans, resolved to bury his lost sovereignty in the ruin and desolation of Syracuse. The soldiers, therefore, to anticipate Dion's succours, resolved upon the most complete and ready way of destruction, to lay the city in ashes, firing all at hand with torches and lamps, and at distance with flaming arrows, shot from their bows. The citizens fled every way before them; they who, to avoid the fire, forsook their houses, were taken in the streets and put to the sword; they who betook themselves for refuga into the houses were forced out again by the flames, many buildings being now in a blaze, and many falling in ruins upon them as they fied past.

This fresh mislortune by general consent opened the gatas for Don. He had given up his rapid advance to the necessary were retreated into the catalle, but, in device that the consents were retreated into the catalle, but, in the morning, some house brought him the catalle, but, in the morning, some house brought him the sault, and, some of another assault, and, some fater, some off those who weeker opposed his coming fleed move to him, to entreat him become fleed in the morning. Herachies some his brother, ending the rate him his sunde, Theodotes, to the other him had after him his sunde. Theodotes, to the him he had had after him his sunde, Theodotes, to the him had after him his sunde, Theodotes, to the him had after him his sunde, Theodotes, to the his brother had not had a sunded, and the greatest part of the rate of the him had been declared to the capture, and charged them to behave themselders with the exegure, and exherted them to behave them-

solves like men, the samy no longer matched but ran forwards, and by the way were met by messengers upon messengers entertuing them to match them. By the wonderful engerness of the solders, and the extended ready seems to the control what is called the Hecatompelon, solding him to the solder than the scale of the Hecatompelon, and the solder that the control was to be darge the enemy, that, the Syracisan might take coverage. In the meanth, he drev up in gool order has fellamend men and all the citizens that came in and joned him, forming his battalons deep, and distributing his fifteers in many separate commands, that he night be able to struck from many quarters at once, and so be more alternate for the control of t

So, having made he arrangements and offered vows to the bod, when he was seen in the street advancing at the head of his men to engage the enemy, a confused noise of shorts, congratulations, owen, and prayers was frased by the Swemessan, whe now called Don their deliverer and tutelar desty, and he solders their frends, brethers, and fellow-entress And, indeed, at that moment, none scened to regard themselves, or while their addition, but to be concerned more for Don's life than for all their own together, as he marched at the head of them to meet the danger, through blood and fire and over heaps

of dead bodies that lay in his way

And indeed the posture of the enemy was in appearance terrible, for they were flushed and ferocious with victors, and had posted themselves very advantageously along the demolished works, which made the access to them very hazardous and difficult. Yet that which disturbed Dion's soldiers most was the apprehension they were in of the fire, which made their march very troublesome and difficult. for the houses being in flames on all sides, they were met everywhere with the blaze, and, treading upon burning rums and every minute in danger of being overwhelmed with falling houses, through clouds of ashes and smoke they laboured hard to keep their order and mairtain their ranks. When they came near to the enemy, the approach was so narrow and meyen that but few of them could engage at a time, but at length, with loud cheers and much zeal on the part of the Syracusans, encouraging them and join ing with them, they beat off Nypsius's men, and put them to flight. Most of them escaped mto the castle, which was near at hand all that could not get in were pursued and picked up here and there by the soldiers, and put to the sword The present exigency, bowever, did not suffer the citizens to take immediate benefit of their victory in such mutual congratulations and embraces as became so great a success; for now all were busily employed to save what houses were left standing, labouring hard all night, and searcely so could master the fire.

The next day, not one of the nonular haranquers durst stay in the city, but all of them, knowing their own guilt, by their flight confessed it, and secured their lives. Only Heraclides and Theodotes went voluntarily and surrendered themselves to Dion, acknowledging that they had wronged him, and begging he would be kinder to them than they had been just to him ; adding how much it would become him who was master of so many excellent accomplishments to moderate his anger and be generously compassionate to ungrateful men, who were here before him, making their confession that, in all the matter of their former enmity and rivalry against him they were now absolutely overcome by his virtue. Though they thus humbly addressed him, his friends advised him not to pardon these turbulent and ill-conditioned men, but to yield them to the desires of his soldiers, and utterly root out of the commonwealth the ambitious affectation of popularity, a disease as pestilent and pernicious as the passion for tyranny itself. Dion endeavoured to setisfy them, telling them that other generals exercised and trained themselves for the most part in the practices of war and arms; but that he had long studied in the Academy how to conquer anger, and not let emulation and cavy conquer him: that to do this it is not sufficient that a man be obliging and kind to his friends, and those that have deserved well of him, but, rather, gentle and ready to forgive in the case of those who do wrong; that he wished to let the world see that he valued not himself so much upon excelling Heraclides in ability and conduct, as he did in outdoing him in justice and elemency; herein to have the advantage is to excel indeed; whereas the bonour of success in war is never entire; fortune will be sure to dispute it, though no man should pretend to have a claim. What if Heractides be perfidious, malicions, and base, must Dion therefore sully or injure his virtue by passionate concern for it? For, though the laws determine it juster to revenge an injury than to do en injury, yet it is evident that both, in the nature of things, originally proceed from the same deficiency and weakness. The malicious humour of men, though perverse and refractory, is not so savage and invincible but it may be wrought upon by kindness and

altered by repeated obligations. Don, making use of these arguments, pardoned and dismissed Herachdes and Theodotes

And now, resolving to repair the blockade about the castle, he commanded all the Syracusans to cut each man a stake and bring it to the works, and then, dismissing them to refresh themselves and take their rest, he employed his own men all night, and by morning had finished his line of palisade, so that both the enemy and the citizens wondered, when day returned, to see the work so far advanced in so short a time. Burying, therefore, the dead, and redeeming the prisoners, who were near two thousand, he called a public assembly, where Herachides made a motion that Dion should be declared general, with full powers at land and sea. The better cauzens approved well of it, and called on the people to vote it so But the mob of sailors and handscraftsmen would not yield that Herschides should lose his command of the navy, believing him, if otherwise an ill man, at any rate to be more citizen like than Dion, and readier to comply with the people Dion therefore submitted to them in this, and consented Herachdes should continue admiral. But when they began to press the project of the redistribution of lands and houses, he not only opposed at, but repealed all the votes they had formerly made upon that account, which sensibly vexed them. Heraclides, therefore, took a new advanture of hum, and, being at Messene, harangued the soldiers and ships' crews that sailed with him, accusing Dion that he had a design to make tunself absolute And yet at the same time he held private correspondence for a treaty with Dionysius by means of Pharax the Spartan Which, when the poble otizens of Syracuse had intimation of, there arose a sedition in the army, and the city was in great dictives and want of provisions, and Dion now knew not what course to take, being also blamed by all his friends for having this fortified against himself such a perserse and realous and utterly corrupted man as Herachdes was Pharax at this time Ly encamped at Neapolis, in the territory of Agrigentum Dion, therefore, led out the Syracusans, but with an intent not to engage him till he saw a fit opportunity

with an intent not to engage him till he saw a fit opportunity but Herackies and has rearine reclaimed against him, that he had delayed fighting on purpose that he might the longer con time the command, so that, more legamen has well, he wis forced to an engagement and was beaten, his loss, however, being anconsiderable, and that corassioned chafty by the dissensor that was in the anny. He ralled his men, and, having put them in good order and encouraged them to redeem their credit,

resolved upon a second battle. But in the evening, he received advice that Heraclides with his fleet was on his way to Syramuse. with the purpose to possess himself of the city and keep him and his army out. Instantly, therefore, taking with him some of the strongest and most active of his men, he rode off in the dark, and about nine the next morning was at the gates, having ridden seven hundred furlongs that night. Heraelides, though he strove to make all the speed he could, yet, coming too late, tacked and stood out again to sen; and, being unresolved what course to steer, accidentally he met Gasylus the Spartan, who told him he was come from Lacedemon to head the Sicilians as Gylippus had formerly done. Hemclides was only too glad to get hold of him, and fastening him as it might be a sort of amulet to himself, he showed him to the confederates, and sent a herald to Syracuse to summon them to accept the Spartan general. Dion returned answer that they had generals enough. and, if they wanted a Spartan to command them, he could supply that office, being himself a citizen of Sparta. When Gresylus saw this, he gave up all protensions, and sailed in to Dion, and reconciled Heraclides to him, making Heraclides swear the most solemn caths to perform what he engaged, Gresyfus himself also undertaking to maintain Dion's right and inflict chastisement on Heraclides if he broke his faith. The Syracusans then laid up their navy, which was at present

a great charge and of little use to them, but an occasion of differences and dissensions among the generals, and pressed on the siege, finishing the wall of blockade with which they invested the castle. The besieged, seeing no hopes of succour and their provisions failing, began to mutiny; so that the son of Dionysius, in despair of holding out longer for his father, capitulated, and articled with Dion to deliver up the castle with all the garrison soldiers and ammunition: and so, taking his mother and sisters and manning five galleys, he set out to go to his father. Dion seeing him safely out, and scarce a man in all the city not being there to behold the sight, as indeed they called even on those that were not present, out of pity, that they could not be there, to see this happy day and the sun shining on a free Syracuse, And as this expulsion of Dionysius is even now always cited as one of the greatest and most remarkable examples of fortune's vicissitudes, how extraordinary may we imagine their joy to have been, and how entire their setisfaction, who had totally subverted the most potent tyranny that ever was by very slight and inconsiderable means!

When Apollocrates was gone, and D on coming to take possession of the castle, the women could not stay while he made his sort, that the most him at the gate. Aristonache led Dion's son, and Arete followed after weeping, fearful and dubious how to study or address her husband, after luving with another man. Don first embraced his sates, then his son, when Aristomache bringing Arete to him, "O Dion," and the, "your knownshment made us all equally museable, your resum and victory has cancilled all software, the source of the state of the same than the same previous sourcest, whem I, unhappy, was compelled to be another's while you were yet after Fortune has now green you the sole disposal of us, how will you determine concerning her hard fate? In what relation must she shalte you, as her under, or as her husband?" This speech of Aristomache's brought tears from Dion, who with great affection embraced his wife, gare her his son, and desired bett or tearler when he had delivered us the exists to the Synacusius.

For though all things had now succeeded to his wish, yet he desired not to enjoy any present advantage of his good fortune, except to gratify his friends, reward his allies, and bestow upon his companions of former time in Athens, and the soldiers that had served him, some special mark of kindness and honour. striving herein to outdo his very means in his generosity. As for himself, he was content with a very frugal and moderate competency, and was indeed the wonder of all men, that when not only Sicily and Carthage, but all Greece looked to him as in the height of prosperity, and no man living greater than he. no general more renowned for valour and success, yet in his guard, his attendance, his table, he seemed as if he rather commoned with Plate in the Academy than lived among hired captains and paid soldiers, whose solace of their toils and danners it is to est and drink their fill, and enjoy themselves plentifully every day Plato indeed wrote to him that the eyes of all the world were now upon him, but it is evident that he himself had fixed his eye upon one place in one city, the Academy, and considered that the spectators and judges there regarded not great actions, courage, or fortune, but watched to see how temperately and wasely he could use his prosperity, how evenly he could behave hunself in the high condition he now was in Neither did he remit anything of his wonted stateliness in conversation or serious charge to the people, he made it rather a point to maintain it, notwithstanding that a little condescension and obliging civility were very necessary for his present affairs; Dion 367

and Piato, as we said before, rebuked him, and wrote to tell him that self-will keeps house with solitude. But certainly his natural temperament was one that could not bend to complaisance; and, besides, he wished to work the Syracusans but the other way, out of their present excess of beness and caprice.

Heraclides began again to set un against him; and, being invited by Dion to make one of the Council, refused to come, saying he would give his opinion as a private citizen in the public assembly. Next he complained of Dion because he had not demolished the citadel, and because he had hindered the people from throwing down Dionysius's tomb and doing despite to the dead: moreover, he accused him for sending to Corinth for counsellors and assistants in the government, thereby neglecting and slighting his fellow-citizens. And indeed he had sent messages for some Corinthians to come to him, hoping by their means and presence the better to settle that constitution he intended: for he designed to suppress the unlimited democratic government, which indeed is not a government, but, as Plato calls it, a market-place of governments, and to introduce and establish a mixed polity, on the Spartzo and Cretan model, between a commonwealth and a monarchy, wherein an aristogratic body should preside, and determine all matters of greatest consequence; for he saw also that the Corinthians were chiefly governed by something like an oligarchy, and the people but little concerned in public business.

Now knowing that Hencildes would be his most considerable adversary, and that in all ways he was a turbulent, fidels, and factious man, he gave way to some whom formerly he hindered when they designed to Rill him, who, herealthy in, murterable in, murterable in the constraint of the citizens. Nevertheless, when Dion made him a splendid funcal, followed the death body with all his soldiers, and then addressed them, they understood that it would have been impossible to have been the city quick, as long as Dion and

Heraclides were competitors in the government.

Dion had a friend entled Callippus, an Athenian, who, Pittot says, first cade equalisation and afterwards obtained familiarity with him, not from any connection with his philosophic studies, and in the way of ordinary society. This man went with him all him military survice, and was in great honour and extern; being the first of his friends who marched by his side into Syrature, wentying a garland group his head, having behaved himself

very well in all the battles, and made himself remarkable for his gallantry He, finding that Dion's principal and most considerable friends were cut off in the war, Heraclides now dead, and the people without a leader, and that the soldiers had a great kindness for him, like a perfidious and wicked villain, in hopes to get the chief command of Sicily as his reward for the run of his friend and benefactor, and, as some say, being also bribed by the enemy with twenty talents to destroy Dion, invergled and engaged several of the soldiers in a conspiracy against him, taking this cunning and wicked occasion for his plot. He daily mformed Dion of what he heard or what he fermed the soldiers said against him, whereby he gained that credit and confidence, that he was allowed by Dion to consort privately with whom he would, and talk freely against him in say company, that he might discover who were his secret and factious maligners By this means, Callippus in a short time got together a cabal of all the seditious malcontents in the city, and if any one who would be drawn in advised Dion that he was tampered with, he was not troubled or concerned at it. believing Callippus did it in compliance with his directions

While this civipines was alone, a strange and dreadful apparation was need by Dion. As he ast one eventing in a gausery in as house, afone and thoughtful, fearing a sadder muss be turned about, and saw as the end of the coloniande, by clear daylight, a till woman, in her countenance and gath like one of the tragonal Funes, with a frow in her hand, tweeping the floor. Being amared and extremely affreyhed, he sent for some of his friends, and tool them what he had sever, entreasing them to stay with him and keep him company all might, for he asset excessively discomposed and alarmed, fearing that if he were left alone the spectre would again appear to him. He saw is no more. But a few days alter, he soil; son, heim; almost grown op to mun's extact, upon some displeasure and per hed taken upon a childian and friendsus cozanos, there's himself that there were a childian and friendsus cozanos, there's himself had taken upon a childian and friendsus cozanos, there's himself

headlong from the top of the house and broke his neck.

While Don was under the soliton, Calleppes drove on he companey, and spread a rumour among the Symensens that Don, being now childless, was read-set to need for Donymaks on, Apollocrates, who was he wide neglew and satief agrades on, and make him his heir and successor. By this time, Don and hus wite and ester began to suspect what was dong, and from all hands information cume to them of the plot. Done being troubled, it is probable, for Heraddies's murder, which

was like to be a blot and stain upon his life and actions, in continual weariness and vexation, he had rather die a thousand times, and open his breast himself to the assassin, than live not only in fear of his enemies but suspicion of his friends. But Callippus, seeing the women very inquisitive to search to the bottom of the business, took alarm, and came to them, utterly denying it with tears in his eyes, and offering to give them whatever assurances of his fidelity they desired. They required that he should take the Great Oath, which was after this manner. The jurgr went into the sanctuary of Ceres and Proserpine, where, after the performance of some ceremonies, he was clad in the purple vestment of the goddess, and, holding a lighted torch in his hand, took his oath. Callippus did as they required, and forswore the fact. And indeed he so little valued the goddesses that he stayed but till the very festival of Proserpine, by whom he had sworn, and on that very day committed his intended murder; as truly he might well enough disregard the day, since he must at any other time as impiously offend her, when he who had acted as her initiating priest should shed the blood of her worshipper.

There were a great many in the conspiracy; and as Dion was at home with several of his friends in a room with tables for entertainment in it, some of the conspirators beset the house around, others secured the doors and windows. The actual intended murderers were some Zacynthians, who went inside in their under-drosses without swords. Those outside shut the doors upon them and kept them fast. The murderers fell on Dion, endeavouring to stiffe and crush him; then, finding they were doing nothing, they called for a sword, but none durst open the door. There were a great many within with Dion, but every one was for securing himself, supposing that by letting him lose his life he should save his own, and therefore no man ventured to assist him. When they had waited a good while, at length Lycon the Syracusan reached a short sword in at the window to one of the Zacynthians, and thus, like a victim at a sacrifice, this long time in their power and trembling for the blow, they killed him. His sister, and wife big with child, they burried to prison. who, poor lady, in her unfortunate condition was there brought to bed of a son, which, by the consent of the keepers, they intended to bring up, the rather because Callipous began already to be embroiled in troubles.

After the murder of Dion, he was in great glory, and had the sole government of Syracuse in his hands; and to that effect

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wrote to Athens, a place which, next the mimortal gods, being unity of such an abominable crime, he ought to have regarded with shame and fear But true it is, what is said of that city, that the good men the breeds are the most excellent, and the had the most notonous, as their country also produces the most delicious honey and the most deadly bemlock Callippus, however, did not long continue to scandalise fortune and unbraid the gods with his prosperity, as though they connived at and bore with the wretched man, while he purchased riches and power by herrous impacties, but quickly received the punishment he deserved For, going to take Catana, he lost Syracuse, whereupon they report he said, he had lost a city and got a bauble Then attempting Messene, he had most of his men cut off, and, among the rest, Dion's murderers When no city in Sicily would admit him, but all hated and abhorred him, he went into Italy and took Rhegium, and there, being in distress and not able to maintain his soldiers, he was killed by Leptines and Polysperchon, and, as fortune would have it, with the same sword by which Dion was murdered which was known by the size, being but short, as the Spartan swords, and the workmanship of it very curious and artificial Thus Callippus received the reward of his villatines

When Ansternable and Arete were released out of prunon. Recests, one of Dion's formity, took, them to be abusing, and semed to intend to emercian them well and like a fashfulf frend ship and pretended to send them into Peloponacus, but commanded the sainty sheep from out to rea, to kill them and thave them overheard. Others say that they is kill them and thave them overheard. Others say that they are the little boy were thrown allow title do not to read and the little boy were through the title boy the say that they are the little boy were through the title boy the say that the receipt in the little boy and put to death, and the Synastoms, to revenge Doon, slew his two diaghters of all whalf of the given in more particular account in the life of Tomoloco.

MARCUS BRUTUS

Marcus Brutus was descended from that Iunius Brutus to whom the ancient Romans creeted a statue of brass in the capitol among the images of their kings with a drawn sword in his hand, in remembrance of his courage and resolution in expalling the Tarquins and destroying the monarchy. But that ancient Brutus was of a severe and inflexible nature, like steel of too hard a temper, and having never had his character softened by study and thought, he let himself be so far transported with his rage and hatred against tyrants that, for conspiring with them, he proceeded to the execution even of his own sons. But this Brutus, whose life we now write, having to the goodness of his disposition added the improvements of learning and the study of philosophy, and having stirred up his natural parts, of themselves grave and gentle, by applying himself to business and public affairs, seems to have been of a temper exactly framed for virtue; insomuch that they who were most his enemies upon account of his conspiracy against Casar, if in that whole affair there was any honourable or generous part, referred it wholly to Brutus, and laid whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of Cassius, Brutus's connection and familiar friend, but not his equal in honesty and pureness of purpose. His mother, Servilia, was of the family of Servilius Ahala, who when Spurius Mailius worked the people into a rebellion and designed to make himself king, taking a dagger under his arm, went forth into the marketplace, and upon pretence of having some private business with him, came up close to him, and, as he bent his head to hear what be had to say, struck bim with his dagger and slew him. And thus much, as concerns his descent by the mother's side, is confessed by all; but as for his father's family, they who for Caesar's nurder bore any hatred or ill-will to Brutus say that he came not from that Brutus who expelled the Tarquins, there being none of his race left after the execution of his two sons; but that his ancestor was a piebcian, son of one Bratus, a steward, and only tose in the latest times to office or dignity in the commonwealth. But Posidonius the philosopher writes that it is true indeed what the history relates, that two of the sons of Brutus who were of men's estate were put to death, but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to Marcus Brutus; and further, that there were several famous perso s of this house in his time whose looks very much resembled the statue of Junius Bratus - But of this subject enough

Cato the philosopher was brother to Servilus the mother of Brutus and he it was whom of all the Romans his nephew most admired and studied to imitate and he afterwards married his daughter Porcia. Of all the sects of the Greek philosophers thou, h there was none of which be had not been a hearer and in which he had not made some proficiency yet he chiefly esteemed the Platonists and not much approving of the modern and middle Academy as it is called he applied himself to the study of the ancient. He was all his lifetime a great admirer of Antiochus of the c tv of Ascalon and took his brother Aristis mto his own house for his friend and companion a man for his learning inferior indeed to many of the philosophers but for the evenness of his temper and steadiness of his conduct equal to the best As for Empylus of whom he himself and his friends often make mention in their epistles as one that lived with Brutus he was a thetorician and has left behind him a short but well written history of the death of Casar entitled Brutus

In Laim he had by exercise attained a sufficient shill to be able to make public eddresses and to plead a cause but offered he must be noted for affecting the santentous but in Lacone way of speaking in sundry passa, so d his spinites as when in the beginning of the way he wrote that to the Perga memans. I have you have given Delabella money if will mead any miss are presented as the production of the sundranger of the sun

melar you must own you have signed me if unwillingly show t by giving willingly to me. Ard another time to the Samans

Your counted ""s remus and your performances above what thank ye will! mel? And of the Patersan thus. The Xanthane surpe-trg, my Jandness have made their country the gar of the 'depure the Patersans' tracking themselves to rac empy all points their former liberty. It my your power to choose the judgment of the Patersan's or the fortune of the Nanthams. And thus so the style for with those of has letters are to be noted.

When he was but a very young man he accompanied he under Cato to Cyprus when he was sent their against Podemy. B t when Pedemy killed house! Cato being by some necessary has reas detained in the side of Rhodes had already a time of his frends named Candus to take suto has one and keeping the treaster of the king but presently not feel in your of his housety he wrote to Brutus to sail momedately for Cyprus out of Pamplylus where he then was staying to refresh himself,

bring but just recovered of a fit of sideness. He obeyed his orders, but with a prest deal of murillingness, swell out of respect to Cardidus, who was thrown out of this employment by Cato with so canch disgrace, as also because he estemed such a commission mean and uncatable to him, who was in the prime of his youth, and given to books and study. Nevertheless, applying himself to the bestness, he behaved himself so well in that he was highly commended by Cato, and having turned all the goods of Ptolemy into ready money, he sailed with the greatest part of it in his own high to Reme.

But upon the general separation into two factions, when, Pompey and Cazar taking up arms against one another, the whole empire was turned into confusion, it was commonly believed that he would take Casar's side; for his father in past time had been put to death by Pompey. But he, thinking it his duty to prefer the interest of the public to his own private feelings, and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, took part with him; though formerly he used not so much as to salute or take any notice of Pompey, if he happened to meet him, esteeming it a pollution to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father. But now, looking noon him as the general of his country, be placed himself under his command, and set sail for Cilicia in quality of lieutenant to Sestius, who had the government of that province. But finding no opportunity there of doing any great service, and hearing that Pompey and Casar were now near one another and preparing for the battle upon which all depended, he came of his own accord to Macedonia to partake in the danger. At his coming it is said that Pompey was so surprised and so pleased that, rising from his chair in the sight of all who were about him, he saluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefest of his party. All the time that he was in the camp, excepting that which he spent in Pompey's company, he employed in reading and in study, which he did not neglect even the day before the great battle. It was the middle of summer, and the heat was very great, the camp having been pitched near some marshy ground, and the people that carried Brutus's tent were a long while before they came. Yet though upon these accounts he was extremely barassed and out of order, having scarcely by the middle of the day anointed himself and exten a sparing meal, whilst most others were either laid to sleep or taken up with the thoughts and apprehensions of what would be the issue of the fight, he spent his time until the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

It is said that Casar had so great a regard for him that he ordered his commanders by no means to kill Brutus in the batile, but to spare him, if possible, and bring him safe to him, if he would willingly surrender himself, but if he made any resistance, to suffer him to escape rather than do him any violence. And this he is believed to have done out of a tenderness to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, for Caesar had, it seems, in his youth been very intimate with ber, and she passionately in love with him, and, considering that Brutus was born about that time in which their loves were at the highest, Crear had a belief that he was his own child The story is told that, when the great question of the conspiracy of Catiline, which had like to have been the destruction of the commonwealth, was debated m the senate, Cato and Cresar were both standing up, contending together on the decision to be come to, at which time a little note was delivered to Casar from without, which he took and read silently to himself. Upon this, Cato cried out aloud, and accused Casar of holding correspondence with and receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth, and when many other senators exclaimed against it. Casar delivered the note as he had received it to Cato, who reading it found it to be a loveletter from his own sister Servilia, and threw it back seam to Cesar with the words, "Keep st, you drunkard," and returned to the subject of the debate. So public and notonous was Servila's love to Cosar

After the great overthrow at Pharsula, Pompey himself having made his escape to the sea, and Casar's army storming the camp, Brutus stole privately out by one of the gates leading to marshy ground full of water and covered with reeds, and, traveling through the night, got safe to Lanssa. From Lanssa he wrote to Casar who expressed a great deal of joy to bear that he was safe, and, building him come, rot onl, forgave him freely, but honoured and esteemed him among his chiefest friends. Now when nobody could give any certain account which way Pompey had fied, Casar took a little journey along with Brutus, and tried what was his opinion herein, and after some discussion which passed between them, believing that Brutus's conjecture was the right one, laying aside all other thoughts, he set out duectly to pursue him towards Egypt. But Pomper, having reached Egypt, as Brutus guessed his design was to do, there met his fate

Brutus in the meantime gained Cassar's forgiveness for his friend Cassais, and pleading also in defence of the king of the Lybians, though he was overwhelmed with the greatness of the crimes alleged against him, yet by his entreaties and deprecations to Casar in his behalf, he preserved to him a great part of his kingdom. It is reported that Casar, when he first heard Brutus speak in public, said to his friends, "I know not what this young men intends, but, whatever he intends, he intends vehemently." For his natural firmness of mind, not easily yielding, or complying in favour of every one that entreated his kindness, once set into action upon motives of right reason and deliberate moral choice, whatever direction it thus took, it was pretty sure to take effectively, and to work in such a way as not to fail in its object. No flattery could ever prevail with him to listen to unjust petitions: and he held that to be overcome by the importunities of shameless and fawning entrenties. though some compliment it with the name of modesty and bashfulness, was the worst disgrace a great man could suffer. And he used to say that he always felt as if they who could deny nothing could not have behaved well in the flower of their youth.

Casar, being about to make his expedition into Africa against Cato and Scipio, committed to Brittut the government of Casi-pine Gaul, to the great happines and advantage of that province. For while people in other provinces were in distance and varieties of the growtness, and suffered as much violance and nextree of their governers, and suffered as much fortuna, by he sessy government, actually made them annote for their calamities under Jomer nitro, detecting nonrover all other gratitude for his good dends to Crasar himself; incommit that it was a most welcome and pleasant appearance to Crasar when his return he passed through fully use the cities that we under Brittan's command, and Brittus himself increasing his homour and joining agreeably in his progress,

recessing our nonzerous purposes and provided in the first state of the chiefest dignity, which is called the pretenting better that that of the chiefest dignity, which is called the pretenting of the city, would be conferred either upon Brutus or Cassius; and some say that, there having been some little conference upon former accounts between them, this competition set them much more at variance, though they were connected in their families, Carsius having natured Junia, the either of Brutus. Others say that the contention was raised between them, this called the contention was raised between them, this desire of them by Cassar's doing, who had privately given each of them such hopes of the favour as hed them on, and provoked them at such hopes of the favour as hed them on, and provoked them at least into this open competition and trial of their interests. Brutus had only the reputation of his benoon and virtue to oppose to

the many and gallant actions performed by Cassius against the Parthians But Casar, having heard each side, and deliberating about the matter among his friends, said, "Cassius has the stronger plea, but we must let Brutus be first prætor" So another pratorship was given to Cassius, the gaining of which could not so much oblige him, as he was incensed for the loss of the other And in all other things Brutus was partaker of Casar's power as much as he desired for he might, if he had pleased, have been the chief of all his friends, and had authority and command beyond them all, but Cassus and the company he met with him drew him off from Cresar Indeed, he was not yet wholly reconciled to Cassais, since that competition which was between them but yet he gave ear to Cassius's friends. who were perpetually advising him not to be so blind as to suffer hunsell to be softened and won over by Casar, but to shun the kindness and favours of a tyrant, which they intimated that Crear showed him, not to express any honour to his merit or virtue, but to unbend his strength, and undermine his vigour of numose

heither was Casar wholly without suspicion of him, nor wanted informers that accused Brutus to him, but he feared, indeed, the high spirit and the great character and the friends that he had, but thought himself secure in his moral disposition When it was told him that Antony and Dolabella designed some disturbance, "It is not," said he, "the fat and the long haired men that I fear, but the pale and the fean," meaning Britis and Cassius And when some maligned Brutus to him, and advised him to beware of him, taking hold of his flesh with his hand, "What," he said, "do you think that Brutus will not wait out the time of this little body?" as if he thought none so fit to succeed him in his power as Brutus And indeed it seems to be without doubt that Brutus might have been the first man in the commonwealth, if he had had patience but a little time to be second to Casar, and would have suffered his power to decline after it was come to its highest pitch, and the fame of his great actions to die away by degrees But Cassius, a man of a fierce disposition, and one that out of private malice, rather than love of the public, hated Casar, not the tyrant, continually fired and started him up Brutus felt the rule an oppression, but Cassius hated the ruler, and, among other reasons on which he grounded his quarrel against Czsar, the loss of his lions which he had procured when he was addle elect was one, for Casar, finding these in Megara, when that city was taken by Calenus, seized them to himself. These beasts, they say, were a gozat colamity to the Megarians, for, when their city was just taken, they broke open the lions' dars, and pulled off their chains; and let them loose that they might run upon the enemy that was entering the dry; but the lions turned upon them themselves, and done to pleces a great many unarmed persons running about, so that it was a miterable spectracle even to their enemies to behold.

And this, some say, was the shiel provocation that stirred po Cassius to complex against Sears; but they are much in the wrong. For Cassias had from his youth a natural harred and randour against the whole race of typerating, which he should when he was but a boy, and went to the same school with Faustrus, the son of Sydas; for, on his hoasting himstell amount to hoay, and excluding the soweriety nower of his falter, Cassius row up and struck him two or three boxes on the ear; which when the guardinas and relations of Faustrus designed to inquire into and to prosecute, Pompey forbade them, and, sending for both the boys tagether, examined the matter himself. And Cassius is then reported to have said thus, "Come, then, Passuris, dare to speak here those words that provided me, that I may strike you again as I did before." Such was the dissociation of Cassius.

But Bruiss was reused up and pushed on to the undertaking by many persuations of his familiar friends, and letters and invitations from unknown citizens. For under the status of his ancestor Bruts, that overthere the kingly powerment, they wrote the words, "O that we had a Bruiss sow!" and, "O that Bruis were alive!" And Bruiss's own ribunal, on which he sat as prator, was filled each morning with writings such as these: "Vou are alore, Bruiss," and, "You are not a true Bruiss." Now the flatters of Crear were the coastion of all this, who, among other invitions knowns which they strove to fasten upon Creas, recovered his status by night with disdens, whiling to nother the people to saint his hing instead of dictator. But quite the contrary come to pass, no I have more particularly related in the life of Casay.

When Cassins went about soliciting friends to engage in this design against Casar, all whom he tried readily consented, if Bratus would be head of it; for their opinion was that the enterprise wanted not based or resolution, but the reputation and authority of a man such as be wax, to give as it were the first religious sanction, and by his presence, if by nothing else, to justify the undertaking; that without him they should go about this action with less heart, and should be under greater suspicions when they had dorest, for if their cause had been just and honourable, people would be sure that Brutus would not have refused it Cassius, having considered these things with himself. went to Brutus and made him the first visit after their falling out, and after the complements of reconciliation had passed. and former kindnesses were renewed between them, he asked him if he designed to be present on the calends of March, for it was discoursed, he said, that Casar's friends intended then to move that he might be made king When Brutus answered. that he would not be there, "But what," says Cassus, "if they should send for us?" "It will be my business, then," replied Brutus, "not tu hold my peace, but to stand up boldly, and die for the liberty of my country" To which Cassius with some emotion answered, "But what Roman will suffer you to die? What, do you not know yourself, Brutus? Or do you think that those writings that you find upon your prator's sent were but there by weavers and shopkeepers, and not by the first and most powerful men of Rome? From other prictors, indeed, they expect largesses and shows and gladuators, but from you they claim, as an hereditary debt, the extirpation of tyranny; there are all ready to suffer anything on your account, if you will but show yourself such as they think you are and expect you should be." Which said, he fell upon Brutus, and embraced him, and after this, they parted each to try their several friends

Britten, if you are on any design worthy of yourself, I am well "
From that time they true the inclinations of all their nequations
from that time they dust trust, and communicated the secret to
them, and took into the design not only their familiar friends,
but as many as they believed beld and have and despisers of
death. For which reason they conceiled the plot from Cicero,
though he was very much trusted and as well belowed by them
all, lest, to his own disposition, which was naturally trunched
adding now the waranests and caturon of dd age, by his working,
stding now the waranests and caturon of dd age, by his working,

as he would do, every particular, that he might not make one step without the greatest security, he should blunt the edge of their forwardness and resolution in a business which required all the despatch imaginable. As indeed there were also two others that were companions of Brutus. Statilius the Enjourean and Favonius the admirer of Cato, whom he left out for this reason: as he was conversing one day with them, trying them at a distance, and proposing some such question to be disputed of as among philosophers, to see what opinion they were of, Favonins declared his judgment to be that a civil war was worse than the most illegal monarchy; and Statilius held, that to bring himself into troubles and danger upon the account of avil or foolish men did not become a man that had any wisdom or discretion. But Labeo, who was present, contradicted them both; and Brutus, as if it had been an intricate dispute, and difficult to be decided, held his peace for that time, but afterwards discovered the whole design to Labeo, who readily undertook it. The next thing that was thought convenient was to gain the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus, a man of himself of no great brayery or courage, but considerable for the number of gladiators that he was maintaining for a public show, and the great confidence that Casar put in him. When Cassius and Laber spoke with him concerning the matter, he gave them no answer: but, secking an interview with Brutus himself alone, and finding that he was their captain, he readily consented to partake in the action. And among the others, also, the most and best were gained by the name of Brutus. And, though they neither gave nor took any oath of secrecy, nor used any other sacred rice to assure their fidelity to each other, yet all kept their design so close, were so wary, and held it so silently among themselves that, though by prophecies and apparitions and signs in the sacrifices the gods gave warning of it, yet could it not be believed.

Now Biruts, feeling that the nobbut spirits of Rome for virtue, hirth, no coursage were depending upon him, and surveying with himself all the circumstances of the dangers they were to economic, strewn indeed, as much as possible, when alroad, to keep his uneasiness of mind to himself, and to compose his unbengits; but at home, and expendity at night, he was not the same man, but sometimes against his will his working care would make him start out of his sleep, and other times he was taken up with further reflection and consideration of his difficulties, but that his wife that hay with him could not choose but

tale notice that he was full of unusual trouble, and had in agitation some dangerous and perplexing question. Porcia, as was said before, was the daughter of Cato, and Brutus, her cousm german, had married her very young, though not a maid, but after the death of her former husband, by whom she had one son, that was named Bibulus, and there is a little book, called Memoirs of Brutus, written by him, yet extant. This Porcia, being addicted to philosophy, a great lover of her husband, and full of an understanding courage, resolved not to inquire into Erutus's secrets before she had made this trial of herself She turned all her attendants out of her chamber, and taking a little knife, such as they use to cut nails with, she gave herself a deep gash in the thigh, upon which followed a great flow of blood, and soon after, violent pains and a shrvering fever, occasioned by the wound Now when Brutus was extremely anxious and afflicted for her, she, in the height of all her pain, spoke thus to him "I, Brutus, being the daughter of Cato, was given to you in marriage, not like a concubine, to partake only in the common intercourse of bed and board, but to bear a part in all your good and all your evil fortunes, and for your part, as regards your care for me, I find no reason to complain, but from me, what evidence of my love, what satisfaction can you receive, if I may not share with you in bearing your hidden griefs, nor to be admitted to any of your counsels that require secrecy and trust? I know very well that women seem to be of too weak a nature to be trusted with secrets. but certainly. Brutus, a virtuous birth and education, and the comcany of the good and honourable, are of some force to the forming our manners: and I can boast that I am the daughter of Cato. and the wife of Brutus, in which two titles though before I put less confidence, yet now I have tried myself, and find that I can bid defiance to pain" Which words having spoken, she showed bun her wound, and related to him the trial that she had made of her constancy, at which he being astonished, lifted up his bands to heaven, and begged the assistance of the gods in his enterprise, that he might show himself a husband

worthy of such a wife as Porria. So then he comforted his wife But a merting of the senate being appointed, at which it was beheved that Cesar would be present, they agreed to make use of that opportunity, for then they might appear all together withost suspenson, and, besides, they hoped that all the noblest and leading men of the commarwealth, being then assembled, as soon as the great deed was done, would immediately stand as soon as the great deed was done, would immediately stand forward and assert the common liberty. The very place too where the senate was to meet seemed to be by divine appointment favourable to their purpose. It was a portion one of those joining the theatre, with a large recess, in which there stood a statue of Pompey, creeted to limb by the commonwable, when he adonned that part of the city with the portions and the heater. To this place it was that the senate was summoned for the middle of March (the Ides of March is the Roman name for the day); as if some more than buman power were leading the man thirter, there to meet his pusishment for the death of Pompey.

As soon as it was day, Brutus, taking with him a dagger, which none but his wife knew of, went out. The rest met together at Cassius's house, and brought forth his son that was that day to put on the manly gown, as it is called, into the forum; and from thence, going all to Pompey's porch. stayed there, expecting Casar to come without delay to the senate. Here it was chiefly that any one who had known what they had purposed, would have admired the unconcerned temper and the steady resolution of these men in their most dangerous undertaking; for many of them, being prætors, and called upon by their office to judge and determine causes, did not only hear calmly all that made application to them and pleaded sociest each other before them, as if they were free from all other thoughts, but decided causes with as much accuracy and judgment as they had heard them with attention and patience. And when one person refused to stand to the award of Brutus, and with great clamour and many attestations appealed to Casar, Brutus, looking round about him upon those that were present, said, "Casar does not binder me. nor will he hinder me, from doing according to the laws."

Yet there are many mousaid accidents that disturbed them and by more chance were therein in their way. The first and chiefest was the lung stay of Cessar, though the day was spean, and he being decained at home by his wide, and forbidde by the socialization and he being decained at home by his wide, and forbidde by the socialization and the being decained at the sacrific Another was this: There cause a man up to Cates, one of the company, and, taking him by the hand, "You conselled" seif he, "the secret from up, but Brutts has told me all." At which words when Cauch was scapized, the other said all, which words when Cauch was scapized, the other said allaging, "How came you to be so nich of a saddlen, that you should stand to be chosen acidle?" So near was Cauch to be should stand to be chosen acidle?" So near was Cauch to be such as the contraction of the secret three secretaries.

sion. Then Popilius Lengs, a scrator, having saluted Brutus and Cassius more earnestly than usual, whispered them softly in the ear, and said, "My wishes are with you, that you may accomplish what you design, and I advise you to make no delay. for the thing is now no secret." This said, he departed, and left them in great suspicion that the design had taken wind. In the meanwhile, there came one in haste from Brutus's house and brought him news that his wife was dwing. For Porcia. being extremely disturbed with expectation of the event, and not able to bear the greatness of her anxiety, could scarce keep herself within doors, and at every little noise or voice she heard. starting up suddenly, like those possessed with the bucchie frenzy, she asked every one that came in from the forum what Brutus was doing, and sent one messenger after another to moure At last, after long expertation and waiting, the strength of her constitution could hold out no longer, her mind was overcome with her doubts and fears, and she lost the control of herself, and began to faint away She had not time to betake herself to her chamber, but, situng as she was amoriest her women, a sadden swoon and a great stupor sexed her, and her colour changed, and her speech was quite lost. At this sight her women made a kud cry, and many of the neighbours runming to Brutus's door to know what was the matter, the report was soon spread abroad that Porcia was dead. though with her women's help she recovered in a little walle, and came to here-li acain. When Brutus seceived this news, he was extremely troubled, not without reason, yet was not so carried away by his private grief as to out his public purpose

For new news was brought that Casiar was coming, carried in a latter. Fer, being descurated by the ille-ernes that attended his assentice, he had determined to undertake no affairs of any goat superance that day, but to defer them till another time, excuring himself that he was set. As soon as he came out of his stife, Popilius Leans, he who be it a little before had withed British good success in his undertaking, coming up to him, conrently a great while with hore, Casar tranding still all the white, would be superanced by the companions to the comtended to the still be superanced to the companions of the companions of the comlete the discovery of their treason, were again disheartment, and, looking upon one amother, agreed from each other's counterances that they should not stay to be taken, but should all fall therestives. And more when Casara and some other were laysion Then Popilius Lanas, a senator, having saluted Brutus and Cassus more carnestly than usual, whispered them softly in the ear, and said, "My wishes are with you, that you may accomplish what you design, and I advise you to make no delay. for the thing is now no secret." This said, he departed, and left them in great suspicion that the design had taken wind In the meanwhile, there came one in haste from Brutus's bouse and brought him news that his wife was dying For Porcia. being extremely disturbed with expectation of the event, and not able to bear the greatness of her anxiety, could scarce keen herself within doors, and at every little noise or voice the heard. starting up suddenly, like thos- possessed with the bacchic frenzy, she asked every one that came in from the forum what Brutus was doing, and sent one messenger after another to moure At last, after long expectation and waiting, the strength of her constitution could hold out no longer, her mind was overcome with her doubts and fears, and she lost the control of herself, and began to faint away She had not time to betale herself to her charaber, but, sitting as she was amongst her women, a sudden swoon and a great stupor setzed her, and her colour changed, and her speech was quete lost. At this sight her women made a loud cro, and many of the neighbours running to Brutus's door to know what was the matter, the report was soon spread abroad that Porcia was dead, though with her women's help she recovered m a little while, and came to herself again. When Brutus received the news, he was extremely troubled, not without reason, vet was not so carried away by his private grief as to quit his public purpose

For now news was brought that Casar was coming, carried in a latter. For, being descouraged by the ill-enters that attached his searche, he had determined to indertake no affairs of any great insportance that day, but to defer them till another time, occursed hancel data the was set. As born as he teams out of his latter, Popilias Lanes, he who but a lattle before had wished histor, Popilias Lanes, he who but a lattle before had wished histor, Fopilias Lanes, he who the ta lattle before had wished history, but he will have, Casar Mandang still all the while, and seeming to be very stream. The consparators (to give him this name), not being able to best what he said, but question and history of the travenous of that this conference was the discovery of these travenous of that this conference was the discovery of these travenous of the time to conference who they are such that they should not stay to be taken, but should all kill the markets.

ing hands upon their daggers under their voles, and were drawing them out, Brutus, viewing narrowly the looks and gesture of Lanas, and faciling that he was camestly petitioning and not accusing, said nothing, because there were many strangers to the conspiring mingled amongst them, but by a cherful comtenance encouraged Cassius. And after a little while, Lenas, having kissed Cesar's hand, went wave, showing planly that all his discourse was about some particular business relating to hisself.

Now when the senate was some in before to the chamber where they were to sit, the rest of the company placed themselves close about Casar's chair, as if they had some suit to make to him, and Cassius, turning his face to Pompey's statue, is said to have invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius, in the meanwhile, engaged Antony's attention at the door, and kept him in talk outside. When Casar entered, the whole senate rose up to him. As soon as he was sat down, the men all crowded round about him, and set Tillius Cimher, one of their own number, to intercede in behalf of his brother that was banished: they all joined their prayers with his, and took Casar by the hand, and kissed his head and his breast. But he putting aside at first their supplications, and afterwards, when he saw they would not desixt, violently rising up. Tillius with both hands caught hold of his robe and pulled it off from his shoulders, and Casca, that stood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the first, but a slight wound, about the shoulder. Cosar snatching hold of the handle of the dagger, and crying out aloud in Latin, "Villain Casca, what do you?" he, calling in Greek to his brother, bade him come and help. And by this time, finding himself struck by a great many hands, and looking around about him to see if he could force his way out, when he saw Brutus with his dagger drawn against him, he let go Casca's hand, that he had hold of, and covering his head with his robe, pave up his body to their blows. And they so cagerly pressed towards the body, and so many daggers were backing together, that they cut one another: Brutus, particularly, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were besmeared with the blood.

and an of these were estimated with an another the midst, intended to have made a speech, and called back and encouraged the senators to stay; but they all afflighted ran away in great disorder, and there was a great confusion and press at the dow, though none pursued or followed. For they had come to are excress resolving to kill ignoring to kill ignoring to kill garbot beside Casar, but to call and

that they who were not partakers of the fact should share in the danger,

But the next day, the senate being assembled in the temple of the Earth, and Antony and Planers and Cicero having made orations recommending concord in general and an act of oblivion, it was decreed that the men should not only be put out of all fear or danger, but that the consuls should see what honours and dignities were proper to be conferred upon them, After which done, the senate broke up; and, Autony having sent his son as an hostage to the capital. Brutus and his company came down, and mutual solutes and invitations passed amongst them, the whole of them being pathered together. Autony invited and entertained Cassius, Lepidus did the same to Brutus, and the rest were invited and entertained by others, as each of them had acquaintance or friends. And as soon as it was day. the senate met scain, and voted thanks to Antony for having stilled the beginning of a civil war; afterwards Brutus and his associates that were present received encomiums, and had provinces assigned and distributed among them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and to the other Brutus Gaul about the Po.

After these things, they began to consider of Casar's will, and the ordering of his funeral. Antony desired that the will might be read, and that the body should not have a private or dishonourable interment, lest that should further exasperate the people. This Cassius violently opposed, but Brutus yielded to it, and gave leave; in which he seems to have a second time committed a fault. For as before in sparing the life of Antony he could not be without some blame from his party, as thereby serting up against the conspiracy a dangerous and difficult enemy, so now, in suffering him to have the ordering of the funeral, he fell into a total and irrevocable error. For first, it appearing by the will that Gesar had bequeathed to the Roman people seventy-five drachmas a man, and given to the public his gardens beyond Tiber (where now the temple of Fortune stands), the whole city was fired with a wonderful affection for him, and a nactionate sense of the loss of him. And when the body was brought forth into the forum, Antony, as the custom was, making a funeral oration in the praise of Casar, and finding the multitude moved with his speech, passing into the pathetic tone, unfolded the bloody surment of Casar, showed them in how many places it was pierced, and the number of his wounds. Now there was nothing to be seen but confusion, some cried out to kill the

murderers, others (as was formely done when Clodius led the people) for away the benche and tables out of the shops round about, and, haping them altogether, built a great funeral pale, and having put the body of Cleast upon 11, jest to mice, the spot where this was done being moreoned surrounded with a great on any temples ard other consecured places, so that they secured output the best of the strength of the

There was, however, a land of poet, me Cama, rest at all concerned in the guilt of the conjunties, but not the continuous one of Camas's fromten. This man decaused that he was invited to support by Catast, and that he decident log pole to that Carter control of the control of

This section chiefly, and the alteration that Antony had wrough, to afterned Botton with no party that for that rafety they retried from the one. The first ray they made was at Antama, it has design to return again as toon as the forty of the people had sprine itself and was absted, which they expected would from and easily owner to pass ma a unsettled multitude, as to be certed way with any sadden and imperious passion, especially, nater they had the senate favourisht to them, which, though it took no route of those that had to run Carna to speece, and appelended in order to pumishe the first had the same and the frems of the things that that all seasuffer the forces of the first had essaying the forces of the first of classified with Astrony, who they precived was setting up a tool of howards for humself, they longed for the return of britty, whose precited and hoped for at the

games and spectacles which he, as prector, was to exhibit to the public. But he, having intelligence that many of the old soldiers that had borne arms under Casar, by whom they had had lands and cities given them, lay in wait for them, and by small parties at a time had stolen into the city, would not venture to come himself; however, in his absence there were most magnificent and costly shows exhibited to the people; for, having brought up a great number of all sorts of wild beasts, be gave order that not any of them should be returned or saved, but that all should be spent freely at the public spectacles. He himself made a journey to Naples to procure a considerable number of players, and hearing of one Cauntius that was very much praised for his acting upon the stage, he wrote to his friends to use all their entreaties to bring him to Rome (for, being a Grecian, he could not be compelled); he wrote also to Ciccro, begging him by no means to omit being present at the shows.

This was the posture of affairs when another sudden alteration was made upon the young Casar's coming to Rome. He was son to the niece of Casar, who adopted him, and left him his heir by his will. At the time when Casar was killed, he was following his studies at Apollonia, where he was expecting also to meet Caser on his way to the expedition which he had determined on against the Parthians; but, hearing of his death, he immediately came to Rome, and to ingratiate himself with the people, taking upon himself the name of Casar, and punctually distributing among the citizens the money that was left them by the will, he soon got the better of Antony; and by money and largesses, which he liberally dispersed amongst the soldiers. be gathered together and brought over to his party a great number of those that had served under Casar. Cicero himself. out of the hatred which be bore to Antony, sided with young Cassar: which Brutus took so ill that he treated with him very sharply in his letters, telling him that he perceived Cicero could well enough endure a tyrant, but was afraid that he who hated him should be the man: that in writing and speaking so well of Cosar, he showed that his aim was to have an easy slavery.

"But our ferefathers," said Thrutus, "could not broke even gentle masters." Further he added, that for his own purt he nad not as yet fully resolved whether he should make war or peace; but that as to one point he was forced and settled, which was, never to be a slave; that he woodered Getco should fear the dangers of a civil war, and not he much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous pasce, that the very reward that was to be given him for subverting Antony's tyranny was the privilege of establishing Cassar as tyrant in his place. This is

the one of Brutush first letters to Occor.

The copy bugs por devided into two factions, some betaking the control of the cont

friends, repeated out of Homer the verses, where Andromache speaks to Hector — "But Hector, you To use are father and are mother too, he become, only forms, but hand true."

Brutus, smiling, replied, "But I must not answer Porcia, as Hector did Andromache —

"" hind you your bom and to your maids give law"

"Tor though the natural weakness of her body hunders her from doing what only the strength of men can perform, yet she has a mind as valuant and as active for the good of her country as the best of us" This narrative is in the numours of Bruitia

written by Bibulus, Porcus's son
Dirutus tooks hup from hence, and sailed to Athens, where he
was received by the people with great demonstrations of kind
ness, expressed in their acclamation and the honours that were
decreed him. He lived there with a private friend, and was a
contant audiot of Theomestre, the Ancidence, and Cratippus,
the Perspectual, with whom he so engaged in philosophical pursure that he seemed to have that and all all houghts of public
beamens, and to be wholly at lessure for study. But all this
while, being unsupercied, he was secretly making preparations.

for war; in order to which he sent Herrotratus into Macedonia to secure the commanders there to his side, and he himself von over and kept at his disposal all the young Romans that were then students at Atheus. Of this number was Clern's son, whom he everywhere highly exclos, and says that whether sleeping or waking he could not choose but admire a young man of so great a spirit and such a hater of tyramous.

At length he began to net openly, and to appear in public business, and, being informed that there were several Roman ships fall of treasure that in their course from Asia were to come have and that they were commanded by one of his friends, he went to meet him about Carystas. Finding him there, and baving pursuaded him to deliver up the ships, he made a more than usually splendid entertainment, for it happened also to he his birthoday. Now when they came to drink, and were filling their cup with hopes for victory to Brutus and liberty to Rome, Brutus, to animate them the more, called for a larger lowd, and holding it in his hand, on a sudden, upon no occasion or forethoustle, torounced about this verse—

" But fate my death and Leio's son have wrought."

And some writers add that in the last battle which he fought at Fhilippi, the word that he gave to like soldiers was Apollo, and from thence conclude that this sudden unaccountable exclamation of his was a presage of the overthrow that he suffered there.

Antistius, the commander of these ships, at his parting, gave him fifty thousand myriads of the money that he was conveying to Italy: and all the soldiers yet remaining of Pompey's army, who after their general's defeat wandered about Thessaly. readily and joyfully flocked together to join him. Besides this, he took from Cinna five hundred horse that he was carrying to Dolabella into Asia. After that, he sailed to Demetrias, and there seized a great quantity of arms that had been provided by the command of the deceased Casar for the Parthian war. and were now to be sent to Antony. Then Macedonia was put into his bands and delivered up by Hortensius the practor, and all the kines and potentates round about came and offered their services. So when news was brought that Caius, the brother of Antony, having passed over from Italy, was marching on directly to join the forces that Vatinius commanded in Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. Brutus resolved to anticipate him, and to seize them first, and in all haste moved forwards with those that he

had about him. His march was very difficult, through rugged places and in a great snow, but as with that he left those that were to bring has provisions for the morning media a great way behind. And now, being very next to Dyribachium, with fature and cold he fell must the distinger cand cold he fell must the distinger cand cold he fell must be distinger cand to the fell must be distinger and cold he fell must be distinger cand be hold men and cattle after much libour, and expectally in a great snow, whether it is caused by the natural heat when the body is seared with cold, being forced all marries, and consuming at one all the nounshment failed in whether the sharp and subtle vapour which comes from the more as it disolves cuts the body, as it were, and distroys the heat which savies through the porce, for the sweatings seem to arise from the heat meeting with the cold, and bring quenched by it on the surface of the body. But this I have in another nice discussed more at hire.

Brutus growing very faint, and there being pone in the whole army that had anything for him to eat, his servants were forced to have recourse to the enemy, and, come as far as to the gates of the city, begged bread of the sentinels that were upon duty. As soon as they heard of the condition of Brutus, they came themselves, and brought both meat and drink along with them. in return for which Brutus, when he took the city, showed the greatest kindness, not to them only, but to all the inhabitants. for their sakes Caus Antonius, in the meantime, coming to Apollonia, summoned all the soldiers that were near that city to join him there, but finding that they nevertheless went all to Brutus, and suspecting that even those of Apollonia were inclined to the same party, he quitted that city, and came to Buthrotum, having first lost three cohorts of his men, that in their march thither were cut to pieces by Britus After this, attempting to make himeli master of some strong places about Byllis which the enemy had first seized, he was overcome us a set battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus gave the command. and whose conduct he made use of often and with much success. Casus himself was surprised in a marshy place, at a distance from his support, and Brutus having him in his power would not suffer his soldiers to attack, but manoguving about the enemy with his horse, ga. e command that none of them should be killed, for that m a letle time they would all be of his side; which accordingly came to pass, for they surrendered both themselves and their general. So that Brutus had by this time a very great and considerable army He showed all marks of honour and estrem to Caus for a long time, and left him the use of the ensigns of his effice, though, as some report, he had several letters from Rome, and pattionalry from Catero, advising him to put him to death. But at last, perceiving that he began to corrupt his officers, and was trying to raise a nutrity amongst the soldiers, he put him aboard a stip and leep him close prisoner. In the meantime, the soldiers that had here corrupted by Caise retired to Apollonia, and sent word to Brotas, desting him to come to them thints. He asswered that this was not the easten of the Romans, but that it became that this was not the easten of the Romans, but that it became and heg forgiveness of told roffences; which they did, and accordingly received their period.

As he was preparing to pass into Asia, tidings reached him of the alteration that had happened at Rome; where the young Casar, assisted by the senate, in opposition to Antony, and having driven his competitor out of Italy, had begun himself to be very formidable, suing for the consulship contrary to law, and maintaining large bodies of troops of which the commonwealth had no manner of need. And then, perceiving that the sanate, dissatisfied with the proceedings, began to cast their eves abroad upon Bratus, and decreed and confirmed the government of several provinces to him, he had taken the alarm. Therefore despatching messengers to Antony, he desired that there might be a reconciliation, and a friendship between them, Then, drawing all his forces about the city, he made himself to be chosen consul, though he was but a boy, being scarce twenty years old, as he himself writes in his memoirs. At the first entry mon the consulship he immediately ordered a judicial process to be issued out against Brutus and his accomplices for having murdered a principal man of the city, holding the highest magistracies of Rome, without being heard or condemned; and annointed Lucius Comificus to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrinus to accuse Cassius. None appearing to the accusation. the judges were forced to pass sentence and condemn them both. It is reported that when the crier from the tribunal as the custom was, with a loud voice cried Brutus to appear, the people grouned audibly, and the noble citizens hung down their heads for grief. Publicus Silicius was seen to burst out into tears, which was the cause that not long after he was put down in the list of those that were prosexibed. After this, the three men, Casar, Antony, and Lepidus, being perfectly reconciled. shared the provinces among themselves, and made up the catalogue of proscription, wherein were set those that were designed for slaughter, amounting to two hundred men, in which number Cicero was slain

The news being brought to Brutus in Macedonia he was under a compulsion, and sent orders to Hortensius that he should kill Caus Antonius in revenue of the death of Cicero his friend. and Brutus his kinsman, who also was proscribed and slain Upon this account it was that Antony, having afterwards taken Hortensius in the battle of Philipps, slew him upon his brother's tomb But Brutus expresses himself as more ashamed for the cause of Cicero's death than grieved for the misfortune of it, and says he cannot help accusing his friends at Rome, that they were slaves more through their own doing than that of those who now were their tyrants, they could be present and see and yet suffer those things which even to hear related ought to them to have been insufferable

Having made his army, that was already very considerable, pass into Asia, he ordered a fleet to be prepared in Bithynia and about Cyzicus Eut going himself through the country by land, he made it his business to settle and confirm all the cities, and gave audience to the princes of the parts through which be passed And he sent orders into Syria to Cassius to come to him, and leave his intended journey into Egypt, letting him understand that it was not to gain an empire for themselves, but to free their country, that they went thus wandering about and had got an army together whose business it was to destroy the tyrants, that therefore, if they remembered and resolved to persevere in their first purpose, they ought not to be too far from Italy, but make what haste they could thither, and endeavour to relieve their fellow-citizens from popression

Cassins obeyed his summons, and returned, and Brutus went to meet him, and at Smyrns they met, which was the first time they had seen one another since they parted at the Pirceus in Athens, one for Syria, and the other for Macedonia They were both extremely joyful and had great confidence of their success at the sight of the forces that each of them had got together, since they who had fled from Italy, like the most despicable etiles, without money, without arms, without a ship or a soldier or a city to rely on, in a little time after had met together so well furnished with shipping and money, and an army both of horse and foot, that they were in a condition to contend for the empire of Rome

Cassius was desirous to show no less respect and honour to Brutus than Brutus did to him, but Brutus was still before-

hand with him, coming for the most part to him, both because he was the elder man, and of a weaker constitution than himself. Men generally reckoned Cassins a very expert soldier, but of a harsh and angry nature, and one that desired to command rather by fear than love, though, on the other side, among his familiar acquaintance he would easily give way to justing and play the buffoon. But Brutus, for his virtue, was esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by the best men, and hated not by his enemies themselves. For he was a man of a singularly gentle nature, of a great spirit, insensible of the passions of anger or pleasure or covetouspess; steady and inflexible to maintain his purpose for what he thought right and honest. And that which gained him the greatest affection and reputation was the entire faith in his intentions. For it had not ever been supposed that Pompey the Great himself, if he had overcome Casar, would have submitted his power to the laws, instead of taking the management of the state upon himself. soothing the people with the specious name of consul or dictator. or some other milder title than king. And they were well persuaded that Cassius, being a man governed by anger and passion. and carried often, for his interest's sake, beyond the bounds of justice, endured all these hardships of war and travel and danger most assuredly to obtain dominion to himself, and not liberty to the people. And as for the former disturbers of the peace of Rome, whether a Cinna, a Marius, or a Carbo, it is manifest that they, having set their country as a stake for him that should win, did almost own in express terms that they fought for empire. But even the enemies of Brutus did not, they tell us, lay this accusation to his charge; nay, many heard Antony himself say that Brutus was the only man that conspired against Casar out of a sense of the glory and the apparent justice of the action, but that all the rest rose up against the man himself. from private covy and malice of their own. And it is plain by what he writes himself, that Brutus did not so much rely upon his forces, as upon his own virtue. For thus he speaks in a letter to Atticus, shortly before he was to towage with the enemy: that his affairs were in the best state of fortune that he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore liberty to the people of Rome, or die, and be himself out of the reach of slavery; that other things being certain and beyond all hazard, one thing was yet in doubt, whether they should live or die free men. He adds further, that Mark Antony had received a just punishment for his folly, who, when he might

have been numbered with Brutus and Cassius and Cato, would ion himself to Octavius, that though they should not now be both overcome, they soon would fight between themselves And in this he seems to have been no ill prophet.

Now when they were at Seryens, Brutus desired of Cassius that he might have part of the great treasure that he had heaped up, because all his own was expended in furnishing out such a fleet of ships as was sufficient to keep the whole interior sea in their power But Cassius's friends dissuaded him from this, "for," said they, "it is not just that the money which you with so much parsimony keep, and with so much envy have got, should be given to him to be disposed of in making himself popular, and gaining the favour of the soldiers." Notwith standing this, Cassins gave him a third part of all that he had, and then they parted each to their several commands Cassous, having taken Rhodes, behaved himself there with no elemency, though at his first entry, when some had called him lord and king, he answered that he was neither king nor lord, but the destroyer and number of a line and lord. Brutus, on the other part, sent to the Lycians to demand from them a supply of money and men, but Laucrates, their popular leader, per suaded the cities to resist, and they occupied several little moun tauns and hills with a design to hunder Brutus's passage Erntus at first sent out a party of horse which, surprising them as they were enting, killed six hundred of them, and afterward, having taken all their small towns and villages round about, he set all his prisoners free without ranson, boping to win the whole nation by good will. But they continued obstanate, taking in anner what they had suffered, and despising his goodness and humanity, until, having forced the most warlike of them into the city of Lanthus he besieged them there. They endeavoured to make their escape by swammer and diving through the river that flows by the town, but were taken by nets let down for that purpose in the channel, which had little bells at the top, which gave present notice of any that were taken in them, After that, they made a sally in the night, and seizing several of the battering engines, set them on fire, but being perceived by the Romans, were beaten back to their walls, and there being a strong wind, it carried the finnes to the battlements of the city with such fierceness that several of the adjoining houses tool hre. Britis, learing lest the whole city should be destroyed,

commanded his own soldiers to assist and quench the fire. But the Lucians were on a sudden possessed with a strange and incredible desperation; such a frenzy as cannot be better expressed than by calling it a violent appetite to die, for both women and children, the bondmen and the free, those of all ages and of all conditions strove to force away the soldiers that came in to their assistance from the walls; and themselves gathering together reeds and wood, and whatever combustible matter they found, spread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with whatever fuel they could, and by all possible means exciting its fury, so that the flame, having dispersed itself and encircled the whole city, blazed out in so terrible a manner that Brutus, extremely afflicted at their calamity, got on horseback and rade round the walls, earnestly desirous to preserve the city, and stretching forth his hands to the Xanthians, begged of them that they would spare themselves and save the town. Yet none regarded his entreaties, but, by all manner of ways, strove to destroy themselves; not only men and women, but even boys and little children, with a hideous outery, leaned some into the fire, others from the walls, others fell upon their parents' swords, baring their throats and desiring to be struck. After the destruction of the city, there was found a woman who had hanged herself with her young child hanging from her nock. and the torch in her hand with which she had fired her own house.

It was so tragical a sight that Brusus could not endure to at it, but wept at the very relation of it and proclaimed a reward to any soldier that could save a Xanthian. And it is said that an hundred and fifty only were found, to have their lives award against their wills. Thus the Xanthians after a long space of years, the fated period of their destruction having, as it were, run its course, repeated by their desperate deed the former calamity of their facefathers, who after the very same manner in the Persian were had fired their day and destrowed themselves.

Bruns, after this, finding the Retareans received to make resistance and held not their city against him, any very unrelling to bestige; it, and was in great perspectly lest the same function make state them too. But having in his power some of control and the state of the law of the l

same time had compelled the Rhodians to bring in all the silver and gold that each of them privately was possessed of, by which he rised a sim of eight thousand talents, and benides this had condemned the pubbet to pay the sum of five hundred talents more, Brutus, not having taken above a hundred and fifty talents from the Lycans, and having done them no other manner of injury, parted from thence with his samy to go into Jona

Through the whole course of this expedition, Brutus did many memorable acts of justice in dispensing rewards and punishments to such as had deserved either, but one in particular I will relate, because he hunself, and all the noblest Romans, were gratified with it above all the rest When Pompey the Great, being overthrown from his great power by Casar, had fied to Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the protectors of the young king consulted among themselves what was fit to be done on that occasion, nor could they all agree in the same opinion, some being for receiving him, others for driving him from Egypt. But Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and then attending upon the king as a paid teacher of thetone, and for want of better men admitted into the council, undertook to prove to them that both parties were in the wrong, those that counselled to receive Pompey, and those that advised to send him away, that in their present case one thing only was truly expedient, to seize him and to kill him, and ended his argument with the proverb, that "dead men don't b te " The council agreed to his opinion, and Pompey the Great (an example of incredible and unforeseen events) was slain, as the sophister bimself had the impudence to boast, through the thetoric and eleverness of Theodotus Not lorg after, when Cesar came to Egypt, some of the murderers received their just reward and suffered the evil death they deserved. But Theodotus, though he had borrowed on from fortune a little further time for a poor, despicable, and wandering Life, yet did not he hid from Brutus as he passed through Asia, but being seized by him and executed, had his death made more memorable than was his life

About the time, Brutes sent to Carries to core to have at the cury of Sards, and, when he was on he pumer, years forth with his friends to meet him, and the whole army in array subtied each of them with the name of Imperator. Now 6x at usually happens in business of great concern, and where many friends and rany corn-anders are engaged, several polauties of each other and matters of private activation having passed between Brutes and Gassias, they resolved, before they catered upon any

other business, immediately to withdraw into some apartment; where, the door being shut and they two alone, they began first to expostulate, then to dispute hotly, and accuse each other; and finally were so transported into passion as to fall to hard words, and at last burst out into tears. Their friends who stood without were amazed, hearing them loud and angry, and feared lest some mischief might follow, but yet durst not interrupt them. being commanded not to enter the room. However, Marcus Favonius, who had been an ardent admirer of Cato, and, not so much by his learning or wisdom as by his wild, vehement manner, maintained the character of a philosopher, was rushing in upon them, but was hindered by the attendants. But it was a hard matter to stop Favonius, wherever his wildness hurried him; for he was fierce in all his behaviour, and ready to do anything to get his will. And though he was a scnator, yet, thinking that one of the least of his excellences, he valued himself more upon a sort of cynical liberty of speaking what he pleased, which sometimes, indeed, did away with the rudeness and unseasonableness of his addresses with those that would interpret it in jest. This Favonius, breaking by force through those that kept the doors, entered into the chamber, and with a set voice declaimed the verses that Homer makes Nestor use-

"Be ruled, for I am older than we both."

As this Casins langhed; but livitus thurs thin ont, calling him impulent dog and counterfeit Cynic; but yet of the present they let it put as end to their dispute, and parted. Cassin made a supper that night, and Brutus invited the questi; and when they were set down, Eavonius, having bathed, came in among them. Brutus called out adout and told him be was not invited, and bade him go to the upper couch; but he violently thrust billed in, and have done on the middle one; and the entertainment passed in sportive talk, not wanting either wit or withouth.

The next day after, upon the accusation of the Sardium. The next day after, upon the accusation of the Sardium, and that had here cancer of Rome, and employed in offices of trust by himself, for having embezded the public money. This action did not a little vex Cassius, for hat a few days before, two of his own friends being accused of the same erime, he only admonshibed them in private, but in public absolved them, and continued them in his service, and upon this occasion he accused Brutus of to much jewory and severity of justice in a time which required them to use more policy and favour. But Bruins bade bim remember the Ides of March, the day when they killed Cassar, who himself neither plundered nor pillaged mankind, but was only the support and strength of those that did, and hade him consider that if there was any colour for justice to be neglected, it had been better to suifer the ajustice of Cassar's friends than to give impunity to their own, "for then," suid he, "we would have been accused of owardice only," whereas now we are liable to the accusation of signatice, after all our pain and dangers which we endure." By which, we may perceive what was Bruins's

purpose, and the rule of his actions About the time that they were going to pass out of Asia into Europe, it is said that a wonderful sign was seen by Brutus He was naturally given to much watching, and by practice and moderation in his thet had reduced his allowance of sleep to a very small amount of time. He never slept in the daytime, and m the night then only when all his business was finished, and when, every one else being gone to rest, he had nobody to discourse with him But at this time, the war being begun, having the whole state of it to consider, and being solicitous of the event, after his first sleep, which he let himself take after his supper, he spent all the rest of the night in settling his most urgent affairs, which if he could despatch early and so make a saving of any leasure, be employed himself in reading until the third watch, at which time the centurions and tribunes were used to come to him for orders Thus one night before he passed out of Asia, he was very late all alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, all the rest of the camp being bushed and silent; and reasoning about something with himself and very thoughtful, he fancied some one came in, and, looking up towards the door, be saw a terrible and strange appearance of an unnatural and frightful body standing by him without speaking Brutus boldly asked it, "What are you, of men or gods, and upon what busi-ness come to me?" The figure answered, "I am your evil genius, Brutus, you shall see me at Philippi" To which Brutus, not at all disturbed, replied, "Then I shall see you."

As soon as the apparation vanished, he called his servants to him, who all took him that they had nother heard any you no reen any vision. So then be constined watching till the mornless, when he went to Cassus, and thold him of what he had seen heard to dispute with Brutus concerning matters of this often used to dispute with Brutus concerning matters of this auture, poles to him this supon this occasion. If it is the opinion

of our sect. Brutus, that not all that we feel or see is real and true; but that the sense is a most slippery and deceitful thing, and the mind yet more quick and subtle to put the sense in motion and affect it with every kind of change upon no real occasion of fact: just as an impression is made upon wax; and the soul of man. which has in itself both what imprints, and what is imprinted on may most easily, by its own operations, produce and assume every variety of shape and figure. This is evident from the sudden changes of our dreams; in which the imaginative principle, once started by any trifling matter, goes through a whole series of most diverse emotions and appearances. It is its nature to be ever in motion, and its motion is fantasy or concention. But besides all this, in your case, the body, being tired and distressed with continual toil, naturally works upon the mind and keeps it in an excited and unusual condition. But that there should be any such thing as supernatural beings, or, if there were, that they should have human shape or voice or power that can reach to us, there is no reason for believing though I confess I could wish that there were such beings, that we might not rely upon our arms only, and our horses and our pavy, all which are so numerous and powerful, but might be confident of the assistance of gods also, in this our most sacred and honourable attempt." With such discourses as these Cassius soothed the mind of Brutus. But just as the troops were going on board, two eagles flew and lighted on the first two ensigns, and crossed over the water with them, and never ceased following the soldiers and being fed by them till they came to Philippi, and there, but one day before the fight, they both flew away.

Bittus had already reduced most of the places and people of these parts; bit they now manched on as far as to the coast opposits Thasos, and, if there were sup city or man of power that yet scool only, brought them all for subjection. At this point Norhams was encurped, in a place called the Strais, near Symbolum. Elin they surrounded in such sort that they forced him to dislodge and quit the place; and Norhams narrowly escaped bring his whole army, Gears by essuen of sichness being too far behind; only Antony cause to his relief with such wordertic swiftness that Bouths and those with him did not believe when they heard be was come. Creat cause up tun days after, and ecamped over agains Brutes, and those your assumit Cassius.

The space between the two armies is called by the Romans the Campi Philippi. Never had two such large Roman armies come together to engine each other. That of Hrusus was somewhat less in number than that of Cesar, but in the splendidaces of the men's some and enderest of their equipage it wonderfully exceeded, to the state of their equipage it wonderfully exceeded, to the state of their endered the state of their other than the had accustomed his commanders to use all other than the had accustomed his commanders to use all when before the state of the state of the state of the such solders carried about them in their hands and on their bodies would add something of spirit to those that were desirous of glory, and would make these that were overstous and lor res of gain fight the more valuantly to preserve the arms which were their estate.

Crear made a view and histration of his army within his trenches, and distributed only a little corn and but five drachmas to each soldier for the sacrifice they were to make. But Brutus. either pitying this poverty, or disdaming this meanness of spirit in Cresar, first, as the custom was, made a general muster and lustration of the army in the open field, and then distributed a ereat number of beasts for sacrifice to every regiment, and fifty drachmas to every soldier, so that in the love of his soldiers and their readiness to fight for him Brutus had much the advantage. But at the time of lustration it is reported that an unlucky omen happened to Cassius, for his lictor, presenting him with a garland that he was to wear at sacrifice, gave it him the wrong way up Further, it is said that some time before. at a certain solemn procession, a golden image of Victory, which was carned before Cassus, fell down by a slip of hum that carned it. Besides this there appeared many birds of prey daily about the camp, and swarms of bees were seen in a place within the trenches, which place the soothsavers ordered shut out from the camp, to remove the superstation which insensibly began to infect even Cassius himself and shake him in his Epicurean philosophy, and had wholly seized and subdued the soldiers, from whence it was that Cassnis was refuetant to put all to the hazard of a present bettle, but advised rather to draw out the war until further time, considering that they were stronger in money and provisions, but in numbers of men and arms inferior But Brutus, on the contrary, was still, as formerly, desirous to come with all speed to the decision of a battle, that so be might either restore his country to her liberty, or else deliver from their misery all those numbers of people whom they harassed with the expenses and the service and exactions of the war And finding also his light horse in several skirmishes still to have had the better, he was the more encouraged and resolved, and some of the soldiers having deserted and gone to the county, and others beginning to accuse and suspect one another, many of Cassius farines in the council changed their opinions to that of Brutus. But there was one of Brutun's party, named Attellius, who opposed in recolution, advising rather that they should tarry over the winter. And when Brutus saked him in home the total condition he hoped to be a year after, his answer was, "It gain nothing else, yet I shall live so much the longer," Carsius was much displaced at this answer; and among the rest, Attellius was had in much dissestent for it. And so it was presently resolved to give battle the next day.

Brutts that night at supper showed himself very cheerful and full of hope, and reasoned on subjects of philosophy with his frends, and afterwards went to his rast. But Nessals says that Cassius supped privately with a few of his nearest acquiainment, and papered thoughtful and sillent, contrary to his temper and custom; that after supper he took him carnestly by the hand, and spaaking to him, as his manner was when he wished to show affection, in Greek, said, "Bear witness for me, Messals, that I am brought him to he same necessity as Pompey the Great was before me, of hazarding the liberty of my country upon one buttle; yet ought we to be of counage, trying on our good fortune, which it were unfair to mistrust, though we take ord counsels." They, Messals says, were the siat words that Cassius spoke before he bade him farewell; and that he was invited to suo with him the next night, begin his birthday.

As soon as it was morning, the signal of battle, the scarlet coat, was cet out in Brutus's and Cassius's camps, and they themselves met in the middle space between their two armies. There Cassius spoke thus to Brutus: "Be it as we hope, O Brutus, that this day we may overcome, and all the rest of our time may live a happy life together; but since the greatest of human concerns are the most uncertain, and since it may be difficult for us ever to see one another again, if the battle should go against us, tell me, what is your resolution concerning flight and death?" Brutus answered, "When I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in affairs, I was led, I know not how, into uttering a bold sentence in philosophy, and blamed Cato for killing himself, as thinking it an irreligious act, and not a valiant one among men, to try to evade the divine course of things, and not fearlessly to receive and undergo the evil that shall happen, but run away from it. But now in my own fortunes I am of

another mind, for if Providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wahes, I resolve to put no further hones or warlike preparations to the proof, but will die contented with my fortune For I already have given up my life to my country on the Ides of March, and have lived since then a second life for her sake, with liberty and honour" Cassius at these words smiled, and, embracing Brutus, said, "With these resolutions let us go on upon the enemy, for either we ourselves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those that do" After this they discoursed among their friends about the ordering of the battle, and Brutus desired of Cassius that he might command the right wing, though it was thought that this was more fit for Cassius, in regard both of his age and his experience Yet even m this Cassius complied with Brutus, and placed Messala with the valuantest of all his lemons in the same wing, so Brutus immediately drew out his borse, excellently well equipped, and was not long in bringing up his foot after them

Antony's soldiers were easung trenches from the marsh by which they were encumped across the plain, to cut off Cassius's communications with the sea Casar was to be at hand with his troops to support them, but he was not able to be present himself, by reason of his nckness, and his soldiers, not much expecting that the enemy would come to a set battle, but only make some excursions with their darts and light arms to disturb the men at work in the trenches, and not taking notice of the troops drawn up against them ready to give battle, were amazed when they heard the confused and great outery that came from the trenches In the meanwhile Brutus had sent his tickets. in which was the word of battle, to the officers, and birnself riding about to all the troops, encouraged the soldiers, but there were but few of them that understood the word before they engaged, the most of them, not staying to have it delivered to them, with one impulse and cry ran upon the enemy This disorder caused an unevenness in the line, and the lemons got severed and divided one from another, that of Messala first, and afterwards the other adjoining, went beyond the left wing of Casar, and having just touched the extremity, without slaughtering any greet number, passing around that wing, fell directly into Casar's camp Casar himself, as his own memoirs tell us, had but just before been conveyed away. Marcus Artonus, one of his friends, having had a dream bidding Casar be carried out of the camp And it was believed that he was slain, for the soldiers had pierced his latter, which was left empty, in many places with their darts and pikes. There was a great slaughter in the camp that was taken; and two thousand i.acedæmonians that were newly come to the assistance of Casar were all out

off together.

The rest of the army, that had not gone round, but had engaged the front, easily overthrew them, finding them in great disorder, and slew upon the place three legions; and being carried on with the stream of victory, pursoing those that fled, fell into the camp with them, Brutus himself being there. But they that were conquered took the advantage in their extremity of what the conquerors did not consider. For they fell upon that part of the main body which had been left exposed and separated, where the right wing had broke off from them and hurried away in the pursuit; yet they could not break into the midst of their battle, but were received with strong resistance and obstinacy. Yet they put to flight the left wing, where Cassius commanded, being in great disorder, and ignorant of what had passed on the other wing; and pursuing them to their camp, they pillaged and destroyed it, neither of their generals being present; for Antony, they say, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into the marsh that was hard by; and Casar was nowhere to be found after his being conveyed out of the tents; though some of the soldiers showed Brutus their swords bloody, and declared that they had killed him, describing his person and his age. By this time also the centre of Brutus's battle had driven back their opponents with great slaughter; and Brutus was everywhere plainly conqueror, as on the other side Cassius was conquered. And this one mistake was the ruin of their affairs, that Brutus did not come to the relief of Cassius, thinking that he, as well as himself, was conqueror; and that Cassins did not expect the relief of Brutus, thinking that he too was overcome. For as a proof that the victory was on Brutus's side, Messala urges his taking three eagles and many ensigns of the enemy without losing any of his own. But now. returning from the pursuit after having plundered Casar's camp. Brutus wondered that he could not see Cassius's tent standing high, as it was wont, and appearing above the rest. nor other things appearing as they had been; for they had been immediately pulled down and pillaged by the enemy upon their first folling into the camp. But some that had a quicker and longer sight than the rest acquainted Brutus that they saw a great deal of shining armour and silver targets moving to and fro in Cassins's camp, and that they thought, by their number

and the fashion of their amour, they could not be those that they left to guard the camp, but yet that there did not appear so great a number of dead bodies thereabouts as it was probable there would have been after the actual defeat of 50 many 1grour This first made Brutus suspert Cassava's mostoriue, and, leaving a guard in the enemy's camp, he called buck those that were in the pursuit, and rilled them together to lead them to the relief

of Cassius, whose fortune had been as follows First, he had been angry at the onset that Brutus's soldiers made, without the word of battle or command to charge Then, after they had overcome, he was as much displeased to see them rush on to the plunder and spoil, and neglect to surround and encompass the rest of the enemy Besides this, letting hunself act by delay and expectation, rather than command, boldly and with a clear purpose, be got bemmed in by the right wing of the enemy, and, his horse making with all baste their escape and flying towards the sea, the foot also began to give way, which be perceiving laboured as much as ever he could to hinder their flight and bring them back, and, snatching an ensure out of the hand of one that fled, he stuck at at his feet, though he could bardly Leen even his own personal guard together. So that at last he was forced to fly with a few about him to a little hill that overlooked the plans But be himself, being weak-suchted. discovered nothing, only the destruction of his camp, and that with difficulty But they that were with him saw a great body of horse moving towards him, the same whom Brutus had sent. Cassius believed these were enemies, and in pursuit of him. however, he sent away Titunius, one of those that were with him, to learn what they were As soon as Brutus's horse saw hun coming, and knew hun to be a friend and a faithful servant of Cassus, those of them that were his more familiar acquaintance, shouting out for joy and alighting from their horses, shook hand, and embraced him, and the rest rode round about him sturing and shouting, through their excess of gladness at the sight of him But this was the occasion of the greatest mischief that could be For Cassaus really thought that Titinus bad been taken by the enemy, and creed out, " Through too much fondness of life. I have lived to endure the sight of my friend taken by the enemy before my face" After which words he retired into an empty tent, taking along with him only Pindarus, one of his freemen, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the disasters in the expedition against the Parthuns. when Crassus was slain. From the Parthians he came away in safety; but now, pulling up his mantle over his head, he mode his neck bars, and held it forth to Pinderus, commanding him to strike. The head was certainly found lying severed from the body. But no man ever saw Pinderus safets, from which some suspected that he had killed his master without his manual Soon after they proteried who he hossemes were, and saw Titnius, crowned with quahands, making what heat he could be an expected with the same had been and lamentations of his afficiend friends the unfortunate zero and damentations of his afficiend friends the unfortunate zero and dath of his goneral, he drew his sword, and having very much accused and uphraided his own long stay, that had caused it he deep his process.

Brutus, as soon as he was assured of the defeat of Cassius, made haste to him; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then having tamented over his body, calling him "the last of the Romans," it being impossible that the city should ever produce another man of so great a spirit, he sent away the body to be buried at Thasos, lest celebrating his funeral within the camp might breed some disorder. He then gathered the soldiers together and comforted them; and, seeing them destitute of all things necessary, he promised to every man two thousand drachmas in recompense of what he had lost. They at these words took courage, and were astonished at the magnificence of the gift; and waited upon him at his parting with shouts and praises, magnifying him for the only general of all the four who was not overcome in the battle. And indeed the action itself testified that it was not without reason he believed he should conquer; for with a few legions he overthrew all that resisted him; and if all his soldiers had fought, and the most of them had not passed beyond the enemy in pursuit of the plunder, it is very likely that he had utterly defeated every part of them.

There fell of his side eight thousand men, reckoning the servants of the army, whom Factine salls Briggs; and on the side, Messals says his opinion is that there were size and the side of the side o

prisoners, required a guard more strict than ordinary over them. and that of Cassius was uneasy at the change of general, besides some envy and rancour, which those that were conquered bore to that part of the army which had been conquerors Wherefore he thought it convenient to put his army in array, but to abstain from fighting All the slaves that were taken prisoners. of whom there was a great number that were mixed up, not without suspicion, among the soldiers, he commanded to be slam, but of the freemen and catizens, some he dismissed, saving that among the enemy they were rather prisoners than with him, for with them they were captives and slaves, but with him freemen and citizens of Rome But he was forced to hide and help them to escape pre-ately, perceiving that his friends and officers were bent upon revenge against them. Among the captives there was one Volumnius, a player, and Sacrulio, a buffoon, of these Brutus took no manner of notice, but his friends brought them before him and accused them that even then in that condition they did not refrain from their jests and scurrilous language Brutus, having his mind taken up with other affairs, said nothing to their accusation, but the judgment of Messala Corvinus was, that they should be whipped publicly upon a stage, and so sent maked to the captains of the enemy, to show them what sort of fellow drankers and comnamons they took with there on their campaigns. At this some that were present laughed, and Publins Casca, he that gave the first wound to Cesar, said, "We do ill to jest and make merry at the funeral of Cassus But you, O Brutus," he added, " will show what esteem you have for the memory of that general. according as you punish or preserve alive those who will scott and speak shamefully of him." To this Brutus, in great dis composure, replied, "Why then, Cases, do you ask me about it, and not do yourselves what you think fitting?" This answer of Brutus was taken for his consent to the death of these wretched men, so they were carried away and slain.

After the be give the solders the reveal that he had promised them, and having slightly reproved then for having fallen upon them, and having slightly reproved them for having fallen upon the interny in disorder without the ward of battle or command, the men'ny to disorder without the ward of battle or command, the promised them, that if they behaved themselves bravely in the serior register, the world give them up two or that so you had plandar, Thessidence and Lacedermon. This is the one and plandar, Thessidence and Lacedermon. This is the one understanded thing of all that is found fault with in the life of Brutas, though true it may be that Athony and Casar were such more ord in the reveals that they gave their solders

after victory; for they drove out, one might almost say, all the old inhabitants of Italy, to put their soldiers in possession of other men's lands and cities. But indeed their only design and end in undertaking the war was to obtain dominion and empire. whereas Brutus, for the reputation of his virtue, could not be permitted either to overcome or save himself but with justice and honour, especially after the death of Cassius, who was generally accused of having been his adviser to some things that he had done with less clemency. But now, as in a ship. when the rudder is broken by a storm, the mariners fit and nail on some other piece of wood instead of it, striving against the danger not well, but as well as in that necessity they can, so Brutus, being at the head of so great an army, in a time of such uncertainty, having no commander equal to his need, was forced to make use of those that he had, and to do and to say many things according to their advice; which was, in effect, whatever might conduce to the bringing of Cassius's soldiers into better order. For they were very headstrone and intractable, hold and insolent in the camp for want of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering that they had been heaten.

Neither were the affeirs of Casor and Antony in any better posture; for they were straitened for provision, and, the camp being in a low ground, they expected to pass a very hard winter. For being driven close upon the marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as is usual in autumn, having fallen after the battle, their tents were all filled with mire and water, which through the coldness of the weather immediately froze. And while they were in this condition, there was news brought to them of their loss at sea. For Brutus's fleet fell upon their ships, which were bringing a great supply of soldiers out of Italy, and so entirely defeated them, that but very few of the men escaped being slain, and they too were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of the ship. As soon as they heard this, they made what haste they could to come to the decision of a battle. before Brutus should have notice of his good success. For it had so happened that the fight both by sea and land was on the same day, but by some misfortune, rather than the fault of his commanders. Brutus knew not of his victory twenty days after. For had he been informed of this, he would not have been brought to a second battle, since he had sufficient provisions for his army for a long time, and was very advantageously posted, his camp being well sheltered from the cold weather. and almost maccessible to the enemy, and his being absolute master of the sea, and having at land overzone on that side wherein he himself was engaged, would have made him full of hope and confidence. But of seams the state of Rome not enduring any longer, but divide the property of the concording the control of the control of the control of the way thought and that was able to resist ben that could control the control, end of this good fortune from coming to the cars of Buttur, though it came but a very little too late, for the control of the control of the good fortune from coming for the control of the control of the good fortune from coming of the control of the control of the control of the control of the first the control of the control of the control of the of the loss of the fleet, and for that trains was in such laste to some to a buttle. But his story not with no credit, nor was be so much as each by Britas, beng simply set down as one that had no good information, or invented less to bring himself

The same night, they say, the vasion appeared again to Bratus, in the same shape that it did before, but vanished without spatiage. But Publius Yolumnus, a philosopher, and one that had from the beginning bores arms with Brutus, makes no mention of this apparation, but says that the first eagle was one cred with a swarm of bees, and that there was not fibe they often draed and wiped it, yet it would not cease, and that unmediately helore the hattic, two eagles falling upon each other fought in the space between the two armses, that the whole field kept incredible salectes and all were untime upon the psectuale, until at last that which was on Brutus's side yielded and field. But the story of the Ethicpain is very famous, who, meeting the standard bearer at the opening the gate of the camp, was cut to pieces by the soldiers, that took it for an ill omen.

Brutus, having brought he same rote the field and set them in arraw square the enemy, passed a long while before he would fight, for as he was reviewing the troops, suspicions were excited and informations land aguinst mome of them. Besides, he saw his horse not very eager to begin the action, and waiting to see what the foot would do. Then indehally Camulatius, a very good solders, and one whem for his values he highly esteemed, riding hard by Brutus himself, went were to the enemy, the sight of which grieved Brutus exceedingly. So that partly out of fear of some greater treason and discretion, he immediately drew on his forces upon the enemy, the sun now decidings, about there of the clock in the afternoon.

Brutus on his side had the better, and pressed hard on the left wing, which gave way and retreated; and the horse too fell in together with the foot, when they saw the enemy in disorder, But the other wing, when the officers extended the line to avoid its being encompassed, the numbers being inferior, got drawn out too thin in the centre, and was so weak here that they could not withstand the charge, but at the first onset fied. After defeating these, the enemy at once took Brutus in the rear, who all the while did all that was possible for an expert general and valiant soldier, doing everything in the peril, by counsel and by hand, that might recover the victory. But that which had been his superiority in the first fight was to his prejudice in the second. For in the first, that part of the enemy which was heaten was killed on the spot; but of Cassius's soldiers that fied, few had been slain, and those that escaped, daunted with their defeat. infected the other and larger part of the army with their want of spirit and their disorder. Here Marcus, the son of Cate, was slain, fighting and behaving himself with great bravery in the midst of the youth of the highest rank and greatest valour, He would neither fiv nor give the least ground, but still fighting and declaring who he was and naming his father's name, he fell upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy. And of the rest. the bravest were slain in defending Brutus.

There was in the field one Lucilius, an excellent man and a friend of Brutus, who, seeing some barbarian horse taking no notice of any other in the pursuit, but galleping at full speed after Britis, resolved to stop them, though with the hazard of his life; and, letting himself fall a little behind, he told them that he was Brutus. They believed him the rather, because he prayed to be carried to Antony, as if he feared Casar, but durst trust him. They, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully fortunate, carried him along with them in the night, having first sent messengers to Antony of their coming. He was much pleased, and came to meet them; and all the rest that heard that Brutus was taken and brought alive flocked together to see him, some pitying his fortune, others accusing him of a meanness unbecoming his former glory, that out of too much love of life he would be a prey to barbarians. When they came near together, Antony stood still, considering with himself in what manner he should receive Brutus; but Lucilius. being brought up to him, with great confidence said: "Be assured. Antony, that no enemy either has taken or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive (forbid it, heaven, that fortune should

ever so much prevail above varine() but he shall be found alive or dead as becomes hunself. As for me, I am come hather by a cheat that I put upon your soldiers, and am ready, upon this occasion, to suffer any seventies you will inflort." All were amrated to hear Lachias speak these words. But Antony, tuning hunself to those that brought him, said. "I perceive, my fellow-soldiers that you not concerned, and take it ill that you have been thus decerred, and that yours-leve aboved and impired by it, but know that you have new that a bootly better than that you nought. For you were in search of an enemy, but you have broad that of a freed. For indeed I sain increasing how I should have used Brutus if you had brought him allow, but of that I am sure, that it is better to have such me as Leclius our freeds than our nearmer." Having said thus, embraced Lecliums and for the present commended him to the care of one of his freeds, and ever after found him a steady was a table freed.

Britis had now passed a little brook, running among trees and under steep rocks and, it bring only, would go no further, but ast down in a hollow place with a great rock projecting before it, with a few of his officers and friends about him. At first, looking up to heaven, that was then full of stars herepeated two verses, one of which Volumnia writes, was the

"Punch, great Jore, the suchor of these like"

The other he says he has forgot. Soon after, maning severally all has frends that had been shan below he had need in the battle, by ground heavily, especially at the mentioning of Flavius and Labo, the lat enh betterns, and the other chief officer of his engageners. In the meanine, one of has companions, that was very thinks and says Bruns as the same continuon, took had belief and run to the brook for water, when a none being heard from the other add of the rever. Voluments, though Bardonin, Bruns a seminal beauty, with him, went out to see what it was, Bruns, same a beauty, with him, went out to see what it was, Bruns, same a beauty, with him, went out to see what it was, Bruns, so may be a beauty with him, went out to see what it was, and the same and the same of the same and the same

how Brutus guessing that not many of his men were slain in the fight, Statyllius undertook to dash through the enemy (for there was no other way), and to see what was become of their camp; and promised, if he found all fhings there safe, to hold up a torch for a signal, and then return. The torch was held up, Statyllius got safe to the camp; but when after a long time he did not return, Brattus said, "If Statyllius he alive, he will come back." But it happened that in his vetura he fell into the

enemy's hands, and was slain. The night now being far spent, Brutus, as he was sitting, leaned his head towards his servant Clitus, and spoke to him; he answered him not, but fell a weeping. After that he drew aside his armour-bearer, Dardanus, and had some discourse with him in private. At last, speaking to Volumnius in Greek, he reminded him of their common studies and former discipline and begged that he would take hold of his sword with him, and help him to thrust it through him. Volumnius put away his request, and several others did the like; and some one saying, that there was no staying there, but they needs must fiv. Brutus, rising up, said, "Yes, indeed, we must fly, but not with our feet, but with our bands." Then giving each of them his right hand, with a countenance full of pleasure, he said, that he found an infinite satisfaction in this, that none of his friends had been false to him; that as for fortune, he was sugry with that only for his country's sake; as for himself, he thought himself much more hanny than they who had overcome, not only as he had been a little time ago, but even now in his present condition: since he was leaving behind him such a reputation of his virtue as none of the conquerors with all their arms and riches should ever be able to acquire, no more than they could hinder posterity from believing and saving, that being unjust and wicked men, they had destroyed the just and the good, and usurned a power to which they had no right. After this, having exhorted and entreated all about him to provide for their own safety, he withdrew from them with two or three only of his peculiar-friends: Strate was one of these, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they studied rhetoric together. Him he placed next to himself, and, taking hold of the hilt of his sword and directing it with both his hands, fell upon it, and killed himself. But others say, that not he himself, but Strato, at the earnest entreaty of Brutus, turning aside his head, held the sword, upon which he violently throwing himself, it pierced his breast, and he immediately died. This same Strato, Messala, a friend of Brutus, being after reconciled to Cesar, brought to him once at his leisure, and with tears in his eyes said, "This, O Cassar, is the man that did the last friendly office to my

beloved Brutus" Upon which Casar received him kindly, and had good use of him in his labours and his battles at Actium, being one of the Greeks that proved their bravery in his service. It is reported of Messala himself, that, when Casar once gave him this commendation, that though he was his fiercest enemy at Philippi in the cause of Brutus, yet he had shown himself his most entire friend in the fight of Actium, he enswered, "You have always found me, Casar, on the best and justest side "

Erutus's dead body was found by Antony, who commanded the richest purple mantle that he had to be thrown over it, and afterwards the mantle being stolen, he found the thief, and had him put to death He sent the ashes of Brutus to his mother Servilla As for Poreis his wife, Nicolaus the philosopher and Valerus Maximus write, that, being desirous to die, but being hindered by her friends, who continually watched her, she snatched some burning charcoal out of the fire, and, sbutting it close in her mouth, stifled herself, and died Though there is a letter current from Brutus to his friends, in which he laments the death of Porcia, and accuses them for prejecting her so that she desired to die rather than languish with her discuse. So that it seems Nicolaus was mistaken in the time, for this epistic (if it indeed is authentic and sruly Brutus's) gives us to understand the malady and love of Porcia, and the way in which her death occurred

THE COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

THERE are noble points in absolution in the characters of these two men, and one to be first mentioned is their attaining such a height of greatness upon such moonsiderable means, and on this score Dion has by far the advantage For he had no partner to contest his glory, as Brutus had in Cassius, who was not, indeed, his equal in proved virtue and honour, yet contributed quite as much to the service of the war by his boldness, skill, and activity, and some there be who impute to him the rise and beginning of the whole enterprise, saying that it was he who roused Brutus, till then indisposed to stir, into action against Casar Whereas Dion seems of himself to have provided not only arms, ships, and soldiers, but likewise friends and partners for the enterprise Neither did be, as Brutus, collect money and forces from the war itself, but, on the contrary, laid out of his own substance, and employed the very means of his private sustenance in exile for the liberty of his country. Besides this. Brutus and Cassius, when they fled to Rome, could not live safe or quiet, being condemned to death and pursued, and were thus of necessity forced to take arms and hazard their lives in their own defence, to save themselves, rather than their country. On the other hand. Dion enjoyed more ease, was more safe, and his life more pleasant in his banishment, than was the tyrant's who had banished him, when he flew to action, and ran the risk of all to save Sicily.

Take notice, too, that it was not the same thing for the Sicilians to be freed from Dionysius, and for the Romans to be freed from Casar. The former owned himself a tyrant, and vexed Sicily with a thousand oppressions: whereas Canar's supremacy, certainly, in the process for attaining it, had inflicted no trouble on its opponents, but, once established and victorious. it had indeed the name and appearance, but fact that was cruel or tyrannical there was none. On the contrary, in the malady of the times and the need of a monarchical government, he might he thought to have been sent as the gentlest physician, by no other than a divine intervention. And thus the common people instantly regretted Casar, and grew enraged and implacable against those that killed him. Whereas Dion's chief offence in the eyes of his fellow-citizens was his having let Dionysius ascape. and not having demolished the former tyrant's tomb.

In the actual conduct of war. Dion was a commander without fault, improving to the utmost those counsels which he himself gave, and where others led him into disaster correcting and turning everything to the best. But Brutus seems to have shown little wisdom in engaging in the final battle, which was to decide everything, and when he failed not to have done his business in seeking a remedy; he gave all up, and abandoned his hopes, not venturing against fortune even as far as Pompey did, when he had still means enough to rely on in his troops, and

was clearly master of all the seas with his ships.

The greatest thing charged on Brutus is, that he, being saved by Casar's kindness, having saved all the friends whom he chose to ask for, he moreover accounted a friend, and preferred above many, did yet lay violent hands upon his preserver. Nothing like this could be objected against Dion; quite the contrary; whilst he was of Dionysius's family and his friend, he did good service and was useful to him; but driven from his country, wronged in his wife, and his estate lost, he openly entered upon a war just and lawful. Does not, however, the matter turn the other way? For the chief glory of both was their hatred of tyranny, and abhorrence of wickedness This was unmixed and sincere in Brutus, for he had no private quarrel with Casar, but went into the risk singly for the liberty of his country other, had he not been privately injured, had not fought. This is plain from Plato's epitles, where it is shown that he was turned out, and did not forsake the court to wage war upon Dionysms Moreover, the public good made Brutus Pompev's friend (instead of his enemy as he had been) and Casar's enemy, since he proposed for his batted and his friendship no other end and standard but justice Dion was very serviceable to Dionysius whilst in favour, when no longer trusted, he grew angry and fell to arms And, for this reason, not even were his own friends all of them satisfied with his undertaking, or quite asssured that, having overcome Dionysius, he might not settle the government on himself, deceiving his fellow-citizens by some less obnexious name than tyranny But the very enemies of Britus would say that he had no other end or aim, from first to last, save only to restore to the Roman people their ancient government. And apart from what has just been said, the adventure against

Dionysius was nothing equal with that against Casar For none that was familiarly conversant with Dionysius but scorned hun for his life of idle amusement with wine, women, and dice; whereas it required an heroic soul and a truly intrepid and unqualing spint so much as to entertain the thought of crushing Casar, so formidable for l. ability, his power, and his fortune. whose very name disturt , the siumbers of the Parthun and Indian kings Dion was the cooner seen in Sicily but thousands ran in to him and joured him against Dionysius, whereas the renown of Casar, even hen dead, gave strength to his friends. and his very name a seightened the person that took it, that from a simple boy he presently became the chief of the Romans . and he could use at for a spell against the enmity and power of Antony If any object that it cost Dion great trouble and difficulties to overcome the tyrant, whereas Brutus slew Casar naked and unprovided, yet this itself was the result of the most consummate policy and conduct, to bring it about that a man so guarded around, and so fortified at all points, should be taken naked and unprovided. For it was not on the sudden, nor alone, nor with a few, that he fell upon and killed Casar, but after lorg concerting the plot, and placing confidence in a great many men, not one of whom deceived him. For he either at once discerned the best men, or by confiding in them made them good. But Dion, either making a wrong judgment, trusted himself with lile men, or less by its employing them made ill men of good; either of the two would be a reflection on a wise man. Plato also is severe upon him, for choosing such for friends as betaved him.

Besides, when Dion was killed, none appeared to revenge his death. Whereas Brutus, even amongst his enemies, had Antony that buried him splendidly; and Casar also took care his honours should be preserved. There stood at Milan in Gaul. within the Alps, a brazen statue, which Casar in aftertimes noticed (being a real likeness, and a fine work of art), and passing by it presently stopped short, and in the hearing of many commanded the magistrates to come before him. He told them their town had broken their league, harbouring an enemy. The magistrates at first simply dealed the thing, and, not knowing what he meant, looked one upon another, when Casar, turning towards the statue and gathering his brows, said, " Pray is not that our enemy who stands there?" They were all in confusion. and had nothing to answer: but he, smiling, much commended the Gauls, as who had been firm to their friends, though in adversity, and ordered that the statue should remain standing as he found it.

ARATUS

The Philosopher Chrysippus, O Polycrates, quotes an ancient proverb, not as really it should be, apprehending, I suppose, that it sounded too harsbly, but so as he thought it would run best, in these words:—

"Who prome their fathers but the generous was?"

But Dionysodorus the Treezenian proves him to be wrong, and restores the true reading, which is thus:-

" Who praise their fathers but degenerate sons?"

telling us that the proven is meant to stop the mouth of those who, having no merit of their own, take refuge in the virtues of their ancestors, and make their advantage of praising them. But, as Finder hath it—

> "He that by nature doth inherit From ancestors a noble spirit,"

as you do, who made your life the copy of the fairest originals of your family, such, I say, may take great satisfaction in being reminded, both by hearing others speak and speaking themselves, of the best of their progenitors For they assume not the glory of praises carned by others out of any want of worth of their own, but affiliating their own deeds to those of their ancestors, give them honour as the authors both of their descent and manners Therefore I have sent to you the life which I have written of your fellow-citizen and forefather. Aratus, to whom you are no discredit in point either of reputation or of authority, not as though you had not been most diligently careful to inform vourself from the beginning concerning his actions, but that your sons. Polycrates and Pythocles, may both by hearing and reading become familiar with those family examples which it behaves them to follow and imitate It is a piece of self love. and not of the love of virtue, to imagine one has already attained to what is best.

The city of Sicyon, from the time that it first fell off from the pure and Done aristocracy (its harmony being destroyed, and a mere series of seditions and personal contests of popular leaders ensuing), continued to be distempered and unsettled, changing from one tyrant to another, until, Cleon being slain, Timoclides and Climas, men of the most repute and power amongst the citizens, were chosen to the magistracy And the commonwealth now seeming to be in a pretty scitled condition. Tyroclides died, and Abantidas, the son of Paseas, to possess himself of the tyranny, killed Clinias, and, of his kindred and friends, slew some and hanished others. He sought also to kill his son Aratus. whom he left behind him, being but seven years old. This boy in the general disorder getting out of the house with those that fied, and wandering about the city helpless and in great fear, by chance got undiscovered into the house of a woman who was Abantidas's sister, but marned to Prophantus, the brother of Climas, her name being Seso. She, being of a penerous temper. and believing the boy had by some supernatural guidance fled to her for shelter, bid him in the house, and at night sent him away to Argos

Aratus, being thus delivered and secured from this danger, conceived from the first and ever after nourished a vehement and being hatted against fyrains, which stengehened with his year. Being therefore bried up amongst his father's acquaints ance and lineads at Argas with a fiberal education, and perceiving his body to promise good health and stature, he addicted him

self to the exercises of the pakestra, to that degree that he competed in the five games, and gained some crowns: and indeed in his statues one may observe a certain kind of athletic cast, and the sagacity and majesty of his countenance does not dissemble his full dict and the use of the hor. Whence it came to pass that he less studied eloquence than perhans became a statesman and yet he was more accomplished in speaking than many believe, judging by the commentaries which he left behind him. written carelessly and, by the way, as fast as he could do it, and in such words as first came to his mind.

In the course of time, Dinias and Aristoteles the logician killed Abantidas, who used to be present in the market-place at their discussions, and to make one in them; till they taking the occasion, insensibly accustomed him to the practice, and so had opportunity to contrive and execute a plot against him. After him Paseas, the father of Abantidas, taking upon him the covernment, was assassinated by Nicocles, who himself set up for tyrant. Of him it is related that he was strikingly like Periander. the son of Cypselus, just as it is said that Orontes the Persian hore a great resemblance to Alemeon, the son of Amphiaraus, and that Lacedemonian youth, whom Myrsilus relates to have been tradden to pieces by the crowd of those that came to see him upon that report, to Hector,

This Nicocles governed four months, in which, after he had done all kinds of mischief to the city, he very nearly let it fall into the hands of the Ætolians. By this time Aratus, being grown a youth, was in much esteem, both for his noble birth, and his spirit and disposition, which, while acither insignificant nor wanting in energy, were solid, and tempered with a steadiness of judgment beyond his years. For which reason the exiles had their eyes most upon him, nor did Nicocles less observe his motions, but secretly spied and watched him, not out of apprebension of any such considerable or utterly audacious attempt, but suspecting he held correspondence with the kings, who were his father's friends and acquaintance. And, indeed, Aratus first attempted this way; but finding that Antigonus, who had promised fair, neglected him and delayed the time, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were long to wait for, he determined to cut off the tyrant by himself.

And first he broke his mind to Aristomachus and Ecdelus, the one an exile of Sicyon, the other, Ecdelus, an Arcadian of Megalopelis, a philosopher, and a man of action, having been the familiar friend of Arcesilaus the Academic at Athens. These 418 Plu

teadily consenting he communicated with the other evides whereof some few being asharied to seem to despire of success, engaged in the design but most of them indeavoured to divert him from his purpose as one that for want of experience was too reals and drain.

Whilst he was consulting to seize upon some post in S ci onia from whence he might make war upon the tyrant there came to Argos a certain Sicyonian newly escaped out of prison brother to benneles one of the exiles who being by him presented to trains informed him that that part of the wall over which he escaped was ms de almost level with the ground, adjoining a rocky and elevated place and that from the outside it might be scaled with ladders Aratus hearing this despatches away Xenocles with two of his own servants Southas and Technon, to vie v the wall resolving if possible secretly and with one risk to hazard all on a single trial rather than carry on a contest as a provate man against a tyrant by long war and onen force henocles therefore with his companions returning having taken the height of the wall and declaring the place not to be imposs ble or indeed difficult to get over, but that it was not easy to approach it undiscovered by reason of some small but uncommonly savage and noisy dogs belonging to a gardener hard

by he immed ately undertook the business
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robbenes and petty forays were at that time common every where between one set of people and another, and for the ladders Euphranor the machine-maker made them openly his trade rendering him unsuspected though one of the exiles for men each of his friends in Argos furnished him with ten an ece out of those few they had and he armed thirty of his own servants and hared some few sold ers of Aenophilus, the chief of the robber captains to whom it was given out that they were to march into the territory of Sicy on to seize the king a stud most of them were sent before in small parties to the tower of Polyg notes with orders to wait there Caphisias also was despatched beforehand heatly armed with four others who were as some as it was dark to come to the gardener's house pretending to be travellers and procuring their lodging there to shut up him and his dogs for there was no other way to getting past. And for the ladders they had been made to take in pieces and were put into chests and sent before hidden upon wargons. In the mean time some of the spes of Accordes appearing in Argos and being said to go privately about watching Aratus he came early in the morning into the market-place, showing kinself openly and conversing with his intruck; then he anotired himself in the exercise ground, and, taking with him thence some of the young mon that used to chiral and spend their time with him, be went home; and presently after several of his servants were seen about the market-place, one carrying garkands, another buying fambeaux, and as third speaking to the vousen that used to sing and play at hannests, all of which things the size observing were deserved, and as all, laughing to one another, "Certainly nothing can be more timerous than a tyrant; if Nicolocy, being master of so great a city and so numerous a force, stands in fear of a youth that spends which he has to subside tyou in his banishment in pleasures and day-debauches;" and, being thus imposed upon, they returned howly recommended.

But Aratus, departing immediately after his morning meal. and coming to his soldiers at Polyguotus's tower, led them to Nemca; where he disclosed to most of them, for the first time, his true design, making them large promises and fair speeches. and marched towards the city, giving for the word Apollo victorious, proportioning his march to the motion of the moon. so as to have the benefit of her light upon the way, and to be in the garden, which was close to the wall, just as she was setting. Here Caphisias came to him, who had not secured the dogs. which had run away before he could catch them, but had only made sure of the gardener. Upon which most of the company being out of heart and desiring to retreat. Arptus encouraged them to go on, promising to retire in case the dogs were too troublesome: at the same time sending forward those that carried the ladders, conducted by Ecdelus and Massitheus, he followed them himself leisurely, the dogs already barking very loud and following the steps of Ecdelus and his companion. However, they got to the wall, and reared the ladders with safety. But as the foremost men were mounting them, the captain of the watch that was to be relieved by the morning guard passed on his way with the bell; and there were many lights, and a noise of people coming up. Hearing which, they clapt themselves close to the ladders, and so were unobserved; but as the other watch also was coming up to meet this, they were in extreme danger of being discovered. But when this also went by without observing them, immediately Mussitheus and Ecdelus got upon the wall, and, possessing themselves of the approaches inside and out, sent away Technon to Aratus, desiring him to make all the baste be could.

Now there was no great distance from the garden to the wall and to the tower in which latter a large bound was kept. The bound did not hear their steps of himself, whether that he were naturally drowsy, or overweared the day before, but, the gardener's curs awaling him, he first began to growl and grumble in response, and then as they passed by to bark out aloud And the barking was now so great, that the sential opposite shouted out to the dog s keeper to know why the dog Lept such a barking, and whether snything was the matter, who answered, that it was nothing but only that his dog had been set barking by the lights of the watch and the noise of the bell. This reply much encouraged Aratus's soldiers, who thought the dog's keeper was privy to their design, and wished to conceal what was passing, and that many others in the city were of the conspiracy But when they came to scale the wall, the attempt then spoeared both to require time and to be full of danger, for the ladders shock and tottered extremely unless they mounted them leasurely and one by one, and time pressed, for the cocks began to crow, and the country people that used to bring things to the market would be coming to the town directly Therefore Aratus made haste to get up himself, forty only of the company being stready upon the wall, and, staving but for a few more of those that were below, he made straight to the tyrant's house and the general's office, where the mercenary soldiers passed the night, and, coming suddenly upon them, and taking them prisoners without killing any one of them, he immediately sent to all his friends in their houses to desire them to come to him, which they did from all quarters By this time the day began to break, and the theatre was filled with a mulutude that were held in suspense by uncertain reports and knew nothing distinctly of what had happened, until a public errer came forward and proclaimed that Aratus, the sen of Chines, invited the ratizens to recover their liberty

Then at last assured that what they had so long looked for was some to pass, they presend in through to the virual gates to set them on fare. And such a flame, we hadded the whole beare eathering fire, that it was seen as for so Connach, so that the Connathans, wondering what the matter could be, were upon the point of coming to their assistance. Nucodes field wavey secretly out of the city by means of certain underground possinger, and the soldiers helping the Siryonata to quench the fire, plundered the house. Tha Anatus landered not, but divided the lost the rest of the rights of the connact to the conAratus 421

this exploit, not one of these engaged in it was slain, nor any of the contrary party, fortune so ordering the action as to be clear and free from civil bloodshed. He restored cighty eviles who had been expelled by Nicocles, and no less than five hundred who had been driven out by former tyrants and had endured a long banishment, pretty nearly, by this time, of fifty years' duration. These returning, most of them very poor, were impatient to enter upon their former possessions, and, proceeding to their several farms and houses, gave great perplexity to Aratus, who considered that the city without was envised for its liberty and aimed at by Antigonus, and within was full of disorder and sedition. Wherefore, as things stood, he thought it hest to associate it to the Achean community, and so, although Dorians, they of their own will took upon them the name and citizenship of the Ackreans, who at that time had neither great repute nor much power. For the most of them lived in small towns, and their territory was neither large per fruitful, and the neighbouring sea was almost wholly without a harbour, breaking direct upon a rocky share. But yet these shave others made it appear that the Grecian courage was invincible, whensoever it could only have order and concord within itself and a prudent general to direct it. For though they had scarcely been counted as any part of the ancient Grecian power, and at this time it did not equal the strength of one ordinary city, yet by prudence and unanimity, and because they knew not how to envy and malign, but to obey and follow him amongst them that was most eminent for virtue, they not only preserved their own liberty in the midst of so many great cities, military powers, and monerchies, but went on steadily saying and delivering from slavery great numbers of the Greeks.

As for Aratus, he was in his belaviour a true stateman, highmided, and more insent upon the public than his private concerns, a bitter hater of tynants, medicing the common good the rule and hav oils inframibles and enumities. So that indeed the seems not to have been so institute a fraction, to he was a reasonable and gentle carmy, ready, according to the needs of the state, to ruit himself on occasion to either side; concord between nations, brotherhood between cities, the council and the secentially unnationous in thier votes, being the objects above all other bissaring to which he was personal and open force, but in effecting a purpose underhand, and outstitting cities and potentests without observation, more toolitic and destroors. Thesefort, though he nucereded beyond hope in many enterprises shich he undertook, yet he seems to have left quite as many unattempted, though leasible enough, for want of assarance. For a should sexum, that as the sight of certain beasts is strong in the night but dim by day, the endertees of the bumours of their eyes not bearing the contact of the light, so there is also one land of human shill and aganchy which is easily daunted and disturbed in actions done in the open day and before the world, and recovers all its self possession in secret and covert enterprises, which unequality is occasioned in noble much for want of philosophy, a mere wild and uncultivated Iruit of a virtue without true knowledge coming up, as might be made

out by examples

Aritius, therefore, having associated himself and his city to
the Achmans, served in the cavalers, and made himself much
beloved by his commanding officers for his exact obedience, for
though he had made so barge an acoustics to the common strength
as that of his own credit and the power of his country, get he
was as ready as the most ordinary person to be commanded by
the Achman general of the time being, whether he were a man of
Dynac, or of lintae, or any yet meant town than thest. Having
also a present of five-and twenty salents sent him from the king,
be took then, but gave them all to his fellow-minzes, who
wanted money, attongst other purposes, for the redemption of
those who had been taken primoners

But the exiles being by no means to be satisfied, disturbing continually those that were in possession of their estates, Sicyon was in great danger of falling into perfect desolation, so that, having no hope left but in the kindness of Ptolemy, be resolved to sail to hun, and to beg so much money of him as might reconcile all parties So he set sail from Mothere beyond Malea, designing to make the direct passage. But the pilot not being able to keep the vessel up against a strong wind and high waves that came in from the open sea, he was driven from his course. and with much ado got to shore in Andras, an enemy's land, possessed by Antigonus, who had a garrison there. To avoid which he immediately landed, and, leaving the ship, went up into the country a good way from the sea, having along with him only one friend, called Timanthes, and throwing themselves into some ground thekly covered with wood, they had but an ill night's rest of it. Not long after, the commander of the troops came, and, inquiring for Arabus, was deceived by his s rvants, who had been instructed to say that he had fied at once over into the inhand of Subras. However, he declared this high, the property one board of her, and the servants, to be lawful prine, and declared them accordingly. As for Aratus, after some few days in his extremity, by good fortune a Roman ship happened to put in just at the spot in which he made his abode, sometimes peeping out to seek his opportunity, sometimes keeping close. She was bound for Syria; but going aboard, he agreed with the master to land him in Caria. In which voyage he ment with no less danger on the sex than before. From Caria being after much time straved in Egypt, he immediately wouth to the king, who had agreat kindness for him, and had received from hum many presents of davings and paintings out of Greece. Aratus had a very good judgment in them, and always took care to collect and send him the most curious and shipseld works, appossibly those of Phamphilas and Melantuss.

For the Sicvonian pieces were still in the height of their reputation, as being the only ones whose colours were lasting; so that Apelles himself, even after he had become well known and admired, went thither, and gave a talent to be admitted into the society of the painters there, not so much to partake of their skill, which he wanted not, but of their credit. And accordingly Aratus, when he freed the city, immediately took down the representations of the rest of the tyrants, but demurred a long time about that of Aristratus, who flourished in the time of Philip. For this Aristratus was painted by Melanthus and his scholars, standing by a chariot, in which a figure of Victory was carried. Apelles himself having had a hand in it. as Polemon the geographer reports. It was an extraordinary piece, and therefore Aratus was fain to spare it for the workmanship, and yet, instigated by the hatred he have the tyrants. commanded it to be taken down. But Neacles the painter, one of Aratus's friends, entreated him, it is said, with tears in his eyes, to spare it, and, finding he did not prevail with him, told him at last he should carry on his war with the tyrants, but with the tyrants alone: "Let therefore the chariot and the Victory stand, and I will take means for the removal of Aristratus: " to which Aratus consenting, Neacles blotted out Aristratus, and in his place painted a palm-tree, not daring to add anything else of his own invention. The feet of the defaced figure of Aristratus are said to have escaped notice, and to be hid under the chariot. By these means Aratus got favour with the king, who, after he was more fully acquainted with him, loved him so much the more, and gave him for the relief of his city one

bandred and fifty talents, forty of which he immediately carried away with hun, when he sailed to Peloponnesus, but the rest the king divided into instalments, and sent them to him alterwards at different times

Assuredly it was a great thing to procure for his fellow-citizens a sum of money, a small portion of which had been sufficient, when presented by a king to other captains and popular leaders. to induce them to turn dishonest, and betray and give away their native countries to him But it was a much greater, that by means of this money he effected a reconciliation and good understanding between the rich and poor, and created quiet and arcurity for the whole people His moderation, also, amidst so great power was very admirable For being declared sole arbitrator and plenipotentiary for settling the questions of property m the case of the cylles, be would not accept the commission alone, but, associating with himself filteen of the citizens, with great pairs and trouble he succeeded in adjusting matters, and established peace and good will in the city, for which good service, not only all the citizens in general bestowed extraordinary bonours upon him, but the exiles, apart by themselves, erecting his statue in brass, inscribed on it these elegiac verses -

"Your counsels deeds and still for Greco in war Anovo by you directules a full var are, but we this manage, O'Anothe, grade who have been also been as the state of the state

By his success in effecting these things, Aratus secured himself from the erry of his fellow-cations, on account of the benefits they felt he had done them, but King Antigonia being troubled in his mind about him, and designing either shelly to bring him over to his party, or cles to make him superced by Prolemy, occides other makes of in favour shown to him, who had idtel must do receive them, added this too, that, samfrings to the gods in Contab, he sent portions to Aratus at Siepon, and at the feast, where were many guests, he said pensly, "I thought this Sicyonian youth had been only a lover of liberty and of his fellow-catienes, but now I look upon him as a good and of his fellow-catienes, but now I look upon him as a good despised us, and, placing his hopes further of, admired the Egyptian rishes, hearing so much of their elephants, fleets, and places. But after seeing all these at a nearer distance, per-

ceiving them to be but mere stage show and pageantry, he is now come over to us. And for my part I willingly receive him, and, resolving to make great use of him myself, command you to look upon him as a friend." These words were soon taken hold of by those that envired and maligned him, who strove which of them should, in their letters to Ptolemy, attack him with the worst claumness, so that Ptolemy sent to expostulate the matter with him; so much envy and ill-will did there always attend the so much contended for, and so arbeitly and passionately sepired to, fineudships of princes and great men. But Aratus, heim pere for the first time choses meand of

the Achieans, ravaged the country of Locris and Calvdon, just over against Achea, and then went to assist the Breatiens with ten thousand soldiers, but came not up to them until after the battle near Cheronea had been fought, in which they were beaten by the Ætolians, with the loss of Abœccritus the Beeotarch, and a thousand men besides. A year after, being again elected general, he resolved to attempt the capture of the Acro-Corinthus, not so much for the advantage of the Sicvonians or Acheans, as considering that by expelling the Macedonian garrison he should free all Greece alike from a tyranny which oppressed every part of her. Chares, the Athenian, having the good fortune to get the better, in a certain battle, of the king's generals, wrote to the people of Athens that this victory was "sister to that at Marathon." And so may this action be very safely termed sister to those of Pelopides the Theban and Thrasybulus the Athenian, in which they slew the tyrants; except, perhaps, it exceed them upon this account, that it was not against natural Grecians, but against a foreign and stranger domination. The Isthmus, rising like a bank between the seas, collects into a single spot and compresses together the whole continent of Greece; and Acro-Corinthus, being a high mountain springing up out of the very middle of what here is Greece, whensoever it is held with a garrison, stands in the way and cuts off all Peloponnesus from intercourse of every kind, free passage of men and arms, and all traffic by sea and land. and makes him lord of all that is master of it. Wherefore the younger Philip did not just, but said very true, when he called the city of Corinth " the fetters of Greece." So that this post was always much contended for, especially by the kings and tyrants; and so vehemently was it longed for by Antigonus, that his passion for it came little short of that of frantic love; he was continually occupied with devising how to take it by

surprise from those that were then masters of it, since he d scarred to do it by open force

Therefore Alexander, who held the place, being dead, poisoned by him, as is reported, and his wife Nices succeeding in the government and the possession of Acro-Corinthus, he immediately made use of his son, Demetrius, and, giving her pleasing hopes of a royal marriage and of a happy life with a youth, whom a woman now growing old might well find agreeable, with this lure of his son he succeeded in taking her, but the place itself she did not deliver up, but continued to hold it with a very strong garrison, of which he seeming to take no notice, celebrated the wedding in Corinth, entertaining them with shows and banquets every day, as one that had nothing else in his mund but to give himself up for a while to indulgence in pleasure and mirth. But when the moment came, and Amorbeus began to sing in the theatre, he waited himself upon Nicaa to the play, she being carried in a royally decorated chiair, extremely pleased with her new honour, not dreaming of what was intended. As soon, therefore, as they were come to the turning which led up to the citadel, he desired her to go on before him to the theatre, but for himself, bidding farewell to the music, farewell to the wedding, he went on faster than one would have thought his age would have admitted to the Acro-Counthus, and, finding the gate shut, knocked with his staff, commanding them to open, which they within, being amazed, did And having thus made himself master of the place, he could not contain himself for joy, but, though an old man, and one that had seen so many turns of fortune, he must needs revel at in the open streets and the midst of the market place, crowned with parlands and attended with flute-women, inviting everybody he met to partake in his festivity. So much more does joy without discretion transport and agitate the mind than either fear or sorrow Antigonus, therefore, having in this manner possessed himself of Acro-Counthus, put a garrison into it of those he trusted most, making Persicus the philosopher governor

Now Aratus, even in the lifetime of Alexander, had made an attempt, but, a confederacy being made between Alexander and the Acheans, be deasted. But now be started afresh, with a new plan of effecting the thing, which was this: there were in Cornith four beiters, Syrains born, one of whom, called Diodes, served as a soldier in the garmson, but the three others, having solon some gold of the king's, came to Sicycen, to one Agias, a banker, whom Aratus made use of in his business: To but they

immediately sold part of their gold, and the rest, one of them, called Erginus, coming often thinter, exchanged by parcela. Becoming, by this means, familiarly acquainted by parcela, and being by thin led into discourses concerning the fortress, he and being by thin led into discourses concerning the fortress, he cold him that in going up to his brother he had observed, in the face of the rock, a side cleft, leading to that part of the wall of the castle which was lower than the rest. At which it Zigna joking with him and saying, "So, you wise man, for the sake of a little gold you have broken into the long's treasure; when you might, if you chose, get money in abundance for a single bour's work, burglary, you know, and treason being purshed with the same death." Engines laughed and told him then, he would break the thing to Dioleds (for he did not allogether trust his other brothers), and, returning wilkin a few days, be barguined to conduct Aratus to that part of the wall where it was no more than fiften feet high, and to do what else should be necessary, together with his towher Diolect.

Aratus, therefore, agreed to give them sixty talents if he succoaded, but if he failed in his enterprise, and yet he and they came off safe, then he would give each of them a house and a talent. Now the threescore talents being to be deposited in the hands of Ægias for Erginus and his partners, and Aratus neither having so much by him, nor willing, by borrowing it from others, to give any one a suspicion of his design, he pawned his plate and his wife's golden ornaments to Ægias for the money. For so high was his temper, and so strong his passion for noble actions, that, even as he had heard that Phocion and Epaminondes were the best and justest of the Greeks, because they refused the greatest presents, and would not surrender their duty for money, so he now chose to he at the expense of this enterprise privately, and to advance all the cost out of his own property, taking the whole hazard on himself for the sake of the rest that did not so much as know what was doing. And who indeed can withhold, even now, his admiration for and his sympathy with the generous mind of one, who paid so largely to purchase so great a risk, and lent out his richest possessions to have an apportunity to expose his own life, by entering among his enemies in the dead of the night, without desiring any other security for them than the hope of a noble success.

Now the enterprise, though dangerous enough in itself, was made much more so by an error happening through mistake in the very beginning. For Technon, one of Aratus's servants, was sent away to Diodes, that they might together view the wall Now he had never seen Diocles, but made no question of knowing him by the marks Ergmus had given bun of bim; namely, that he had curly hair, a swarthy complexion, and no beard. Being come, therefore, to the appointed place, he stayed walting for Erginus and Diocles outside the town, in front of the place called Ornis In the meantime, Dionysius, elder brother to Ergnus and Diccles, who knew nothing at all of the matter. but much resembled Diocles, happened to pass by Technon, upon this likeness, all being in accordance with what he had been told, asked him if he knew Ergmus, and on his replying that he was his brother, taking it for granted that he was spealing with Diocles, not so much as asking his name or staying for any other token, he gave him his hand, and began to discourse with him and ask him questions about matters agreed goon with Ergusus Dionysius, cunningly taking the advantage of his mistake, seemed to understand him very well, and returning towards the city, led him on, still talking, without any suspicion And being now near the cate, he was just about to seize on him, when by chance again Erginus met them, and, apprehending the cheat and the danger, beckoned to Technon to make his escape, and immediately both of them, betaling themselves to their heels, ran away as fast as they could to Aratus, who for all this despaired not, but immediately sent away Erricus to Dionysius to bribe him to hold his tonrue And he not only effected that, but also brought hum along with him to Aratus But when they had him, they no longer left him at liberty, but binding him, they kept him close shut up in a room, whilst they prepared for executing their design

All things being now ready, he commanded the rest of his forces to pass the night by their arms, and taking with him four hundred chosen men, few of whom knew what they were going about, he led them to the gates by the temple of June It was the midst of summer, and the moon was at full, and the might so clear without any clouds, that there was danger lest the arms sistening in the moonlight should discover them. But as the foremost of them came near the city, a mist came off from the sea, and darkened the city itself and the outskirts about it. Then the rest of them, sitting down, put off their shoes, because men both make less noise and also climb surer if they go up ladders barelooted, but Ergunus, taking with bim sever young men dressed like travellers, yot unobserved to the gate, and killed the sentry with the other guards. And at the same time the ladders were clapped to the walls, and Aratus.

having in great haste got up a hundred men, commanded the rest to follow as they could, and immediately drawing up his ladders after him, he marched through the city with his hundred men towards the castle, being already overjoyed that he was undiscovered, and not doubting of the success. But while still they were some way off, a watch of four men came with a light. who did not see them, because they were still in the shade of the moon, but were seen plainly enough themselves as they came on directly towards them. So withdrawing a little way amonest some walls and plots for houses, they lay in wait for them; and three of them they killed. But the fourth, being wounded in the head with a sword, fled, crying out that the enemy was in the city. And immediately the trumpets sounded. and all the city was in an uproar at what had happened, and the streets were full of people running up and down, and many lights were seen shining both below in the town, and above in the castle, and a confused noise was to be heard in all parts. In the meantime. Aratus was hard at work struggling to get

up the rocks, at first slowly and with much difficulty, straying continually from the path, which lay deep, and was overshadowed with the crazs, leading to the wall with many windings and turnings; but the moon immediately, and as if by miracle. it is said, dispersing the clouds, shone out and gave light to the most difficult part of the way, until he got to that part of the wall he desired, and there she overshadowed and hid him, the clouds coming together again. Those soldiers whom Aratus had left outside the gate, near Tuno's temple, to the number of three hundred, entering the town, now full of tumult and lights. and not knowing the way by which the former had gone, and finding no track of them, slunk aside, and crowded together in one body under a flank of the cliff that cast a strong shadow. and there stood and waited in great distress and perplexity. For, by this time, those that had gone with Aratus were attacked with missiles from the citadel, and were busy fighting, and a sound of cries of battle came down from above, and a loud noise echoed back and back from the mountain sides, and therefore confused and uncertain whence it proceeded, was heard on all sides. They being thus in doubt which way to turn themselves. Archelaus, the commander of Antigonus's troops, having a great number of soldiers with him, made up towards the castle with great shouts and noise of trumpets to fall upon Aratus's people, and passed by the three hundred, who, as if they had risen out of an ambush, immediately charged him, kiliing the first they encountered, and so affrighted the rest, together with Archelaus, that they put them to flight and pursued them until they had quite broken and dispersed them about the city No sooner were these defeated, but Erginus came to them from those that were fighting above, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the every, who defended themselves very stoutly, and there was a fierce conflict at the very wall, and need of speedy help They therefore desired him to lead them on without delay, and, marching up, by their shouts made their friends understand who they were, and encouraged them, and the full moon, shrong on their arms, made them, in the long line by which they advanced, appear more in number to the enemy than they were; and the echo of the night multiplied their shouts In short, falling on with the rest, they made the enemy give way, and were masters of the castle and garrison, day now beginning to be bright, and the rising sun shining out upon their success By this time, also, the rest of his army came up to Aratus from Sievon, the Counthians joyfully receiving them at the gates and beloing them to secure the king's party And now, having put all things into a safe posture, he came

down from the easile to the theatre, an infinite number of people crowding thither to see him and to hear what he would say to the Counthians Therefore drawing up the Achgans on each side of the stage-passages, he came forward himself upon the stage, with his corselet still on, and his face showing the effects of all his hard work and want of sleep, so that his natural e-tiltation and joyfulness of mind were overborne by the weamness of his body. The people, as soon as he came forth, breaking out into great applauses and congratulations, he took his spear in his right hand, and, resting his body upon it with his knee a little bent, stood a good while in that posture, silently receiving their shouts and acclamations, while they extolled his valour and wondered at his fortune, which being over, standing up, he beran an oration in the name of the Achgans, suitable to the late action, persuading the Counthians to associate themselves to the Acheans, and withal delivered up to them the keys of their gates, which had never been in their power since the tune of King Philip Of the captains of Antigonus, he dismissed Archelaus, whom he had taken presoner, and Theophrastus, who refused to quit his post, he put to death As for Persous, when he saw the castle was lost, he had got away to Cenchreze, where, some time after, discoursing with one that said to him that the wise man only is a true general, "Indeed," he replied, "none of Zeno's maxims once pleased me better than this, but I have been converted to another opinion by the young man of Sicyon." This is told by many of Perseus. Attates immediately after made himself master of the temple of Juno and haven of Chelmun, eized upon five-and-tensyl to the king's ships, together with five hundred horses and four handred Syrins: these be sold. The Ackanas kept guard in the Acro-Contubus with a body of four hundred soldiers, and fifty dogs with as many keepers.

The Romans, extolling Philopoemen, called him the last of the Grecians, as if no great man had ever since his time been bred amongst them. But I should call this capture of the Acro-Corinthus the last of the Grecian exploits, being comparable to the best of them, both for the daringness of it, and the success, as was presently seen by the consequences. For the Megarians, revolting from Antigonus, joined Aratus, and the Trozzenians and Epidaurians enrolled themselves in the Achean community. and issuing forth for the first time, he entered Attica, and passing over into Salamis, he plundered the island, turning the Achiean force every way, as if it were just let loose out of prison and set at liberty. All freemen whom he took he sent back to the Athenians without ransom, as a sort of first invitation to them to come over to the league. He made Ptolemy become a confederate of the Acheans, with the privilege of command both by sea and land. And so great was his power with them, that since he could not by law be chosen their general every year. yet every other year he was, and by his counsels and actions was in effect always so. For they perceived that neither riches nor reputation, nor the friendship of kings, nor the private interest of his own country, nor anything else was so dear to him as the increase of the Achmans' power and greatness. For he believed that the cities, weak individualty, could be preserved by nothing else but a mutual assistance under the closest bond of the common interest, and, as the members of the body live and breathe by the union of all in a single patural growth. and on the dissolution of this, when once they separate, pine away and putrify, in the same manner are cities ruined by being dissevered, as well as preserved when, as the members of one great body, they enjoy the benefit of that province and counsel that govern the whole.

Now being distressed to see that, whereas the chief neighbouring cities enjoyed their own laws and liberties, the Argives were in bondage, he took counsel for destroying their tyrant,

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Aristomachus, being very desirous both to pay his debo of eratitude to the city where he had been bred up, by restoring it its liberty, and to add so considerable a town to the Acheenes Nor were there some wanting who had the courage to undertake the thing, of whom Eschylus and Charimenes the soothsaver were the chief But they wanted swords, for the tyrant had prohibited the keeping of any under a great penalty Therefore Aratus, having provided some small daggers at Counth and hidden them in the pack saddles of some pack-horses that carried ordinary ware, sent them to Argos But Charimenes letting another person into the design, Aschylus and his partners were angry at it, and henceforth would have no more to do with him. and took their measures by themselves, and Chanmenes, on finding this, went, out of anger, and informed against them. just as they were on their way to attack the tyrant, however, the most of them made a shift to escape out of the market place, and fled to Cornth Net long after, Aristomachus was slain by some slaves, and Aristippus, a worse tyrant than he, seized the government. Upon this, Arstus, mustering all the Achieurs present that were of age, hurried away to the aid of the city, believing that he should find the people ready to tous with him But the greater number being by this time habituated to slavery and content to submit, and no one coming to tom him, he was oblized to retire, having moreover exposed the Acheans to the charge of committing acts of hostility in the midst of peace, upon which account they were sued before the Mantineans, and, Aratus not making his appearance, Aristippus gamed the cause, and had damages allowed him to the value of thirty mine: And now hating and fearing Aratus, he sought means to kill him, having the assistance herein of King Antironus. so that Aratus was perpetually dogged and watched by those that waited for an opportunity to do this service there is no such saleguard of a ruler as the sincere and steady good will of his subjects, for where both the common people and the principal citizens have their fears not of, but for, their povernor, he sees with many eyes and hears with many ears whatsoever is doing Therefore I cannot but here stop short a tile in the course of my narrative to describe the manner of life which the 20 much envied arbitrary power and the 50 much telebrated and admired pomp and pride of absolute government obliged Aristippus to lead

For though Antigones was his friend and ally, and though he maintained numerous soldiers to act as his body-guard, and had

not left one enemy of his alive in the city, yet he was forced to make his guards encamp in the colonnade about his house; and for his servants, he turned them all out immediately after supper. and then shutting the doors upon them, he crept up into a small unper chamber, together with his mistress, through a trap-door, upon which he placed his bed, and there slent after such a fashion, as one in his condition can be supposed to sleep, that is, interruptedly and in fear. The ladder was taken away by the woman's mother, and locked up in another room: in the morning she brought it again, and putting it to, called up this brave and wonderful tyrant, who came crawling out like some creeping thing out of its hole. Whereas Aratus, not by force of arms. but lawfully and by his virtue, lived in possession of a firmly settled command, wearing the ordinary coat and cloak, being the common and declared enemy of all tyrants, and has left behind him a noble race of descendants surviving smong the Grecians to this day; while those occupiers of citadels and maintainers of body-guards, who made all this use of arms and gates and holts to protect their lives, in some few cases perhaps escaped like the hare from the hunters; but in no instance bave we either bouse or family, or so much as a tomb to which any respect is shown, remaining to preserve the memory of any one of them. Against this Aristippus, therefore, Aratus made many open

and many secret attempts, whilst he endeavoured to take Argos, though without success; once, particularly, clapping scaling ladders in the night to the walls, he desperately got up upon it with a few of his soldiers, and killed the guards that ormoved him. But the day appearing, the tyrant set upon him on all hands, whilst the Argives, as if it had not been their liberty that was contended for, but some Nemean game going on for which it was their privilege to assign the prize, like fair and impartial judges, sat looking on in great quietness. Aratus, fighting bravely, was run through the thigh with a lance, yet he maintained his ground against the enemy till night, and, had he been able to go on and hold out that night also, he had gained his point: for the tyrant thought of nothing but fiving, and had already shipped most of his goods. But Aratus, having no intelligence of this, and wanting water, being disabled himself by his wound, retreated with his soldiers.

Despairing henceforth to do any good this way, he fell openly with his army into Argolis, and plundered it, and in a fierce battle with Aristippus near the river Chares, he was accused the lawing withdrawn out of the fields, and thereby abandoned the

victory For whereas one part of his army had unmistal ably got the better, and was pursuing the enemy at a good distance from him, he yet retreated m confusion into his camp, not so much because he was overpressed by those with whom he was engaged, as out of mistrust of success and through a panic fear But when the other wine, returning from the pursuit, showed themselves extremely vexed, that though they had put the enemy to fight and killed many more of his men than they had lost, yet those that were in a manner conquered should erect a trophy as conquerors, being much ashamed he resolved to fight them again about the trophy, and the next day but one drew up his army to give them battle. But, perceiving that they were reinforced with fresh troops, and came on with better courage than before, he durst not hazard a fight, but retired and sent to request a truce to bury his dead. However, by his dexternty in dealing personally with men and managing political affairs, and by his general fayour, he excused and obliterated this fault, and brought in Clong to the Achgan association, and celebrated the Nemean games at Cleone, as the proper and more ancient place for them The games were also celebrated by the Argives at the same time, which gave the first occasion to the violation of the privilege of safe conduct and minumity always granted to those that came to compete for the prizes, the Acheans at that time selling as enemies all those they caught going through their country after toining in the games at Argos So sehement and implacable a hater was he of the tyrants

Not long after, having notice that Aristoppis had a design upon Cleone, but was afraid of him, because he then was staving in Corinth, he assembled an army by public proclamation, and commanding them to take along with them provisions for several days, he marched to Cenchreze, hoping by this stratagem to entice Aristippus to fall upon Cleone, when he supposed him far enough off And so it happened, for he immediately brought his forces against it from Asgos But Aratus, returning from Cerebrez to Counth in the dusk of the evening, and setting posts of his troops in all the roads, led on the Acheans, who followed in such good order and with so much speed and alacrity. that they were undiscovered by Aristippus, not only whilst upon their march, but even when they got, still in the night, into Cleone, and drew up m order of battle As soon as it was morning, the gates being opened and the trumpets sounding, he fell upon the enemy with great cries and fury, routed them at once, and kept close in pursuit, following the course which he most

imagined Aristippus would choose, there being many turns that might be taken. And so the chase lasted as far as Mycenes where the tyrant was slain by a cortain Cretan called Tragiscus. as Dinias reports. Of the common soldiers, there fell above fifteen hundred. Vet though Aratus had obtained so creat a victory and that too without the loss of a man, he could not make himself master of Argos, nor set it at liberty, because Agias and the vounger Aristomachus got into the town with some of the king's forces, and seized upon the government. However, by this exploit he spoiled the scoffs and jests of those that flattered the tyrants, and in their raillery would say that the Achean general was usually troubled with a looseness when he was to fight a battle, that the sound of a trumpet struck him with a drowsiness and a giddiness, and that when he had drawn up his army and given the word, he used to ask his lieutenants and officers whether there was any further need of his presence now the die was cast, and then went aloof, to await the result at a distance. For indeed these stories were so generally listened to. that, when the philosophers disputed whether to have one's heart beat and to change colour upon any apparent danger be an argument of fear, or rather of some distemperature and chilliness of bodily constitution. Aratus was always quoted as a good general who was nivnys thus affected in time of battle.

Having thus despatched Aristippus, he advised with himself how to overthrow Lydiades, the Megalopolitan, who held usurped power over his country. This person was naturally of a generous temper, and not insensible of true honour, and had been led into this wickedness, not by the ordinary motives of other tyrants, licentiousness and rapacity, but being young, and stimulated with the desire of glory, he had let his mind be unwardy prepossessed with the vain and false applauses given to tyronny, as some happy and clorious thing. But he no sooner seized the government, then he grew weary of the pump and burden of it. And at once equilating the tranquillity and fearing the policy of Aratus, he took the best resolutions, first, to free himself from hatred and fear, from soldiers and guards, and, secondly, to be the public benefactor of his country. And sending for Aratus, he resigned the government, and incorporated his city into the Achean community. The Acheans, applauding this generous action, chose him their general; upon which, desiring to outdo Aratus in glory, amongst many other uncalled-for things, he declared war against the Lacedemonians; which Aratus opposing was thought to do it out of envy; and Lydiades was the

a citizen of repute, being extremely handsome and tall, bancened to be sitting in the temple of Diana, placed there by the commander of the band of chosen men, who had taken her and put his crested helmet upon her. She, hearing the noise, and running out to see what was the matter, stood in the temple gates, looking down from above upon those that fought, having the belinet upon her head; in which posture she seemed to the citizens to be something more than human, and struck fear and dread into the enemy, who believed it to be a divine apparition: so that they lost all courage to defend themselves. But the Pellenians tell us that the image of Diana stands usually untouched, and when the priestess happens at any time to remove it to some other place, nobedy dares look upon it, but all turn their faces from it; for not only is the sight of it terrible and hurtful to mankind, but it makes even the trees, by which it happens to be carried, become barren and cast fruit. This image, therefore, they say, the priestess produced at that time, and holding it directly in the faces of the Ætolians, made them lose their reason and judgment. But Aratus mentions no such thing in his commentaries, but saving that having put to flight the Etolians, and falling in pell-mall with them into the city, he drove them out by main force, and killed seven hundred of them. And the action was extelled as one of the most famous exploits. and Timanthes the pointer made a picture of the battle, giving by his composition a most lively representation of it.

But many great pations and potentates combining against the Achaens, Aratus immediately treated for friendly arrangements with the Etolians, and, making use of the assistance of Panealeon, the most powerful man amongst them, he not only made a peace, but an alliance between them and the Achieans. But being desirous to free the Athenians, he got into disgrace and ill-repute among the Achaems, because, notwithstanding the truce and suspension of arms made between them and the Macedonians, he had attempted to take the Piraus. He denies this fact in his commentaries, and lays the blame on Erginus, by whose assistance he took Acro-Corinthus, alleging that he mon his own private account attacked the Pireus, and his ladders happening to break, being hotly pursued, he called out upon Aratus, as if present, by which means deceiving the enemy he got safely off. This excuse, however, sounds very improbable; for it is not in any way likely that Erginus, a private man and g Syrian stranger, should conceive in his mind so creat an atternot, without Aratus at his back, to tell him how and when

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to make it, and to supply him with the means. Nor was it twice or three, but very often, that, like an obstinate lover, he repeated his attempts on the Pirzus, and was so far from being discouraged by his disappointments, that his missing his hopes but narrowly was an incentive to him to proceed the more boldly in a new trial One time amongst the rest, in making his escape through the Thrasian plain, he put his leg out of joint, and was forced to submit to many operations with the linite before he was cured, so that for a long time he was carried in a litter to the wars

And when Antigonus was dead, and Demetrius succeeded him m the kinedom, he was more bent than ever upon Athens, and in general quite desputed the Macedonians And so, being overthrown in battle near Phylacia by Eithys, Demetrius's general, and there being a very strong report that he was either taken or slam, Diogenes, the governor of the Piraus, sent letters to Connth. commanding the Achaens toquit that city, seeing Aratus was dead When these letters came to Corinth, Aratus happened to be there in person, so that Diogenes's messengers being sufficiently mocked and dended, were forced to return to their master King Demetrius himself also sent a ship, wherein Aratus was to be brought to him in chains. And the Athenians. exceeding all possible fickleness of fiattery to the Macedonians, crowned themselves with garlands upon the first news of his death. And so in anger be went at once and invaded Attica, and penetrated as far as the Academy, but then suffering himself to be pacified he did no further act of hostility. And the Athenians afterwards, coming to a due sense of his virtue when upon the death of Demetrius they attempted to recover their liberty, called him to their assistance, although at that time another person was general of the Achicans, and he himself had long kept his bed with a sickness, yet rather than fail the city in a time of need, he was carned thather in a latter, and helped to persuade Diogenes the governor to deliver up the Piragus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians in consideration of a hundred and filty talents, of which Aratus himself contributed twenty to the city. Upon this, the Æginetans and the Hermionians immediately joined the Acheans, and the greatest part of Arcadia entered their confederacy, and the Macedonians being occupied with various wars upon their own confines and with their neighbours, the Achwan power, the Atolians also being in slirance with them, rose to great height.

But Aratus, still bent on effecting his old project, and im-

patient that tyranny should maintain itself in so near a city as Argos, sent to Aristomachus to persuade him to restore liberty to that city, and to associate it to the Acheans, and that, following Lydiades's example, he should rather choose to be the general of a great nation, with esteem and honour, than the tyrant of one city, with continual hatred and danger. Aristomachus slighted not the message, but desired Aratus to send him fifty talents, with which he might pay off the soldiers. In the meantime, whilst the money was providing, Lydiades, being then general, and extremely ambitious that this adventage might seem to be of his procuring for the Achaeans, accused Aratus to Aristomachus, as one that bore an irreconcilable hatred to the tyrants, and, persuading him to commit the affair to his management, he presented him to the Achgans. But there the Achgan council gave a manifest proof of the great credit Aratus had with them and the good-will they bore him. For when he, in anger, spoke against Aristomachus's being admitted into the association, they rejected the proposal, but when he was afterwards pacified and came himself and spoke in its favour, they voted everything cheerfully and readily, and decreed that the Argives and Phliasians should be incorporated into their commonwealth. and the next year they chose Aristomachus general. He, being in good credit with the Acheans, was very desirous to invade Laconia, and for that purpose sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote to him to dissuade him as far as he could from that expedition, being very unwilling the Achgans should be engaged in a quarrel with Cleomenes, who was a daring man, and making extraordinary advances to power. But Aristomachus resolving to go on, he obeyed and served in person, on which occasion he hindered Aristomachus from fighting a battle when Cleomenes came upon them at Pallantium; and for this act was accused by Lydiades, and, coming to an open conflict with him in a contest for the office of seneral, he carried it by the show of hands, and was chosen general the twelfth time.

This year, being routed by Cleomenes, near the Lyctum, he field, and, wandering out of the way in the night, was believed to be shin; and once more it was confidently reported so throughout all Greece. He, however, having energed this danger and rallish his force, was not content to march off in addety, but making a happy use of the present conjuncture, when nobedy dreamed of any such thing, he fell soddenly upon the Mantineans, allies of Cleomenes, and, taking the city, put a guarison into it, and mage the stranger inslabilisatis free of the city; pro-

curing, by this means, those advantages for the beaten Acharans, which being conquerers, they would not easily have obtained from Landermonians again invading the Megalopolitan territories, be marched with a manifestation of the city, but refused to grow Geomenic who did all he could to privable him to it, any opportunity of engaging hum in a battle, nor could be prevailed to the property of the

So that though the light-armed soldiers had sallied out and driven the Lacedemonians as far as their camp, and had come even to their tents, yet would not Aratus lead his men forward. but, posting himself in a hollow water-course in the way thither. stonged and prevented the citizens from crossing this Lydudes, extremely vexed at what was going on, and loading Aratus with reproaches, entreated the borse that, together with him, they would second them that had the enemy in chase, and not let a certain victory slip out of their hands, nor forsake him that was going to venture his life for his country And being reinforced with many brave men that turned after him, he charged the enemy's right wing, and routing it followed the pursuit without measure or discretion, letting his eagerness and hones of glory tempt him on into broken ground, full of planted fruit-trees and cut up with broad ditches, where, being engaged by Cleornenes. he fell, fighting gallantly the noblest of hattles, at the cate of his country. The rest, flying back to their main body and troubling the ranks of the full-armed infantry, put the whole army to the rout Aratus was extremely blamed, heing suspected to have betrayed Lydudes, and was constrained by the Achaens, who withdrew in great anger, to accompany them to Agrum, where they called a council, and decreed that he should no longer be furnished with money, nor have any more soldiers hired for him, but that, if he would make war, he should pay them himself

This affront he resented so far as to resolve to give up the seal and lay down the office of general, but upon second thoughts be found it best to have patiente, and presently marched with the Achicans to Orthomenus and fought a battle with Megas-

tonus, the stepfather of Cleomenes, where he got the victory, killing three hundred men and taking Megistonus prisoner. But whereas he used to be chosen general every other year, when his turn came and he was called to take upon him that charge, he declined it, and Timoxenus was chosen in his stead. The true cause of which was not the pique he was alleged to have taken at the people, but the ill circumstances of the Acharan affairs. For Cleomenes did not now invade them gently and tenderly as bitherto, as one controlled by the civil authorities, but having killed the Ephors, divided the lands, and made many of the stranger residents free of the city, he was responsible to no one in his government, and therefore fell in good earnest upon the Acheans, and nut forward his claim to the supreme military command. Wherefore Aratus is much blamed, that in a stormy and tempestuous time, like a cowardly pilot, he should forsake the helm when it was even perhaps his duty to have insisted. whether they would or no, on saving them; or if he thought the Achiean affairs desperate, to have yielded all up to Cleomenes. and not to have let Peleponnesus fall once again into barbarism with Macedonian garrisons, and Acro-Corinthus be occupied with Illyric and Gauiish soldiers, and, under the specious name of confederates, to have made those masters of the cities whom be had held it his business by arms and by policy to haffle and defeat, and, in the memoirs be left behind him, loaded with reproaches and insults. And say that Cleomenes was arbitrary and tyrannical, yet was be descended from the Heraclida, and Sparta was his country, the obscurest citizens of which deserved to be preferred to the generalship before the best of the Macedonians by those that had any regard to the bonour of Grecian birth. Besides, Cleomenes sued for that command over the Acheans as one that would return the honour of that title with real kindnesses to the cities; whereas Antionnus, being declared absolute general by see and land, would not accept the office unless Acro-Corinthus were by special agreement put into his hands, following the example of Æson's hunter; for he would not get up and ride the Achicans, who desired him so to do. and offered their backs to him by embassies and popular decrees. till, by a garrison and hostages, they had allowed him to bit and bridle them. Aratus exhausts all his powers of speech to show the necessity that was upon him. But Polybius writes. that long before this, and before there was any necessity, apprehending the daring temper of Geomenes, he communicated secretly with Antigones, and that he had beforehand prevailed

with the Megalopolitans to press the Acheans to crave and from Antigonis. For they were the most harasted by the war, Clomenes containly plundering and ranacking their country And so writes also Phylarchus, who, unless seconded by the testimony of Polybus, would not be altogether credited, for he is seared with enthusiasma when he so much as speaks a word of Clomenes, and as if he were pleading, not writing a history, goes on hirtogloou defending the other

The Achmans, therefore, lost Mantinea, which was recovered by Cleomenes, and being beaten in a great fight near Hecatombæum, so general was the consternation, that they immediately sent to Cleomenes to desire him to come to Argos and tale the command upon him But Aratus, as soon as he understood that he was coming, and was got as far as Lema with his troops, fearing the result, sent ambassadors to him, to request him to come accompanied with three hundred only, as to friends and confederates, and, if he mistrusted anything, he should receive hostages Upon which Cleomenes, saying this was mere mockery and affront, went away, sending a letter to the Achaeans full of reproaches and accusation against Aratus And Aratus also wrote letters against Cleomenes, and bitter revilings and raillenes were current on both hands, not spanne even their marriages and wives Hereupon Geomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achieans, and in the meantime missed very narrowly of taking Sieyon by treathery Turning off at a little distance, he attacked and took Pellene which the Achtean general abandoned, and not long after took also Pheneus and Pentelcum Then immediately the Argives voluntarily joined with him, and the Phliasians received a garrison, and in short nothing among all their new acquisitions held firm to the Achieum Aratus was encompassed on every side with clamour and confusion, he saw the whole of Peloponnesus shaking hands around him, and the cities everywhere set in revolt by men descrous of innovations

designous oil mnovations. Indeed no place remained quiet or satisfied with the present condition, even amongst the Sicyonanas and Commitians them televis, many were well known to have had private conference with Cleomenes, who long since, out of design to make themselves masters of their several cuttons, had been discontented with the present order of things. Aratus, having absolute power given him to bring these to condiga punishment, executed many of them as he could find at Sicyon, but going about to find them out and punish them at Commit sho, be stripted the

people, already unsound in feeling and weary of the Achgan government. So collecting tunnituously in the temple of Apollo. they sent for Aratus, having determined to take or kill him before they broke out into open revolt. He came accordingly, leading his horse in his hand, as if he suspected nothing. Then several leaping up and accusing and reproaching him, with mild words and a settled countenance he bade them sit down, and not stand crying out upon him in a disorderly manner, desiring also, that those that were about the door might be let in, and saying so, he stepped out quietly, as if he would give his horse to somebody. Clearing himself thus of the crowd, and speaking without discomposure to the Corinthians that he met commanding them to go to Apollo's temple, and being now, before they were aware, got near to the citadel, he leaned upon his horse, and commanding Cleonster, the governor of the garrison. to have a special care of his charge, he galloped to Sievon, followed by thirty of his soldiers, the rest leaving him and shifting for themselves. And not long after, it being known that he was fled, the Corinthians pursued him, but not overtaking him. they immediately sent for Cleomenes and delivered up the city to him, who, however, thought nothing they could give was so great a onin, as was the loss of their having let Aratus get away, Nevertheless, being strengthened by the accession of the people of the Acte, as it is called, who put their towns into his hands. he proceeded to carry a palisade and lines of cizcumvaliation around the Acro-Corinthus.

But Aratus being arrived at Sicyon, the body of the Achaens there flocked to him, and, in an assembly there held, he was chosen general with absolute power, and he took about him a guard of his own citizens, it being now three-and-thirty years since he first took a part in public affairs among the Achgans. having in that time been the chief man in credit and power of all Greece; but he was now deserted on all hands, helpless and overpowered, drifting about smidst the waves and danger on the shattered hulk of his native city. For the Atolians, whom he applied to, declined to assist him in his distress, and the Athenians who were well affected to him were diverted from lending him any succour by the authority of Euclides and Micion. Now whereas he had a house and property in Corinth, Cleamenes meddled not with it, nor suffered anybody else to do so but calling for his friends and arents, he bade them hold themselves responsible to Aratus for everything, as to him they would have to render their account; and privately he sent to

hm Tngylus, and afterwards Megistamus, his own stepfather, to offer him, besides several other things, a yearly pension of twelve intents, which was twice as much as Publiny allowed him, for he gave lum say, and all halar or deplany allowed him, for he gave lum say, and all halar or demander at a to be delarred commander of the declarant, and taggifur with them to have the keeping of the craided of Greath To which Artais returning asswer that affairs were more properly in his power as he was in the power of them, believing this is mere evision. The state of the country of Suyon, destroying all with the state of the state

In the meantime the Acheans assembled at Ægum, and called for Aratis, but it was very hazardous for him to pass thather, while Clements was encamped before Sieyon, beades, the extreme acheavoured to stop burn by their entreates, protesting that they would not suffer him to expose himself to so evident change, the enterp being so near, the women, also, and children hung about him, weeping and embracing him as their cammon father and defender. But he, having conficrated and execuraged them as well as he could, got on horseback, and being accompanied with en of his frends and his son, then a youth, got away to the seasted, and flading vessels there waiting off the hore, went on board of them and salied to Ægimm to the stateshly, in which it was decreed that Artigrous should be called a to their and, and should have the Acro-Cornthus delivered to him. Aristi also sent his son to him with the other hostings. The Consultana, extremely angry at this proceeding, may plandered the property, and gave his house as a present to

Antiquous being now near at hand with his simy, consisting of Antiquous being now near at hand with his simy, consisting of his direct phundred borse, Anatus, with the members of council, went to burded borse, Anatus, with the members of council, went to make the man and the man hand the man hand the man hand the man hand to be made out of the fosses he had caused them, and that the been made out of the fosses he had caused them, and that the first great principle of his public conduct had been hostility to the former Antiquous. But perceiving the necessity that was now upon him, and the pressure of the time, that lord and master of hote we call uniter, to be inscribed, be resolved to put all to

the venture. So soon, therefore, as Antigonus was told that Aratus was coming up to him, he saluted the rest of the company after the ordinary menner, but him he received at the very first approach with especial bonour, and finding him afterwards to be both good and wise, admitted him to his nearer familiarity. For Aratus was not only useful to him in the management of great affairs, but singularly agreeable also as the private companion of a king in his recreations. And therefore, though Antigonus was young, yet as soon as be observed the temper of the man to be proper for a prince's friendship, he made more use of him than of any other, not only ni the Achaans, but also of the Macedonians that were about him. So that the thing fell out to him just as the god had foreshown in a sacrifice. For it is related that, as Aratus was not long before offering sacrifice, there were found in the liver two gall-bags inclosed in the same caul of fat; whereupon the soothsaver told him that there should very soon be tha strictest friendship imaginable between him and his greatest and most mortal enemies; which prediction be at that time slighted. having in general no great faith in soothsevings and prognostications, but depending most upon rational deliberation. At an after time, however, when, things succeeding well in the war. Antigonus made a great feast at Corinth, to which he invited a great number of guests, and placed Aratus next above him, and presently calling for a coverlet, asked him if he did not find it cold, and on Aratus's answering, "Yes, extremely cold," bade bim come nearer, so that when the servants brought the coverlet, they threw it over them both, then Aratus, remembering the sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king the sign which had happened to him, and the interpretation of it. But this fell out a good while after.

So Aratus and the king, nlighting their failt to each other at Pege, immediately machine (leaved the enemy, with whom they had frequent engagements near the city, Gleonanas maintaining a strong position, and the Corinhiana making a very brindedence. In the menatime Arasinates the Angive, Aratus's triend, sent privately to him to let him know that he would cause soldiers. Aratus sequalated Antigeoma, and taking fifteen burder men with him, sailed in hosts along the slove as quickly as he could from the Istimute to Epidaums. But the Angives had not particent fill he could arrive, but, making a sudden insurrection, fell upon Cleonecer's sodiers, and drove them into the citadel. Cleonecers having news of this, and fearing lest, if the

enemy should possess themselves of Arges, they might cut off his retreat home, leaves the Aero Granthus and marches away by might to help his men. He got thither first, and beat off the enemy, but Aranus appearing not long effect, and the king approaching with his forceb, be received to Mantinea, upon which all the cities again came are to the Achtanas, and Amigonis toke possessiant of the Aero-Granthus Aratus, being chosin general by the Argest permaded them to make a present of the Argest permaded them to make a present of Argest and the traitors. As for Argestian and the property of the tyrants and the traitors. As for Argestian and the property of the tyrants and the traitors. As for Argestian and the property of the tyrants and the traitors are the argestian and the property of the tyrants and the traitors are the traitors. As the property of the tyrants and the trait of the trait of

And already the blame of the other things that were done began to be laid to his account, as that they so lightly gave un Counth to Antigonus, as if it had been an inconsiderable village. that they had suffered him, after first sacking Orchomemus, then to put into it a Macedonian garnson, that they made a decree that no letters nor embassy should be sent to any other king without the consent of Antigonus, that they were forced to furnish pay and proving for the Macadonian soldiers, and celebrated sacrifices, processions, and games in honour of Antigonus. Aratus's cauzens setting the example and receiving Anticonus, who was lodged and entertained at Aratus's house All these things they treated as his fault, not knowing that having once but the rems into Antigonis's bands and let himself be borne by the impetus of regal power, he was no longer master of anything but one single voice, the liberty of which it was not so very safe for him to use For it was very plain that Aratus was much troubled at several things, as appeared by the business about the statues For Antigonus replaced the statues of the tyrants of Argos that had been thrown down, and on the contrary threw down the statues of all those that had taken the Acro-Cornathus. except that of Aratus, nor could Aratus, by all his entreaties, dissuade him Also, the usage of the Mantineans by the Achaens seemed not in accordance with the Grecian Icelines and manners For being master of they city by the help of Antigonus, they put to death the chief and most noted men amongst them; and of the rest, some they sold, others they sent, bound in fetters, into Macedonia, and made slaves of their wives and children, and of the money thus raised, a third part they divided among themselves, and the other two-thirds were distributed among the Macedonians. And this might seem to have been justified by the law of retaliation; for although it be a barbarous thing for men of the same nation and blood thus to deal with one another in their fury, yet necessity makes it, as Simonides says, sweet and something excusable, being the proper thing, in the mind's painful and inflamed condition, to give alleviation and relief. But for what was afterwards done to that city, Aratus cannot be defended on any ground either of reason or necessity. For the Argives having had the city bestowed on them by Antigonus, and resolving to people it, he being then chosen as the new founder, and being general at that time, decreed that it should no longer be called Mantinea, but Antigonea, which name it still bears. So that he may be said to have been the cause that the old memory of the "beautiful Mantinea" has been wholly extinguished and the city to this day has the name of the destroyer and slaver of its citizens.

After this, Cleomenes, being overthrown in a great battle near Sellasia, forsook Sparta and fied into Egypt, and Antigonus, having shown all manner of kindness and fair-dealing to Aratus, retired into Macedonia. There, falling sick, he sent Philip, the heir of the kingdom, into Peloponnesus, being yet scarce a youth, commanding him to follow above all the counsel of Aratus, to communicate with the cities through him, and through him to make acquaintance with the Achmans; and Aratus, receiving him accordingly, so managed him as to send him back to Macedon both well affected to himself and full of desire and ambition to

take an honourable part in the affairs of Greece.

When Antigonus was dead, the Ætolians, despising the sloth and negligence of the Achzens, who having learnt to be defended by other men's valour and to shelter themselves under the Macedonian arms. lived in case and without any discipline, now attempted to interfere in Peloponnesus. And plundering the land of Patræ and Dyme in their way, they invaded Messene and ravaged it; at which Aratus being indignant, and finding that Timoxenus, then general, was hesitating and letting the time go by, being now on the point of laying down his office, in which he himself was chosen to succeed him, he anticipated the proper term by five days, that he might bring relief to the Messenians. And mustering the Achaeans, who were both in their persons unexercised in arms and in their minds relaxed and averse to war, he met with a defeat at Caphyse. Having thus enemy should possess themselves of Argos, they might cut off his retreat home, leaves the Acro-Cormthus and marches away by night to help his men He got thither first, and beat off the enemy, but Aratus appearing not long after, and the king approaching with his forces, he retreated to Mantinea, upon which all the cities again came over to the Achgans, and Anti gonus took possession of the Acro-Cornthus Aratus, being chosen general by the Argives, persuaded them to make a present to Antigonus of the property of the tyrants and the traitors As for Anstomachus, after having put him to the rack in the town of Cenchrese, they drawned him in the sea, for which, more than anything else, Aratus was reproached, that he could suffer a man to be so lawlessly put to death, who was no bad man, had been one of his long acquaintance, and at his per sussion had abdicated his power and annexed the city to the Achgans

And already the blame of the other things that were done began to be laid to his account, as that they so lightly gave up Corinth to Antigonus, as if it had been an inconsiderable village, that they had suffered him, after first sacking Orchomenus, then to put into it a Macedonian garrison, that they made a decree that no letters por embassy should be sent to any other king without the consent of Antigonus, that they were forced to furnish pay and provision for the Macedonian soldiers, and celebrated sacrifices, processions, and games in honour of Antigonus, Aratus's citizens setting the example and receiving Antigonus, who was lodged and entertained at Aratus's house All these things they treated as his fault, not knowing that having once put the reins into Antigonus's bands and let himself be borne by the impetus of regal power, he was no longer master of snything but one single voice, the liberty of which it was not so very safe for him to use For it was very plain that Aratus was much troubled at several things, as appeared by the business about the statues For Antigonus replaced the statues of the tyrants of Argos that had been thrown down, and on the contrary threw down the statues of all those that had taken the Acro-Coronthus, except that of Aratus, nor could Aratus, by all his entreaties, dissuade him Also, the usage of the Mantineans by the Acheans seemed not in accordance with the Grecian feelings and manners For being master of their city by the help of Antigonus, they put to death the thief and most noted men amongst them, and of the rest, some they sold, others they sent, bound in fetters, into Macedonia, and made slaves of their wives and children, and of

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When Antigonus was dead, the Albolians, despising the sloth and enginence of the Acheaus, who having learns to be defeated by other mere's valour and to shelter themselves under the Maccolonia arms, lived in ease and without any discipline, now attempted to interfere in Peloponaneaus. And plundering he land of Patra and Dyrne in their way, they invoided Messens and travaged it; at which Arathas being indignant, and finding that Timosumas, then generally was testiating and letting the time go by, being now on the point of laying down his office, in which he himself was chosen to succeed hins, be suitcipated the Proper term by five days, that he might bring relief to the Messensans. And mustering the Acheaus, who were both in their Persons unexercised in arms and in their minds relaxed and waves to war, he met with a defeat at Cuplyor. Having thus

begon the war, as it seemed, with too much heat and passion, he then ran into the other extreme, cooling again and despending or ruch that he let pass and overlooked many fair opportunities of advantage given by the Atolians, and allowed them to run rot, as it were, throughout all Peloponaness, with all manner of insolence and hecutousness. Wherefore, holding forth their hands once more to the Macedonisms, they mived and drew in Fhilip to intermedile in the affairs of Greece, chiefly hopping-because of his affection and trust that he felt for Artaust, they should find him easy tempered, and ready to be managed as they please.

But the king, being now persuaded by Apelles, Megaleas, and other courtiers, that endeavoured to rum the credit Aratus had with him, took the side of the contrary faction and joined them m canvassing to have Eperatus chosen general by the Achiesus But he being altogether scorned by the Achgans, and, for the want of Aratus to help, all things going wrong, Philip saw he had quite mutaken his part, and, turning about and reconciling himself to Aratus, he was wholly his, and his affairs, now going on I wourably both for his power and reputation, he depended upon him altogether as the author of all his gains in both respects. Arabus hereby giving a proof to the world that he was as good a nursing father of a kingdom as he had been of a democracy, for the actions of the king had to them the touch and colour of his to ment and character The moderation which the young ir showed to the Lacedamonians, who had incurred his displear re, and his affability to the Cretans, by which in a few days to brought over the whole sland to his obedience, and his expection against the Atolians, so wonderfully ruccessful, brought Philip reputation for hearkening to good advice, and to Aratus for giving it, for which things the king's followers covymg han more than ever and finding they could not prevail against him by their secret practices, began openly to abuse and afront him at the banquets and over their wine, with every kind of petulance and impudence, so that once they threw stones at han as he was going back from supper to his tent. At which Philip being much offended, unmediately fined them twenty talents, and finding afterwards that they still went on disturbing matters and doing mischief in his affairs, he put them to death.

But with his run of good success, p openty began to puff him up, and various extravagant desires began to spring and show themselves in his rund, and his natural bad inclinations breaking through the artificial restraints he had put upon them, in a little time laid open and discovered his true and proper character. In the first place, he privately injured the younger Aratus in his wife, which was not known of a good while, because he was lodged and entertained at their house; then be began to be more rough and untractable in the domestic polities of Greece, and showed plainly that he was wishing to shake himself loose of Aratus. This the Messenian affairs first gave occasion to suspect. For they falling into sedition, and Aratus being just too late with his succours, Philip, who got into the city one day before him, at once blew up the flame of contention amongst them, asking privately, on the one hand, the Messenian generals, if they had not laws whereby to suppress the insolence of the common people, and on the other, the leaders of the people, whether they had not hands to help themselves against their oppressors. Upon which gathering courage, the officers attempted to lay hands on the heads of the people, and they on the other side, coming upon the officers with the multitude, killed them, and very near two hundred persons with them.

Philip having committed this wickedness, and doing his best to set the Messenians by the ears together more than before, Aratus arrived there, and both showed plainly that he took it ill himself, and also he suffered his son bitterly to repreach and revile him. It should seem that the young man had an attachment for Philip, and so at this time one of his expressions to him was, that he no longer appeared to him the handsomest, but the most deformed of all men, after so foul an action. To all which Philip gave him no answer, though he seemed so angry as to make it expected he would, and though several times he cried out aloud while the young man was speaking. But as for the elder Aratus, seeming to take all that he said in good part, and as if he were by nature a politic character and had a good command of himself, he gave him his hand and led him out of the theatre, and carried him with him to the Ithomatas, to sacrifice there to Jupiter, and take a view of the place, for it is a post as fortifiable as the Acro-Corinthus, and, with a garrison in it, quite as strong and as impregnable to the attacks of all around it. Philip therefore went up hither, and having effered sacrifice, receiving the entrails of the ox with both his hands from the priest, he showed them to Aratus and Demetrius the Pharian, presenting them sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other, asking them what they judged, by the tokens in the sacrifice, was to be done with the fort; was he to keep it for himself, or restore it to the Messenians. Demetrius laughed and answered, "If you have m you the soul of a soothsayer, you will restore it, but if of a prince you will hold the ox by both the horns," meaning to refer to Peloponnesus, which would be wholly in his power and at his disposal if he added the Ithomatas to the Acro-Corinthus Aratus said not a word for a good while, but Philip entreating him to declare his opmion, he said "Many and great hills are there in Crete, and many rocks in Bootis and Phoeis, and many remarkable strongholds both near the sea and in the midland in Acarnania, and yet all these people obey your orders, though you have not possessed yourself of any one of those places. Robbers nest themselves in rocks and precipices, but the strongest fort a king can have is confidence and affection. These have opened to you the Cretan sea, these make you master of Peloponnesus. and by the help of these, young as you are, are you become captain of the one, and lord of the other" While he was still speaking, Philip returned the entrails to the priest, and drawing Aratus to him by the hand, "Come, then," said he, "let us follow the same course," as if he felt himself forced by him, and obliged to give up the town.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from court, and

retired by degrees from Philip a company, when he was pre-paring to march into Epinus, and desired him that he would accompany him thither, he excused himself and stayed at home. apprehending that he should get nothing but discredit hy having anything to do with his actions But then, afterwards, having shamefully lost his fleet against the Romans and miscarried in all his designs, he returned into Pelopopresus, where he tried once more to beguile the Messenians by his artifices, and failing in this, began openly to attack them and to ravage their country, then Aratus fell out with him downight, and utterly renounced his friendship, for he had begun then to be fully aware of the injuries done to his son in his wife, which vexed him greatly, though he concealed them from his son, as he could but know he had been abused, without having any means to resence himself For, indeed, Philip seems to have been an instance of the greatest and strangest alteration of character, after being a mild ling and modest and chaste youth, he become a lascrytous man and most cruel tyrant, though in reality this was not a change of his nature, but a bold unmasking, when safe opportunity came, of the evil inclinations which his fear had for a long time made him dissemble

For that the respect he at the beginning bore to Aratus had a great alloy of lear and awe appears evidently from what he did to him at last. For being desires to put him to death, not thinking himself, while he was alive, to be properly free as aman, much less at filterly to do his pleasure as hing or tyraut, he dust not attempt to do it by open does him or to manaded Taurino, one of his captains and familiers, to have commanded Taurino, one of his captains and familiers, and gave him a does secrelly by points, if possible, in his absence. Through, three force, made himself intimate with Aratus, and gave him a does not of your strong and violent points, but such a cause gentle, feverath heats at first, and a dull cough, and so by degrees bring or certain death. Aratus peroview what was done to him, but, knowing that it was in vain to make any words of it, bore it ratificatly and with silence, as if it had been some common and usual distemper. Only once, a friend of his being with him in the chamber, he past some blood, which his friend observing and wondering at, "These, O Oephalon," said he, "are the wages of a king's love,"

Thus died he in Egium, in his seventeenth generalship. The Afteans were very desirous that he should be burief there with a funeral and monument suitable to his life, but the Sicponians treated it as a calamity to them if he were interred anywhere but their city, and prevailed with the Acheans to grant them the disposal of the body.

But there being an ancient law that no person should be buried within the walls of their city, and besides the law also a strong religious feeling about it, they sent to Delphi to ask counsel of the

Pythoness, who returned this answer:-

"Sloyon, whom oft he rescued, "Where," you say,
"Shall we the relies of Aratus lay?"
The soil that would not liphtly o'er him rest,
O't to he under him would feel opprost,
Were in the sight of death and sons and skies unblest."

This cracks being brought, all the Achesus were well pleased at it, but expectify the Sicyonius, who changing the innorming into public juy, immediately fathed the body from Ægium, and in a kind of solemn precession brought it into the city, being crowned with garlands, and arrayed in white guments, with singing and denring, and, choosing a compicious place, they buried him there, as the founder and saviour of their city. The place is to this day called Aratima, and there they yearly make two solemn searliess to him, the one on the day be delivered the city from tyramy, being the fifth of the month Dassias, which the Athenius call Authesterion, and this scriftce drey call Section; the other in the month of this birth, which is

still renambered. Now the first of these was performed by the prest of Jupiter Soter, the second by the prest of Aratis, were ing a hand around his bead, not pure white, but mangled with purple. Hymns were sung to the harp by the suggers of the feasts of Exchans, the procession was led up by the president of the qubble exercises, with the boys and young men, these were followed by the conscillents wearing garbands, and other citizens such as pleased. Of these observances, some small traces, it is all made a point of religion not to omit on the appointed days, but the greatest part of the ceremones have through time and other intervening accoldent been disussed.

And such, as history tells us, was the life and manners of the elder Aratus And for the younger, his son, Philip, abominably wicked by nature and a savage abuser of his power, gave him such poisonous medicines, as though they did not kill him indeed, yet made him lose his senses and run into wild and absurd attempts and desire to do actions and satisfy appetites that were ridiculous and shameful. So that his death, which happened to him while he was yet young and in the flower of his age, cannot be so much esteemed a misfortune as a deliver ance and end of his misery However Philip paid dearly, all through the rest of his life, for these impious violations of friendship and hospitality For, being overcome by the Romans, he was forced to put himself wholly into their hands, and, being deprived of his other dominions and surrendering all his ships except five, he had also to pay a fine of a thousand talents, and to give his son for hostage, and only out of mere pity he was suffered to keep Macedoma and its dependencies, where con-tinually putting to de-th the publist of his subjects and the nearest relations he rad, he filled the whole kingdom with horror and hatred of him And whereas amidst so many misfortunes he had but one good chance, which was the having a son of great virtue and ment, him, through jerdousy and envy at the honour the Romans had for him, he caused to be murdered, and leit his kingdom to Perseus, who, as some say, was not his own child, but supposititious, born of a sempstress Gnathenion. This was he whom Paulus Æmilius led in trumph, and in whom ended the succession of Antigonus's line and kingdom But the posterity of Aratus continued still in our days at Sixyon and Pellene.

ARTAXERXES

THE first Artaxerxes, among all the kines of Persia the most remarkable for a gentle and noble spirit, was surnamed the Long-handed, his right hand being longer than his left, and was the son of Xerxes. The second, whose story I am now writing, who had the surname of the Mindful, was the grandson of the former, by his daughter Parysatis, who brought Darius four sons, the eldest Artaxerxes, the next Cyrus, and two younger than these. Ostanes and Oxathres. Cyrus took his name of the ancient Cyrus, as he, they say, had his from the sun, which, in the Persian language, is called Cyrus. Artaxerxes was of first called Arsicas; Dinon says Oarses; but it is utterly improbable that Ctesias Chowever otherwise he may have filled his books with a perfect farrage of incredible and senseless fables) should be ignorant of the name of the king with whom he lived as his physician, attending upon himself, his wife, his mother, and his children.

Cyrus, from his earliest youth, showed something of a headstrong and vehement character: Artaxerxes, on the other side. was gentler in everything, and of a nature more yielding and soft in its action. He married a beautiful and virtuous wife, at the desire of his parents, but kept her as expressly against their wishes. For King Darius, having put her brother to death, was purposing likewise to destroy her. But Arsicas, throwing himself at his mother's feet, by many tears, at last, with much ado. persuaded her that they should neither put her to death nor divorce her from him. However, Cyrus was his mother's favourite, and the son whom she most desired to settle in the throne. And therefore, his father Darius now lying ill. he, being sent for from the sea to the court, set out thence with full hopes that by her means he was to be declared the successor to the kingdom. For Parysatis had the specious plea in his hehalf. which Xerxes on the advice of Demaratus had of old made use of, that she had borne him Arsicas when he was a subject, but Cyrus, when a king. Notwithstanding, she prevailed not with Darius, but the eldest son, Arsicas, was proclaimed king, his name being changed into Artaxerxes; and Cyrus remained satrap of Lydia, and commander in the maritime provinces.

It was not long after the decease of Darius that the king, his

successor, went to Pasargade, to have the ceremony of his manguration consummated by the Persian priests There is a temple dedicated to a warlike goddess, whom one might liken to Minerva, into which when the royal person to be initiated has passed, he must strip himself of his own robe, and put on that which Cyrus the first wore before he was king, then, having desoured a frail of figs, he must eat turpentine, and drink a cup of sour milk To which if they superadd any other rites, it is unknown to any but those that are present at them Now Artaxerxes being about to address himself to this solemnity, Tisapherues came to him, bringing a certain priest, who, having trained up Cyrus in his youth in the established discipline of Persia, and having taught him the Maman philosophy, was likely to be as much disappointed as any man that his popil did not succeed to the throne And for that reason his veracity was the less questioned when he charged Cyrus as though he had been about to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and to assault and assassmate him as he was putting off his garment Some affirm that he was apprehended upon this impeachment. others that he had entered the temple and was pointed out there, as he lay lurking by the priest. But as he was on the point of being put to death, his mother clasped him in her arms, and, entwining him with the tresses of her hair, joined his neck close to her own, and by her bitter lamentation and intercession to Artaxerxes for him, succeeded in saving his life, and sent him away again to the sea and to his former province. This, however, could no longer content hum, nor did he so well remember his delivery as his arrest, his resentment for which made him more excerts desirous of the kingdom than before

Some say that he revolved from his brother, because his had not a review a linewed him sufficient for his daily medis, host that is no in the face of it abouth. For bind he had onthing etc., yet be had a mother ready to supply him with whatever he could desire out of her own means. But the great number of solders wa's were hard from all quarters and maintained, as Xenophon informs us for his service, by his friends and connections, is in titted a sufficient proof of his rehest. He did not assemble them together in a body, desiring as yet to conceal his enterprise, but he had agents everywhere, enlisting foreign soldiers upon various pretinous, and, in the meantime, Parysaus, who was with the hing, of ther best to put usuded all suspicious, and Civris himself always wrote in a humble and dutful manner to him, sometimes solding favore, sometimes making counterchanges.

Artaxerxes

against Tianphrmes, as If his jealousy and contect had been whelly with him. Moreover, there was a certain natural dilatoriness in the king, which was taken by mony for elemency. And, indeed, in the beginning of his reign, he did seem really to emulate the gentlemen of the fine Artanexex, being very acresible in his person, and liberal to a fault in the distribution of honours and fevrours. Even in his purishments, no contumely or vindictive pleasure could he seem; and those who offered him presents were as much pleased with his manner of accepting, as were those who received gifts from him with his graciousness and arabibility in giving them. Nor truly was there anything, however inconsiderable, given him, which he did not deliga kindly to accept of; insomuch that when one Onlise had presented him with a very large pomegranate, "By Olitake had presented him with a very large pomegranate," By

turn a small city into a great one."

Once when some were offering him one thing, some another, as he was on a progress, a certain poor labourer, having got nothing at hand to bring him, ran to the river side, and, taking up water in his hands, offered it to him; with which Artaxerxes was so well pleased that he sent him a goblet of gold and a thousand daries. To Euclidas, the Lacedamonian, who had mede a number of bold and errogant speeches to him, he sent word by one of his officers, "You have leave to say what you please to me, and I, you should remember, may both say and do what I please to you." Teribazus once, when they were hunting, came up and pointed out to the king that his royal robe was torn: the king asked him what he wished him to do: and when Teribazus replied, "May it please you to put on another and give me that," the king did so, saying withal, "I give it you. Teribazus, bot I charge you not to wear it." He. little regarding the injunction, being not a bad, but a lightheaded, thoughtless man, immediately the king took it off. put it on and bedecked himself further with royal golden necklaces and women's ornaments, to the great scandal of everybody, the thing being quite unlawful. But the king laughed and told him, "You have my leave to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe of state as a lock." And whereas none usually sat down to eat with the king besides his mother and his wedded wife. the former being placed above, the other below him, Artaxerxes invited also to his table his two younger brothers. Ostanes and-Oxathres But what was the most popular thing of all among the Persians was the sight of his wife Statura's chariot, which

always appeared with its curtams down, allowing her countrywomen to salute and approach her, which made the queen a great favourite with the people

Yet busy, factious men, that delighted in change, professed it to be their opinion that the times needed Cyrus, a man of great spirit, an excellent warner, and a lover of his friends, and that the largeness of their empire absolutely required a bold and enterprising prince Cyrus, then, not only relying upon those of his own province pear the sea, but upon many of those in the upper countries near the king, commenced the war against him He wrote to the Lacedamonans, bidding them come to his assistance and supply him with men, assuring them that to these who came to him on foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots, that upon those who had farms he would bestow villages, and those who were lords of villages he would make so of cities; and that those who would be his soldiers should receive their pay, not by count, but by weight And among many other high praises of hunself, he said he had the stronger soul, was more a philosopher and a better Magian, and could drink and bear more wine than his brother, who, as he averted, was such a coward and so little like a man, that he could neither sit his borse in hunting nor his throne in time of danger The Lacedemonians, his letter being read, sent a staff to Clearchus, commanding him to obey Cyrus in all things So Cyrus marched towards the king, having under his conduct a numerous host of barbarians, and but little less than thirteen thousand stipendary Greenans, alleging first one cause, then another, for his expedition. Yet the true reason lay not lone concealed, but Tisaphernes went to the king in person to declare it. Thereupon, the court was all in an uproar and turnult, the queen mother bearing almost the whole blame of the enterorise. and her retainers being suspected and accused. Above all, Status angered her by bewaiting the war and passionately demanding where were now the pledges and the intercession which saved the life of him that conspired against his brother; "to the end," she said, " that he might plunge us all into war and trouble" For which words Parysaits hating Statura, and being naturally implacable and savage in her anger and revenge, consuited how she might destroy her But since Dinon tells us that her purpose took effect in the time of the war, and Ctesias says it was after it, I shall keep the story for the place to which the latter assigns it, as it is very unlikely that he, who was actually present, should not know the time when it happened, and there was no motive to induce him designedly to misplace its date in his narrative of it, though it is not infrequent with him in his history to make excursions from truth into mere fiction and romance.

As Cyrus was upon the march, rumours and reports were brought him, as though the king still deliberated, and were not minded to fight and presently to join battle with him: but to wait in the heart of his kingdom until his forces should have come in thither from all parts of his dominions. He had cut a trench through the plain ten fathoms in breadth, and as many in depth, the length of it being no less than four hundred furlongs. Yet he allowed Cyrus to pass across it, and to advance almost to the city of Babylon. Then Teribagus, as the report goes, was the first that had the boldness to tell the king that he ought not to avoid the conflict, nor to shandon Media, Babylon, and even Susa, and filde himself in Persis, when all the while he had an army many times over more numerous than his enemies, and an infinite company of governors and captains that were better soldiers and politicians than Cyrus. So at last he resolved to fight, as soon as it was possible for him. Making, therefore, his first appearance, all on a sudden, at the head of nine hundred thousand well-marshalled men, he so startled and surprised the enemy, who with the confidence of contempt were marching on their way in no order, and with their arms not ready for use, that Cyrus, in the midst of such noise and tumult, was scarcely able to form them for battle. Moreover, the very manner in which he led on his men, silently and slowly, made the Grecians stand amazed at his good discipline: who had expected irregular shouting and leaning, much confusion and separation between one body of men and another, in so vast a multitude of troops. He also placed the choicest of his armed chariots in the front of his own phalanx over against the Grecian troops, that a violent charge with these might cut open their ranks before they closed with them.

But as this fastle is described by many historians, and Kanphae in particular as good as hows it us by eyaight, not as a part-event, but as a present action, and by his wirld account nakes his hearness lead the passions and joint and the dangers of h; it would be felly in me to give any larger account of it than barely to mention any things contact by him which yet deserve to be recorded. The place, then, is which that we armies were drawn out is called Comans, being about five humdred througe distant from Babylon. And here Clearchus beseeching Cyrus before the fight to retire behind the combatants. and not expose himself to hazard, they say he replied, "What sthe, Clearchus? Would you have me, who aspire to empere, show myself unworthy of it?" But if Cyrus committed a great fault in entering headlong into the midst of danger, and not paying any regard to his own safety, Clearchus was as much to plame, if not more, in refusing to lead the Greeks against the main body of the enemy, where the king stood, and in keeping his right wing close to the river, for fear of being surrounded For if he wanted, above all other things, to be safe, and considered it his first object to s'eep in a whole skin, it had been his best way not to have stored from home. But, after marchone in arms ten thousand furlones from the sea-coast, simply on his choraing, for the purpose of placing Cyrus on the throne, to look about and select a position which would enable him, not to preserve him under whose pay and conduct he was, but him sell to eneage with more ease and security, seemed much like one that through fear of present dangers had shandoned the purpose of his actions, and been lake to the design of his ex pedition For it is evident from the very event of the battle that rone of those who were in array around the king's person could have stood the shock of the Greenn charge, and had they been beaten out of the field, and Artaxerres either fied or fallen. Cyrus would have caused by the victory, not only safety, but a crown And, therefore, Clearches by his caution must be cons dered more to blame for the result in the destruction of the life and forture of Cyrus, than he by his heat and rashness. For had the king made at his business to discover a place, where having posted the Grecians, he might encounter them with the least hazard, he would never have found out any other but that which was most remote from himself and those near him, of his defeat in which he was insensible, and, though Clearchus had the victory, yet Cyrus could not know of it, and could take no advantage of it before his fall. Cyrus knew well enough what was expedient to be done, and commanded Clearchus with his men to take their place in the centre. Clearchus replied that he would take care to have all arranged as was best, and then spoiled all

For the Greens, where they were, defeated the harbarans till they were weary, and chased the successfully a very great with the store of the successfully a very great way. But Gyras being mounted upon a noble but a headstrong and hard-mouthed horse, bearing the name, as Clesia tills or, of Passica, Artiagrees, the leader of the Cadusans, galloped up of Passica, Artiagrees, the leader of the Cadusans, galloped up

to him, crying aloud, "O most unjust and senseless of men, who are the disperse of the honoured name of Cyrus, are you ome here leading the whicked Gereks on a wicked journey, to punder the good things of the Persians, and this with the intent of staying other bord and involve, the master of ten thousand innse ton thousand servants that are better men than you? as you thall one in the instant; for you shall lose your head here, before you book upon the face of the king." Which when he had said, hou then the face of the king." Which when he had said, hou then the face of the king. "Which when he had said, he along his period in all considerations of the said with the said of the said which had the said had the said that the said of the said

But as to the death of Cyrus, since Xenophon, as being himself no eye-witness of it, has stated it simply and in few word, it may not be amiss perhaps to run over on the one hand what

Dinon, and on the other, what Ctesias had said of it.

Dinon then affirms that, after the death of Artagerses, Cyrus, furiously attacking the guard of Artaxerxes, wounded the king's horse, and so dismounted him, and when Teribazus had quickly lifted him up upon another, and said to him, "O king, remember this day, which is not one to be forgotten," Cyrus, again spurring up his horse, struck down Artaxerxes. But at the third assault the king being enraged and saying to those near him that death was more eligible, made up to Cyrus, who furiously and blindly rushed in the face of the weapons opposed to him. So the king struck him with a javelin, as likewise did those that were about bim. And thus Cyrus falls, as some say, by the hand of the king; as others by the dart of a Carian, to whom Artaxerxes for a reward of his achievement gave the privilege of carrying ever after a golden cock upon his spear before the first ranks of the army in all expeditions. For the Persians call the men of Caria cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

But the account of Clesia, to put it shortly, omitting many chaits, is at Glowest year, after the death of Attagersa, rode up against the king, as he did against him, meither exchanging a word with the other. But Artesse, Cyrust friand, was beforehand with him, and darted first at the king, yet wounded him to.t. Then the king cast his made at his butther, but missed him, though he both hit and slew Satiphennes, a noble man and a faithful fired to Cyrus. Then Cyrus directed his lance

against the lung, and pierced his breast with it quite through his armour, two inches deep, so that he fell from his horse with the stroke At which those that attended him being put to flight and disorder, he, rising with a few, among whom was Ciesias, and making his way to a little hill not far off, rested himself But Cyrus, who was in the thick enemy, was carned of a great way by the wildress of his borse, the darkness which was now coming on making it hard for them to know him, and for his followers to find him. However, being made clate with victory, and full of confidence and force, he passed through them, crying out, and that more than once, in the Persian language, "Clear the way, villams, clear the way;" which they indeed did, throwing themselves down at his feet. But his tiara dropped off his head, and a young Person, by name Mithridates. running by, struck a dart into one of his temples near his eye, not knowing who he was; out of which wound much blood gushed, so that Cyrus, awooning and senseless, fell off his borse. The horse escaped, and ran about the field, but the companion of Mithridates took the trappings which fell off, soaked with blood And as Cyrus slowly began to come to himself, some cunuchs who were there tried to put him on another horse, and so corner han sale away. And when he was not able to ride. and desired to walk on his feet, they led and supported him, being indeed dizzy in the head and recling, but convinced of his being victorious, hearing, as he went, the figitives saluting Cyrus as king, and praying for grace and mercy. In the meantime, some wretched, poverty-streken Caumans, who in some pitulul employment as camp followers had accompanied the king's army, by chance joined these attendants of Cyrus, supposing them to be of their own party But when, after a while, they made out that their coats over their breastplates were red. whereas all the king's people wore white ones, they linew that they were enemies One of them, therefore, not dreaming that it was Cyrus, ventured to strike him behind with a dart. The vein under the knee was cut open, and Cyrus fell, and at the same time struck his wounded temple against a stone, and so died Thus runs Ciesias's account, tardily, with the slowness of a blunt wespon effecting the victim's death.

When he was now dead, Artisvras, the king's eye, passed by omestack, and, having observed the eunuchs lamenting, he asked the most trusty of them, "Who is this, Parices, whom you as here deploring?" He riplied, "Do not you see, O Artisyras, that it is my master, Gyrus?" Then Artisyras

wondering, bade the cunnch he of good cheer, and keep the dead body safe. And going in all haste to Artaxerxes, who had now given un all hope of his affairs, and was in great suffering also with his thirst and his wound, he with much joy assured him that he had seen Cyrus dead. Upon this, at first, he set out to go in person to the place, and commanded Artasyras to conduct him where he lay. But when there was a great noise made about the Greeks, who were said to be in full pursuit, conquering and carrying all before them, he thought it best to send a number of persons to see; and accordingly thirty men went with torches in their hands. Meantime, as he seemed to be almost at the point of dying from thirst, his cunnch Satibarzanes ran about seeking drink for him; for the place had no water in it and he was at a good distance from his camp. After a long search he at last met one of those poor Caunian camp-followers, who had in a wretched skin about four pints of foul and stinking water, which he took and gave to the king; and when he had drunk all off, he asked him if he did not dislike the water; but he declared by all the gods that he never so much relished either wine, or water out of the lightest or purest stream. " And therefore," said he, " if I fail myself to discover and reward him who gave it to you, I beg of heaven to make him rich and prosperous." Just after this, came back the thirty messengers, with joy and triumph in their looks, bringing him the tidings of his unex-

pected fortune. And now he was also encouraged by the number of soldiers that again began to flock in and gather about him; so that he presently descended into the plain with many lights and flambeaux round about him. And when he had come near the dead body, and, according to a certain law of the Persians, the right hand and head had been lopped off from the trunk, he gave orders that the latter should be brought to him, and, grasping the hair of it, which was long and bushy, he showed it to those who were still uncertain and disposed to fly. They were amazed at it, and did him homage; so that there were Presently seventy thousand of them got about him, and entered the camp again with him. He had led out to the fight, as Ctesias affirms, four hundred thousand men. But Dinon and Aenophon aver that there were many more than forty myriads actually engaged. As to the number of the slain, as the catalogue of them was given up to Artaxerxes, Ctesias says, they were nine thousand, but that they appeared to him no fewer than twenty thousand. Thus far there is something to be said on both sides. But it is a flagrant nutruth on the part of

Cresias to say that he was sent along with Phalinus the Zacynthian and some others to the Grezaus For Xenophoa knew well enough that Creas was resident at court, for he makes mention of him, and had evidently met with his writings. And, therefore, had he come, and best deputed the interpreter of such momentous words, Xenophon surely would not have struck his name out of the embasty to mention only Phalinus. But Cressus, as is evident, being excessively vanighorous and no less a favoure of the Lacedemonans and Clearchia, never falls to assume to himself some province in his marrative, taking opportunity, in these situations, to introduce abundant high praise

of Clearchus and Sparta, When the battle was over, Artanerxes sent goodly and magni ficent gifts to the son of Artagerses, whom Cyrus slew He conferred likewise high honours upon Ctesias and others, and, having found out the Cauman who gave him the bottle of water. he made hun-a poor, obscure man-a rich and an honourable person. As for the purushments he inflicted upon delinquents. there was a kind of harmony betwirt them and the crimes gave order that one Arbaces, a Mede, that had fied in the fight to Cyrus and again at his fall had come back, should, as a mark that he was considered a dastardly and effeminate, not a dangerous or treasonable man, have a common harlot set upon he back, and carry her about for a whole day in the market place Another, besides that he had deserted to them, having talsely vaunted that he had killed two of the rebels, he decreed that three needles should be struck through his tonous. And both supposing that with his own hand he had cut off Cyrus, and being willing that all men should think and say so, he sent rich presents to Mithridates, who first wounded him, and charged those by whom he conveyed the guits to hum to tell him, that "the king has honoured you with these his favours, because you found and brought him the horse-trappings of Cyrus"

yes some and crought mm the horse-trappings of Cyrus. The Garna, also, from whose wound not the ham Cyrus died, sung for his reward, he commanded those that brought it ham to say that. "the ling presents you with this as a second remuneration for the good news full him, for first Artasyras, and, next to him, you assured him of the decease of Cyru." Mithidates retired without complaint, though not without restitutes. But the unfortunate Caran was lool enough to give way to a natural infirmity. For being rarished with the sight of the princely gifts that were before him, and being tempted thereupon to chillings and appire to things above him, he deigned not to accept the king's present as a reward for good news, but indignantly crying out and appealing to witnesses, he protested that he, and none but he, had killed Orrus, and that he was unjustly deprived of the glory. These words, when they came to his ear, much offended the king, so that forthwith he sentenced him to be beheaded. But the queen mother, being in the kingly presence, said, "Let not the king so hightly discharge this pernicious Carran; let him receive from me the fitting punishment of what he dures to say." So when the king had consigned him over to Parysatis, she charged the executioners to take up the mun, and stretch him upon the rack for ten days, then, tearing out his eyes, to drop molten breas into his sear till he expliced.

Mithridates, also, within a short time after, miserably perished by the like folly: for being invited to a feast where were the ennuchs both of the king and of the queen mother, he came arrayed in the dress and the golden ornaments which he had received from the king. After they began to drink, the eunuch that was the greatest in power with Parysatis thus speaks to him; "A magnificent dress, indeed, O Mithridates, is this which the king has given you; the chains and bracelets are glorious, and your seymetar of invaluable worth; how hanny has be made you, the object of every eye!" To whom he, being a little overcome with the wine, replied, "What are these things, Sparamizes? Sure I am, I showed myself to the king in that day of trial to be one deserving greater and costlier gifts then these." At which Sparamizes smiling, said, "I do not grudge them to you, Mithridates; but since the Grecians tell us that wine and truth go together, let me bear now, my friend, what plorious or mighty matter was it to find some trappings that had slipped off a horse, and to bring them to the king? " And this he spoke, not as important of the truth, but desiring to unbosom him to the company, imitating the vanity of the man, whom drink had now made eager to talk and incapable of controlling himself. So he forbore nothing, but said out, "Talk you what you please of horse-trappings and such trifles: I tell you plainly, that this hand was the death of Cyrus. For I threw not my darts as Artagerses did, in vain and to no purpose, but only just missing his eye, and hitting him right on the temple, and piercing him through, I brought hun to the ground: and of that wound he died." The rest of the company, who saw the end and the hapless fate of Mithridates as if it were already completed, howed their heads to the ground; and he

who entertained them said, "Mithridates, my friend, let us cat and drink now, revening the fortune of our prince, and let us waive discourse which is too weight; for us."

Presently after, Sparamues told Parvsatis what he said, and she told the king, who was greatly enraged at it, as having the he given him, and being in danger to forfeit the most glorious and most pleasant circumstance of his victory For it was his desire that every one, whether Greek or barbarian, should believe that in the mutual assaults and conflicts between him and his brother, he, giving and receiving a blow, was himself indeed wounded, but that the other lost his hie And, therefore, he decreed that Mithridates should be put to death in boats, which execution is after the following manner. Taking two boats framed exactly to fit and answer each other, they lay down in one of them the malefactor that suffers, upon his back, then, covering it with the other, and so setting them together that the head, hands, and feet of him are left outside, and the rest of his body has shut up within, they offer him food, and if be refuse to eat it, they force him to do it by pricking his eyes, then, after he has eaten, they drench hum with a mixture of milk and honey, pouring it not only into his mouth, but all over his face. They then Leep his face continually turned towards the sun and it becomes completely covered up and hidden by the multitude of flies that settle on it. And as within the boats he does what those that eat and drink must needs do, creeping things and vermin spring out of the corruption and rottenness of the excrement, and these entering into the bowels of him, his body is consumed When the man is manifestly dead, the uppermost boat being taken off, they find his fiesh desoured, and swarms of such noisome creatures preying upon and, as it were, growing to his inwards In this way Mithridates, after suffer me for seventeen days, at last expured

Masalates, the king cennich, who had cut off the hand and head of Cyun, remained still as a mark for Parysatu's vergeance Whereas, therefore, he was so circumspert, that he gave her no advantage against him, she framed this hand of some for him Sie was a very impenous woman in other ways, and was an excellent player at dee, and, before the war, had often played with the long After the war, too, when she had been reconciled to him, she joined readily in all amusements with him, played at dies with ham, was the sonificant in his Joine mattery, and in every way do ther best to leave him as little as possible in the centified of Staters, both because she hated her more

than any other person, and because she wished to have no one so powerful as herself. And so once when Artaxerxes was at leisure, and inclined to divert himself, she challenged him to play at dice with her for a thousand daries, and purposely let him win them, and paid him down in gold. Yet, pretending to be concerned for her loss, and that she would gladly have her revenge for it, she pressed him to begin a new game for a cumuch: to which he consented. But first they agreed that each of them might except five of their most trusty enpuchs and that out of the rest of them the loser should yield up any the winner should make choice of. Upon these conditions they played. Thus being bent upon her design, and thoroughly in carnest with her game, and the dice also running luckily for her, when she had got the game, she demanded Massbates, who was not in the number of the five excepted. And before the king could suspect the matter, having delivered him up to the tormentors, she enjoined them to flav him alive, to set his body upon three stakes, and to stretch his skin upon stakes separately from it.

These things being done, and the king taking time ill, and being incented against her, she with raillery and inaphte told bing, "You are a comfortable and happy man indeed, if you are so much disturbed for the sake of an old reastally cannot, which I, though? I have favoren ways a thousand daries, held my peace and acquisece in my fortune." So the king, wexed with himself for having been thus deluded, bushed up all. BUS statin both in other matters openly opposed her, and was sugry with her for thus, against all haw and humanity, scarticking to the memory

of Cyrus the king's faithful friend and cunuch.

Now after that Transperses had circumvented and by a false onth had betrayed Genetus and the other commanders, and, taking then, had sent them bound in chains to the king, Clesias says that he was arised by Clearchus to supply him with a comb; and that when he had is, and had combed his head with it, be may much pleased with this good office, and gave him a ring, which might be a token of the obligation to his relatives and related in Spart; and that the empravine upon this signet was a set of Caryatides dancing. He fells with at the suddlers, his fellow-entires, used to purious a part of the allowance of food sent to Clearchus, giving him but little of it; which thing creates says he rectified, causing a better allowance to be conveyed to him, and that a separate share should be distributed to the soldiers by thenesewing, adding that he ministered to and

supplied him thus by the interest and at the instance of Pary satis And there being a portion of ham sent daily with his other food to Clearchus, she, he says, advised and instructed him, that he ought to bury a small knife in the meat, and thus send it to his friend, and not leave his fate to be determined by the Ling's cruelty, which be, however, he says, was afraid to do However, Artaxerxes consented to the entreaties of his mother, and promised her with an eath that he would spare Clearchus, but afterwards, at the instigation of Statira, be put every one of them to death except Meson. And thenceforward, he says, Parysatis watched her advantage against Stature and made up pouson for her, not a very probable story, or a very likely monys to account for her conduct, if indeed he means that out of respect to Clearchus she dared to attempt the life of the lawful queen, that was mother of those who were heirs of the empire. But it is evident enough, that this part of his history is a sort of funeral exhibition in honour of Clearchus For he would have us believe that, when the generals were executed, the rest of them were torn an pieces by does and birds . but as for the remains of Clearchus, that a violent gust of wind, bearing before it a vast beap of earth, rused a mound to cover his body, upon which, after a short time, some dates having fallen there, a beautiful grove of trees grew up and overshadowed the place, so that the king himself declared his sorrow, concluding that in Clearchus he put to death a man beloved of the gods

Parysaus, therefore, having from the first entertained a secret hatred and jealousy against Statura, seeing that the power she berself had with Artaxerxes was founded upon feelings of honour and respect for her, but that Statura's influence was firmly and strongly based upon love and confidence, was resolved to contrive her rum, playing at hazard, as she thought, for the greatest stake in the world Among her attendant women there was one that was trusty and in the highest esteem with her, whose name was Gigs, who, as Dinon avers, assisted in making up the poison. Ctesias allows her only to have been conscious of it, and that against her will, charging Belitaras with actually giving the drug, whereas Dinon says it was Melantas The two women had begun again to west each other and to eat together, but though they had thus far relaxed their former habits of pealousy and vanance, still, out of fear and as a matter of caution, they always ate of the same dishes and of the same parts of them. Now there is a small Persian bird, in the inside of which no excrement is found, only a mass of fat, so that they

suppose the little creature lives upon air and dew. It is called rhyntaces. Ctesias affirms, that Parysatis, cutting a bird of this kind into two pieces with a knife one side of which had been smeared with the drug, the other side being clear of it, ate the untouched and wholesome part herself, and gave Statira that which was thus infected; but Dinon will not have it to be Parysatis, but Melantas, that cut up the bird and presented the envenomed part of it to Statira: who, dwing with dreadful agonies and convulsions, was herself sensible of what had happened to her, and aroused in the king's mind suspicion of his mother. whose savage and implacable temper he knew. And therefore proceeding instantly to an inquest, he seized upon his mother's domestic servants that attended at her table and put them upon the rack. Parysatis kept Gigis at home with her a long time. and though the king commanded her, she would not produce her. But she at last berself desiring that she might be dismissed to her own home by night, Artaxerxes had intimation of it, and lying in wait for her, burried her away, and adjudged her to death. Now poisoners in Persia suffer thus by law. There is a broad stone, on which they place the head of the culprit, and then with another stone beat and press it, until the face and the head itself are all pounded to pieces; which was the punishment Gigis lost her life by. But to his mother, Artaxerxes neither said nor did any other hurt, save that he banished and confined her, not much against her will, to Babylon, protesting that while she lived he would not come near that city. Such was the condition of the king's affairs in his own house.

But when all his attempts to capture the Greeks that had come with Cyrus, though he desired to do so no less than he had desired to overcome Cyrus and maintain his throne, proved unlucky, and they, though they had lost both Cyrus and their own generals, nevertheless escaped, as it were, out of his very palace, making it plain to all men that the Persian king and his empire were mighty indeed in gold and luxury and women, but otherwise were a mere show and vain display, upon this all Greece took courage and despised the barbarians; and especially the Lacedemonians thought it strange if they should not now deliver their countrymen that dwelt in Asia from their subjection to the Persians, nor put an end to the contumelious usage of them. And first having an army under the conduct of Thunbron, then under Dercyllidas, but doing nothing memorable. they at last committed the war to the management of their King Agesilaus, who, when he had arrived with his men in Asia, as

soon as he had larded if em, fell actively to work, and got him self yeart renown. He defeated Tisaphemes in a pitched battle, and set many course in revolt. Upon this, Armaceraes, perceiving what was he waste way of vraging the war, sen't Imocrates the Phodian into Green, with large sams of gold, commanding him by a free distribution of it to corrupt the leading men in the cines, and to excite a Greek war scansa Sparts. So Timocrates following his instructions, the toost considerable cutes computing together, and Polyomomesus being in disorder, the cybors required Ageillans from Asia. At which time, they say, at he was upon his return, he told his incost that Arta xrises had driven him out of Asia with threy thousand suchers, the Persan con having an arebra simpled upon it.

Artaxerxes scoured the seas, too, of the Lacedemonians, Concretie Athenian and Pharmabazus being his admirals For Conon, after the battle of Acospotams, resided in Cyprus, not that he consulted his own more security, but looking for a vinsstude of affairs with no less hope than men wait for a change of wind at sea. And perceiving that his skill wanted power, and that the Ling's power wanted a wise man to guide it, he sent him an account of his projects, and charged the bearer to hand it to the king, if possible, by the mediation of Zeno the Cretan o- Polyantus the Mendean (the former being a doncing mae'-, the latter a physician), or, in the absence of them both. by Ciesias, who is said to have taken Coron's letter, and foisted into the contents of it a request, that the king would also be pleased to send over Cressas to him, who was likely to be of use on the sea-coast. Cressas, however, declares that the line, of his secord, deputed him to his service. Artaxernes, however, defeating the Lacedemomans in a sea fight at Cardos, under the conduct of Pharmabagus and Conon, after he had stripped them of their sovereignty by sea, at the same time brought, so to say, the whole of Greece over to him, so that upon his own terms he dictated the celebrated peace among them, styled the peace of Antalcalas This Antalcalas was a Spartan, the son of one Leon, who, acting for the king's interest, induced the Laceday monians to coverant to let all the Greek cities in Asia and the ulands adjacent to it become subject and tributary to him, trace being upon these conditions established among the Greeks, if irded the honourable name of peace can fairly be given to what was in fact the dograce and betrayal of Greece, a treaty more inclorious than had ever been the result of any war to those defeated to it.

And therefore Artaxetxes, though always abominating other Spartans, and looking upon them, as Dinon says, to be the most impudent men living, gave wonderful honour to Antalcidas when he came to him into Persia; so much so that one day, taking a garland of flowers and dipping it in the most precious ointment, he sent it to him after supper, a favour which all were emazed at. Indeed he was a person fit to be thus delicately treated. and to have such a crown, who bad among the Persians thus made fools of Leonidas and Callicratidas. Agesilaus, it seems, on some one having said, "O the deplorable fate of Greece, now that the Spartans turn Medes!" replied, "Nay, rather it is the Medes who become Spartans." But the subtilty of the reparter did not wipe off the infamy of the action. The Lacedemonians soon after lost their sovereignty in Greece by their defeat at Leuctra; but they had already lost their honour by this treaty. So long then as Sparta continued to be the first state in Greece, Artaxerxes continued to Antalcidas the honour of being called his friend and his guest; but when, routed and humbled at the battle of Leuctra, being under great distress for money, they had despatched Agesilaus into Egypt, and Antalcidas went up to Artaxerxes, beseeching him to supply their necessities, he so despited, slighted, and rejected him, that finding himself, on his return, mocked and insuited by his enemies, and fearing also the ephors, he starved himself to death. Ismenias, also, the Theban, and Pelopidas, who had already gained the victory at Leuctra, arrived at the Persian court; where the latter did nothing unworthy of himself. But Ismenias, being commanded to do obeisance to the king, dropped his ring before him upon the ground, and so, stooping to take it up, made a show of doing him homage. He was so gratified with some secret intelligence which Timagoras the Athenian sent in to him by the hand of his secretary Beluris, that he bestowed upon him ten thousand daries, and because he was ordered, on account of some sickness, to drink cow's milk, there were fourscore milch line driven after him: also, he sent him a bed, furniture, and servants for it, the Grecians not having skill enough to make it, as also chairmen to carry him, being infirm in body, to the seaside. Not to mention the feast made for him at court, which was so princely and splendid that Ostanes, the king's brother, said to him, "O Timogoras, do not forgot the sumptuous table you have sat at here; it was not put before you for nothing;" which was indeed rather a reflection upon his treason than to

remind him of the king's bounty And indeed the Athenians

condemned Timagoras to death for taking bribes
But Artaxerxes gratified the Greezens in one thing in heu of

the many wherewith he plagued them, and that was by taking off Tisaphernes, their most hated and malicious enemy, whom he but to death, Parysatis adding her influence to the charges made against him For the king did not persist long in his wrath with his mother, but was reconciled to her, and sent for her, being assured that she had wisdom and courage fit for royal power, and there being now no cause discernible but that they might converse together without suspicion or offence And from thenceforward humouring the king in all things according to his heart's desire, and finding fault with nothing that he did, she obtained great power with him, and was gratified in all her requests She perceived he was desperately in love with Atossa, one of his own two daughters, and that he concealed and checked his passion chiefly for fear of berself, though, if we may believe some writers, he had privately given way to it with the young girl already As soon as Parysaus suspected it, she displayed a greater fundness for the young gul than before, and extelled both her virtue and beauty to him, as being truly imperial and majestic. In fine she persuaded him to marry her and declare her to be his lawful wife, overriding all the principles and the laws by which the Greeks hold themselves bound, and regarding himself as divinely appointed for a law to the Persians, and the supreme arbitrator of good and evil Some historians further affirm, in which number is Herachdes of Cuma, that Artaxeries married not only this one, but a second daughter also, Amestris, of whom we shall speak by and by. But he so loved Atossa when she became his consort, that when leprosy had run through her whole body, he was not in the least offended at it, but putting up his prayers to June for her, to this one alone of all the derties he made obeisance, by laying his hands upon the earth, and his satraps and favourites made such offerings to the goddesa by his direction, that all along for sixteen furlangs, betwiet the court and her temple, the road was filled up with gold and silver. purple and horses, devoted to her

He waged was out of his own kingdom with the Egyptians, under the conduct of Pharmakizus and Johnentes, but was unscreeding the reason of their discensions. In his expedition against the Cadinsians, he went himself in person with three hundred thousand footmen and ten thousand horse, and making an incursion into their country, which was so mountaining as

scarcely to be passable, and withal very misty, producing no sort of harvest of corn or the like, but with pears, apples, and other tree-fruits feeding a war-like and valiant breed of men, he unawares fell into great distresses and dangers. For there was nothing to be got, fit for his men to eat, of the growth of that place, nor could anything be imported from any other. All they could do was to kill their beasts of burden, and thus an ass's head could scarcely be bought for sixty drachmas. In short, the king's own table failed; and there were but few horses left; the rest they had spent for food. Then Teribazus, a man often in great favour with his prince for his valour and as often out of it for his buffoonery, and particularly at that time in humble estate and neglected, was the deliverer of the king and his army, There being two kings amongst the Cadusians, and each of them encamping separately, Teribagus, after he had made his application to Artaxerxes and imparted his design to him, went to one of the princes, and sent away his son privately to the other. So each of them deceived his man, assuring him that the other prince had deputed an ambassador to Artaxerxes, suing for friendship and alliance for himself alone; and, therefore, if he were wise, he told him, he must apply himself to his master before he had decreed anything, and be, he said, would lend him his assistance in all things. Both of them gave credit to these words, and because they supposed they were each intrigued against by the other, they both sent their envoys, one along with Teribazus, and the other with his son. All this taking some time to transact, fresh surmises and suspicions of Teribazus were expressed to the king, who began to be out of heart, sorry that he had confided in him, and ready to give ear to his rivals who impeached him. But at last he came, and so did his son, bringing the Cadusian agents along with them, and so there was a cessation of arms and a peace signed with both the princes. And Teribazus, in great honour and distinction, set out homewards in the company of the king; who, indeed, upon this journey made it appear plainly that cowardice and effeminacy are the effects, not of delicate and sumptions living, as many suppose, but of a base and vicious nature, actuated by false and had opinions. For notwithstanding his golden ornaments, his robe of state, and the rest of that costly attire, worth no less than twelve thousand talents, with which the royal person was constantly clad, his labours and toils were not a whit inferior to those of the meanest persons in his army. With his quiver by his side and his shield on his arm, he led them on foot, quitting his horse, through craggy and steep ways, insomuch that the sight of his cheerfulness and uniweated strength gave wings to the soldiers, and so lightened the journey, that they made daily marches of above two hundred furlongs. After they had artived at one of his own mansions, which had

beautiful ornamented parks in the midst of a region naked and without trees, the weather being very cold, he gave full com-mission to his soldiers to provide themselves with wood by cutting down any, without exception, even the pine and cypress And when they hesitated and were for sparing them, being large and goodly trees, he, taking up an axe himself, felled the greatest and most beautiful of them After which his men used their hatchets, and piling up many fires, passed away the night at their ease. Nevertheless, he returned not without the loss of many and valuant subjects, and of almost all his horses And supposing that his misfortunes and the ill-success of his expedi tion made hun despised in the eyes of his people, he looked realously on his nobles, many of whom he slew in anger, and yet more out of fear As, indeed, fear is the bloodiest passion in princes, confidence, on the other hand, being merciful, gentle, and unsuspicious So we see among wild beasts, the intractable and least tamable are the most timorous and most easily startled . the pobler creatures, whose courage makes them trustful, are ready to respond to the advances of men

Artaxerxes, now being an old man, perceived that his sons were in controversy about his kingdom, and that they made parties among his favourites and peers Those that were equitable among them thought it fit, that as he had received it, so he should bequeath it, by right of age, to Darius The younger brother, Ochus, who was not and violent, had indeed a considerable number of the courtiers that espoused his interest, but his chief hope was that by Atossa's means he should win his father For he flattered her with the thoughts of being his wife and partner in the kingdom after the death of Artaxerxes And truly it was rumoured that already Ochus maintained a too numate correspondence with her This, however, was quite unknown to the king, who, being willing to put down in good time his son Ochus's hopes, lest, by his attempting the same things his uncle Cyrus did, wars and contentions might again afflict his kingdom, proclaimed Darius, then twenty five years old, his successor, and gave him leave to wear the upright hat, as they called it It was a rule and usage of Persia, that the hen apparent to the crown should beg a boon, and that he that declared him so should give whatever he asked, provided it were within the sphere of his power. Darius therefore requested Aspasia, in former time the most prized of the concubines of Cyrus, and now belonging to the king. She was by birth a Phoczan, of Ionia, born of free parents, and well educated. Once when Cyrus was at supper, she was led in to him with other women, who, when they were sat down by him, and he began to sport and dally and talk jestingly with them, gave way freely to his advances. But she stood by in silence, refusing to come when Cyrus called her, and when his chamberlains were going to force her towards him, said, "Whosoever lays hands on me shall rue it:" so that she seemed to the company a sullen and rudemannered person, However, Cyrus was well pleased, and laughed, saving to the man that brought the women, "Do you not see to a cartainty that this woman alone of all that came with you is truly noble and pure in character?" After which time he began to regard her, and loved her, above all of her sex. and called her the Wise. But Cyrus being slain in the fight, she was taken among the spoils of his camp.

Darius, in demanding her, no doubt much offended his father, for the barbarian people keep a very jealous and watchful eye over their carnal pleasures, so that it is death for a man not only to come near and touch any concubine of his prince, but likewise on a journey to ride forward and pass by the carriages in which they are conveyed. And though, to gratify his passion, he had against all law married his daughter Atossa, and had besides her no less than three hundred and sixty concubines selected for their beauty, yet being importuned for that one by Darius, he preed that she was a free-woman, and allowed him to take her. if she had an inclination to go with him, but by no means to force her away avainst it. Aspasia, therefore, being sent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, making choice of Darius, he gave him her indeed, being constrained by law, but when he had done so, a little after he took her from him. For he consecrated her priestess to Diana of Echatana, whom they name Anaitis, that she might spend the remainder of her days in strict chastity, thinking thus to ounish his son, not rigorously, but with moderation, by a revenge checkered with jest and earnest. But he took it heinously, either that he was passionately fond of Aspasia, or because he looked upon himself as affronted and scorned by his father. Teribazus, perceiving him thus minded. did his best to exasperate him yet further, seeing in his injuries a representation of his own, of which the following is the account: Artaxerxes, having many daughters, promised to give Anama to

Pharmsbarus to wife, Rhodogune to Crontes, and Amestras to Teribarus, whom alone of the three he disspounted, by marry may Amestra hamelf. However, to make him amends, he between the hamelf. However, to make him amends, he between the hamelf. However, to make him. But after he had, being enamoured of her too, as has been said, married her, Teribarus enternaned an urreconcluble emmity against him. As indeed he was seldom at any other time steady in his temper, but uneven and mocanderate, so that whether he were in the number of the choicest favourites of his prince or whether he were offensive and odnors to him, he demeaned himself in neither condition with moderation, but if he was advanced he was intolerably molent, and in his degradation not submissive and reseashle in his divortiment, but force and haughty

And therefore Teribazus was to the young prince flame added upon flame ever urging him, and saying, that in vain those wear their hats upright who consult not the real success of their affairs. and that he was ill befriended of reason if he imagined, whilst he had a brother, who, through the women's apartments, was seek ing a way to the supremacy, and a father of so rash and fickle s humour, that he should by succession infallibly step un into the throne For he that out of fondness to an Ionian girl has eluded a law sacred and inviolable among the Persuans is not likely to be faithful in the performance of the most important promises He added too, that it was not all one for Ochus not to arrain to. and for him to be put by his crown, since Ochus as a subject might live happily, and nobody could hinder him, but he, being proclaimed king, must either take up his scentre or lay down his life These words presently inflamed Darius what Sonhocles says being indeed generally true -

"Quick travels the personson to what a wrong "

For the path is smooth, and upon an easy descent, that leads us to our own will and the most part of us desure what is evil through our strangeness to and generance of good. And in this case no doubt the greatness of the empire and the jealousy Darius had of Cohus furnished Teribarus with material for his persasions. Yor was 'tenus wholly unconcerned in the matter, in researd, namely, of his loss of Agnasia.

Darms therefore, rengred houself up to the dictates of Ten barus, and many how comparing with them, a counch gave information to the king of their plot and the way how it was to be managed, having discovered the octanity of it, that they had reached to break into his bed-chamber hy might, and there to

kill him as he lay. After Artaxerxes had been thus advertised. he did not think fit, by disregarding the discovery, to despise so great a danger, nor to believe it when there was little or no proof of it. Thus then he did: he charged the cunuch constantly to attend and accompany the conspirators wherever they were: in the meanwhile, he broke down the party-wall of the chamber behind his bed, and placed a door in it to open and shut, which he covered up with tauestry; so the hour approaching, and the cunuch having told him the precise time in which the treatures designed to assassinate him, he waited for them in his hed, and rose not up till he had seen the faces of his assailants and recomnised every man of them. But as soon as he saw them with their swords drawn and coming up to him, throwing up the hangmg, he made his retreat into the inner chamber, and, bolting the door, raised a cry. Thus when the murderers had been seen by him, and had attempted him in vain, they with speed went back through the same doors they came in by, enjoining Teribazus and his friends to fly, as their plot had been certainly detected. They, therefore, made their escape different ways: but Teribagus was saized by the king's guards, and after slaving many, while they were laying hold on him, at length being struck through with a dart at a distance, fell. As for Darius, who was brought to trial with his children, the king appointed the royal judges to sit over him, and because he was not himself present. but accused Darius by proxy, he commanded his scribes to write own the opinion of every one of the judges, and show it to him. nd after they had given their sentences, all as one man, and andemned Darius to death, the officers seized on him, and projed him to a chamber not for off. To which place the secutioner, when summoned, came with a razor in his hand, ith which men of his employment cut off the heads of offenders. at when he saw that Durius was the person thus to be punished e was appealled and started back, offering to go out, as one that ad neither power nor courage enough to behead a king; yet at to threats and commands of the indees who stood at the prison oor, he returned and grasping the hair of his head and bringing is face to the cround with one hand, he cut through his neck ith the razor he had in the other. Some affirm that sentence as passed in the presence of Artaxerxes; that Darius, after he ad been convicted by clear evidence, falling prostrate before im, did humbly beg his pardon; that instead of giving it, he sing up in rage and drawing his scymeter, smote him till he had lled him; and then, going forth into the court, he worshinned

need not require any other justice on their oppressors, seeing them this murder each other, and first of all, and that most putly, the one that enviared them first, and taught them to expect s ch happy results from a change of emperors, sullving a good word by the par he gart for its being done and turning

revolt against Nero into nothing better than treason

For, as siready related, Ayraphidius Sabinus, captain of the guards, together with Tiggelinus, after Aero's circumstances were now desperate, and it was perceived that he designed to fly into Egypt, persuaded the troops to declare Galba emperor, as if Nero had been already gone, promising to all the court and practorian soldiers, as they are called, seven thousand five hundred drachmas apiece, and to those in service abroad twelve hundred and fifty drachmas each, so wast a sum for a largess as it was impossible any one could raise, but he must be imfinitely more exacting and oppressive than ever hero was. This quelly brought hero to his grave, and soon after Galba too, they murdered the first in expectation of the promised guit, and not long after the other because they did not obtain it from him, and then, seeking about to find some one who would purchase at such a rate, they consumed themselves in a succession of treachenes and rebellions before they obtained their demands But to give a particular relation of all that passed would require a history in full form. I have only to notice what is properly to my purpose, namely, what the Casars did and suffered

Sulphius Galba is enough by all to have been the inchest private person that ever came to the imperial seat. And be-index the additional honour of being of the Servia, he valued himself more especially for his relationship to Cathina, the most ennent causen of his time both for writine and remova, however he may have voluntarily yielded to others as regards power and a thority. Galba was also akin to Liras, the wife of Augustus, by whose interest he was preferred to the consulphip by the imperior. It is said of him that he commanded the troops well in Germans, and, being made procorsul in Ilbya, gained a reputation that lew ever land. But his quiet manner of living and his parangues in expenses and his disregard of appearances pave him, when he became emperor, an ill raise for meanners, became, in tack, he werenot extend to be apprehensive of men of great repute Tothe epinent, receiver, extertuined of his mild natural temper, has old see added a belight that he would ever text meautious.)

Galba 4.7

There while Nero's iniquitous agents savagely and cruelly harassed the provinces under Nero's authority, he could afford no succour, but merely offer this only ease and consolation, that he seemed plainly to sympathise, as a fellow-sufferer, with those who were condemned upon suits and sold. And when lamnoons were made unon Nero and circulated and sung everywhere about, he neither probibited them, nor showed any indignation on behalf of the emperor's agents, and for this was the more beloved: as also that he was now well acquainted with them, having been in chief power there eight years at the time when Tunius Vindex, general of the forces in Gaul, began his insurrection against Nero. And it is reported that letters came to Galha before it fully broke out into an onen rebellion, which he neither seemed to give credit to, nor on the other hand to take means to let Nero know: as other officers did, sending to him the letters which came to them, and so spoiled the design, as much as in them lay, who yet afterwards shared in the conspiracy, and confessed they had been treacherous to themselves as well as him. At last Vindex, plainly declaring war, wrote to Galba, encouraging him to take the government upon him, and give a head to this strong body, the Gaulish provinces, which could already count a hundred thousand men in urms, and were able to arm a yet greater number if occasion were. Galha laid the matter before his friends, some of whom thought it fit to wait, and see what movement there might be and what inclinations displayed at Rome for the revolution. But Titus Vinius. captain of his pretorian guard, spoke thus: "Galba, what means this moure? To question whether we shall continue faithful to Neco is, in itself, to cease to be faithful. Nero is our enemy, and we must by no means decline the help of Vindex: or else we must at once denounce him, and march to attack him. because he wishes you to be the envernor of the Romans, rather than Nero their tyrant." Thereupon Galba, by an edict, appointed a day when he would receive manumissions, and general rumour and talk beforehand shout his purpose brought together a great crowd of men so ready for a change, that he scarcely appeared, stepping up to the tribunal, but they with one consent saluted him emperor. That title he refused at present to take upon him: but after he had a while inveighed against Nero, and bemoaned the loss of the more conspicuous of those that had been destroyed by bim, he offered himself and service to his country, not by the titles of Casar or emperor, but as the lieutenant of the Roman senate and neonle.

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revolt against Nero into nothing better than treason. For, as already related, Nymphidius Sabinus, captain of the guards, together with Tiggelmus, after Nero's circumstances were now desperate, and it was perceived that he designed to fly into Egypt, persuaded the troops to declare Galba emperor, as if Nero had been already gone, promising to all the court and pretoran soldiers, as they are called, seven thousand five hundred drachmas apiece, and to those in service abroad twelve hurdred and fifty druchmas each, so wast a sum for a largess as it was impossible any one could raise, but he must be infinitely more exacting and oppressive than ever Nero was This quickly brought Nero to his grave, and soon after Galba too, they murdered the first in expectation of the promised gift, and not long after the other because they did not obtain it from hm, and then, seeking about to find some one who would purchase at such a rate, they consumed themselves in a succession of treachenes and rebellions before they obtained their demands But to give a particular relation of all that passed would require a hustory in full form. I have only to notice what is properly to my purpose, namely, what the Casars did and suffered

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There while Nero's iniquitous agents savagely and cruelly harassed the provinces under Nero's authority, he could afford no succour, but merely offer this only ease and consolation, that he seemed plainly to sympathise, as a fellow-sufferer, with those who were condemned upon suits and sold. And when lampoons were made upon Nero and circulated and sung everywhere about, he peither prohibited them, nor showed any indignation on behalf of the emperor's agents, and for this was the more beloved: as also that he was now well acquainted with them. having been in chief power there cight years at the time when Junius Vindex, general of the forces in Gaul, began his insurrection against Nero. And it is reported that letters came to Galha before it fully broke out into an open rebellion, which he neither seemed to give credit to, nor on the other hand to take means to let Nero know; as other officers did, sending to him the letters which came to them, and so spoiled the design, as much as in them lay, who yet afterwards shared in the conspiracy, and confessed they had been treacherous to themselves as well as him. At last Vindex, plainly declaring war, wrote to Galba, encouraging him to take the government upon him, and give a head to this strong body, the Gaulish provinces, which could already count a bundred thousand men in arms, and were able to arm a vet greater number if occasion were. Galba laid the matter before his friends, some of whom thought it fit to wait, and see what movement there might be and what inclinations displayed at Rome for the revolution. But Titus Vinius, captain of his pratorian guard, spoke thus: "Galba, what means this inquiry? To question whether we shall continue faithful to Nero is, in itself, to cease to be faithful. Nero is our enemy, and we must by no means decline the help of Vindex: or else we must at once denounce him, and march to attack him, because he wishes you to be the covernor of the Romans, rather than Nero their tyrant," Thereupon Galba, by an edict, appointed a day when he would receive manumissions, and general rumour and talk beforehand about his purpose brought together a great crowd of men so ready for a change, that he scarcely appeared, stepping up to the tribunal, but they with one consent saluted him emperor. That title he refused at present to take upon him; but after he had a while inveighed against Nero, and hemoaned the loss of the more conspicuous of those that had been destroyed by him, he offered himself and service to his country, not by the titles of Casar or emperor, but as the lieutepant of the Roman senate and poorly.

New that Vendex did weely in norting Galba to the impure, Nero hunself her textimony, who, though he seemed to despise Vindex and altogether oblight the Gauls and their concerns, yet when he heard a morning ment), at this news he overturned that the contract the contract ment of the contract of the contract of the third who has text, and likewase to personate a confidence the contract of the contract haven yet happy opportunity, he said, "for me, who seelly want such a body as that of the Gauls, which must all fall in as lawful prize, and Galba's estate I can use or rellat once, he being now on open enemy." And accordingly he had Galba's property exposed to safe, which when Galba heard of, he sequestered all that was Nero's in Spain, and found far reader bidders.

Many new began to revolt from Nero, and pretty nearly all adverse to falls, only Colouis Macer an Afrena, and Vignams Rufus, commander of the German lorres in Gaul, Iollowed counsel of their own, yet their two vere not of one and the same advers, for Coolins, being seasible of the rapines and murders to which he had been field ye credity and covestournes, was in perplexity, and felt it was not safe for him either to retain or quit his command. But Vigninus, who had the command of the strongest legions, by whom he was many repeated times stated emptor and operated to take the title upon him, declared that he neither would assume that honour himself, nor set it even to any other than whom the senate should sleet.

These thurgs at first does a kith dictarb Galba, but when precently Vingunusar « Vindes were an amanear forced by their armite, having got the reans, as it were, out of their bands, to a great encounter field battle, in which Vindes, having seen twenty thousand « to the Gaubs destroyed, died by he own hand, and when the Payert straight spread abroad, that all dearned Virginius, after this great victory, to take the empire upon him, or else they would return to Nova grain, Galba, in great alarm at this, wrote to Virginius, exhorting him Galba, in great alarm at this, wrote to Virginius, exhorting him for the preservation of the engine and the blerty of the Romans, and so returning with his friends into Gloma, a fower in Spain, he passed away his time, rather reporting his former restiness, and wishing for his wonted ease and privacy, than setting about what was fit to be done.

It was now summer, when on a sudden, a little before dusk, tomes a freedman, Icelus by name, having arrived in seven days from Rome, and being informed where Galba was reposing him-

self in private, he went straight on, and pushing by the servants of the chamber, opened the door and entered the room, and told him, that Nero being yet alive but not appearing, first the army, and then the people and senate, declared Galba emperor; not long after, it was reported that Nero was dead: "but I." said he, "not giving credit to common fame, went myself to the body and saw him lying dead, and only then set out to bring you word." This news at once made Galba great again, and a crowd of people came bastening to the door, all very confident of the truth of his tidings, though the speed of the man was almost incredible. Two days after came Titus Vinius with sundry others from the camp, who gave an account in detail of the orders of the senate, and for this service was considerably advanced. On the freedman, Galba conferred the honour of the gold ring, and Icelus, as he had been before, now taking the name of Marcianus, held the first place of the freedmen,

But at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus, not gently, and little by little, but at once, and without exception, sugressed all power to himself; Galba, being an old man (seventy-three years of age), would scarcely, he thought, live long enough to be carried in a litter to Rome; and the troops in the city were from old time attached to him, and now bound by the vastness of the promised gift, for which they regarded him as their benefactor. and Galba as their debtor. Thus presuming on his interest, he straightway commanded Tigellinus, who was in joint commission with himself, to lay down his sword; and giving entertainments. he invited the former consuls and commanders, making use of Galba's name for the invitation; but at the same time prepared many in the camp to propose that a request should be sent to Galba that he should appoint Nymphidius sole prefect for life without a colleague. And the modes which the senate took to show him honour and increase his power, styling him their benefactor, and attending daily at his gates, and giving him the compliment of heading with his own name and confirming all their acts, carried him on to a yet greater degree of arrogance, so that in a short time he became an object, not only of dislike, but of terror, to those that sought his favour. When the consuls themselves had despatched their copriers with the decrees of the senate to the emperor, together with the scaled diplomas, which the authorities in all the towns where horses or carriages are changed look at, and on that certificate hasten the couriers forward with all their means, he was highly displeased that his seal had not been used, and none of his soldiers employed on the errand Nay, he even deliberated what course to take with the consuls themselves, but upon their submissions and apology he was at last pacified. To gratify the people, he did not interfere with their beating to death any that it all into their hands of Nher's party. Amongst others, Spirits, the glatcher, was killed in the forum by being thrown under Nero's statues, which they draged about the place over his body. Aponiss, one of those who had been concerned in accusations, they knocked to the ground, and drove carts loaded with stones over him. And many others they tore in pieces, some of them no way guilty, insomuch that Mauriscus, a person of great account and character, told the senate that he feared, in a short time, they might wish for Nora gram.

Nymphidus, now advancing towards the consummation of his hopes, did not refuse to let it he said that he was the son of Cares Czear, Tiberms's successor, who, it is told, was well acquainted with his mother in his early youth, a woman indeed handsome enough, the offspring of Callistis, one of Carar's freedmen, and a certain sempstress But it is plain that Caius's familiarity with his mother was of too late date to give him any pretensions, and it was suspected he might, if he pleased, claim a father in Martianus, the gladiator, whom his mother, Nymphidia, took a passion for, being a famous man in his way, whom also he much more resembled. However, though he certainly owned Nymphidia for his mother, he ascribed meantime the downfall of Nero to himself alone, and thought he was not sufficiently rewarded with the honours and riches he enjoyed (nav. though to all was added the company of Sporus, whom he immediately sent for while Nero's body was yet burning on the pile, and treated as his consort with the name of Poppera), but he must also aspire to the empire. And at Rome he had friends who took measures for hun secretly, as well as some women and some members of the sepate also, who worked underhand to assist him And into Spain he despatched one of his friends, named Gelkanus, to view the posture of affairs

But all things succeeded well with Galba siter Nero's death, only Virginus Rutles, still standing doubtful, gave him some anxiety, lett he should laten to the suggestions of some who encouraged him to take the government upon him, having, at present, besides the command of a large and warlike army, the next honours of the defeat of Vindex and the subjugation of one transiterable part of the Roman empre, namely, the entire Gail, which had seemed shaking about upon the verge of open revolt

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Nor had any man indeed a greater name and reputation than Virginius, who had taken a part of so much consequence in the deliverance of the empire at once from a cruel tyranny and a Gallic war. But he, standing to his first resolves, reserved to the senate the power of electing an emperor. Yet when it was now manifest that Nero was dead, the spldiers pressed him hard to it, and one of the tribunes, entering his tent with his drawn sword, bade him either take the government or that. But after Fabius Valens, having the command of one legion, had first sworn fealty to Galba, and letters from Rome came with tidings of the resolves of the senate, at last with much ado he persuaded the army to declare Galba emperor. And when Flacous Hordeonius came by Galba's commission as his successor, he handed over to him his forces, and went himself to meet Golha on his way, and having met him turned back to attend him; in all which no apparent displeasure nor yet honour was shown him. Galha's feelings of respect for him prevented the former; the latter was checked by the envy of his friends, and particularly of Titus Vinius, who, acting in the desire of hindering Virginius's promotion, unwittingly aided his happy genius in rescuing him from those basards and bardships which other commanders were involved in, and securing him the safe enjoyment of a quiet life and praceable old see.

Max Nabb, acity is Goul, the deputation of the senate met. Galba, an after they sid elievered their compliences, begged him to make what here he could to appear to the people this make what here he could to appear to the people that may be a supported plan. He discoursed with them courte-outly and unassumingly, and in his entertainment, though Nymphidius had sent him royal furniture and attendance of Neer's, he put tall aside, and made use of nothing but his own, for which he was well apoleon of, as one who had a great mind, and was superface to little vanishes. But in a short time, Whinis, by declaring to him that these noble, mapsongous, titrend-less ways were a more affectables and plantly that had been also become a supplied, and in his catterialments not to be faired of a regal sumptunity. And in more than one way the old man let it gradually apone with the had put hisself under Vinitury's disposal.

Vinius was a person of an excessive covoloumess, and not quite free from blame in respect to women. For being a young man, newly entered into the service under Calvisius Sabinus, upon his first campaign, he brought his commander's wife, a bloentious woman, in a soldier's dress, by might into the camp. and was found with her in the very general's quarters the principle as the Romans call them. For which molence Laws Cress cast him thor person from whence he was fortunately delivered by Caius a death. Afterwards being myitted by Caiud as Cress to support he priv'd permeyed away a sliver cup which Cress thearing of myitted him again the next day and gave order to his servants to set bedoes him no a lever plate but only authenware. And this offence through the comic mildness of Crears reprinciple was the size of the s

hymph dus became very uneasy upon the return out of Spain of Gelhamus whom he had sent to prv into Galha s actions understanding that Cornelius Laco was appointed commander of the court guards and that Vinius was the great favourite and that Gell anus had not been able so much as to come n gh much less have any opportunity to offer any words in private so parrowly had he been watched and observed Nymphid us therefore called together the officers of the troops and declared to them that Galha of himself was a good well meaning old man but d d not act by his own counsel and was ill-gu ded by Vin us and Laco and lest, before they were aware they should engross the authors'v Tigellmus had with the troops he proposed to them to send deputies from the camp acquainting him that if he pleased to remove only these two from his counsel and presence he would be much more welcome to all at his arrival Wherein when he saw he d d not prevail (it seeming absurd and unmannerly to give rules to an old commander what friends to retain or displace as if he had been a youth newly taking the re as of author ty into his hands) adopting another course he wrote himself to Galba letters in alarming terms one while as if the city were unsettled and had not yet recovered its tran quility then that Clod us Macer withheld the corn ships from Africa that the leg ons in Germany began to be mutinous and that he heard the like of those in Syria and Judga But Galba not m ading him much or giving credit to his stories he resolved to make his attempt beforehand though Clodius Celsus a native of Antioch a person of sense and friendly and faithful to Nymphid us told him he was wrong saying he did not believe one single street m Rome would ever give him the title of Casar hevertheless many also derided Galba amongst the rest M th ridates of Pontus, saying, that as soon as this wrinkled, baidbeaded man should be seen publicly at Rome, they would think it an utter disgrace even to have had such a Cassar.

At last it was resolved, about midnight, to bring Nymphidius into the camp, and declare him emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, who was first among the tribunes, summoning together in the evening those under his command, charged himself and them severely with their many and unreasonable turns and alterations, made without any purpose or regard to merit, simply as if some evil genius hurried them from one reason to another. "What though Nero's miscarriages," said he, " gave some colour to your former acts, can you say you have any plea for betraying Galba in the death of a mother, the blood of a wife, or the degradation of the imperial power upon the stage and amongst players? Neither did we desert Nero for all this, until Nymphidius had persuaded us that he had first left us and fied into Egypt. Shall we, therefore, send Galba after, to appease Nero's shade, and for the sake of making the son of Nymphidia emperor, take off one of Livia's family, as we have already the son of Agrippina? Rather, doing justice on him, let us revenge Nero's death, and show ourselves true and faithful by preserving Galba."

The tribune having ended his harangue, the soldiers assented, and encouraged all they met with to persist in their fidelity to the emperor, and, indeed, brought over the greatest part. But presently hearing a great shout, Nymphidius, imagining, as some say, that the soldiers called for him, or hastening to be in time to check any opposition and gain the doubtful, came on with many lights, carrying in his hand a speech in writing, made by Cinconius Verro, which he had got by beart, to deliver to the soldiers. But seeing the gutes of the camp shut up, and large numbers standing armed about the walls, he began to be afraid. Yet drawing nearer he demanded what they meant, and by whose orders they were then in arms; but hearing a general acclamation, all with one consent crying out that Galba was their emperor, advancing towards them, he joined in the crv. and likewise commanded those that followed him to do the same. The guard notwithstanding permitted him to enter the camp only with a few, where he was presently struck with a dart, which Septimius, being before him, received on his shield: others, however, assaulted him with their naked swords, and on his fiving, pursued him into a soldier's cabin, where they slew him. And dragging his body thence, they placed a railing about it, and exposed it next day to public view. When Galba heard

of the end which Nymphidius had thus come to, he commanded that all his confederates who had not at once killed themselves should immediately be despatched, amongst whom were Cingonus, who made his oration, and Mithridates, formerly mentioned It was, however, regarded as arbitrary and illegal, and though it might be just, yet by no means popular, to take off men of their rank and equality without a hearing. For every one expected another scheme of government, being deceived, as is usual, by the first plausible pretences, and the death of Petronaus Turpilianus, who was of consular dignity, and had remained faithful to Nero, was yet more keenly resented Indeed, the taking off of Macer in Africa by Trebonius, and Fonterus by Valens in Germany, had a fair pretence, they being dreaded as armed commanders, having their soldiers at their bidding, but why refuse Turpilianus, an old man and unarmed. permission to try to clear himself, if any part of the moderation and equity at first promised were really to come to a performance? Such were the comments to which these actions exposed him When he came within five-and-twenty furlongs or thereabouts of the city, he happened to light on a disorderly rabble of the seamen, who beset him as he passed. These were they whom Nero made soldiers, forming them into a legion. They so rudely crowded to have their commission confirmed that they did not let Galba either be seen or beard by those that had come out to meet their new emperor, but tumulmously pressed on with loud shouts to have colours to their legion, and quarters assigned them Galba put them off until another time, which they interpreted as a denial, grew more inspient and mutinous, following and crying out, some with their drawn swords in their hands Upon seeing which, Calba commanded the horse to ride over them, when they were soon routed, not a man standing his ground, and many of them were slain, both there and in the pursuit, an ill-omen, that Galba should make his first entry through so much blood and among dead bodies And now he was looked upon with terror and alarm by any one who had entertained contempt of him at the sight of his age and apparent infirmities

But when he desured presently to let it appear what a change would be made from Nero's profusionss and sumptionity in groung presents, he much missed his num, and fell is other of magnificence, that he sarredy came within the limits of decency When Carus, who was a funnis missians, played at support for him, he expressed his approbation, and bade the high be brought to him; and taking a few gold pieces, put them in with this remark, that it was out of his own purse, and not on the public account. He ordered the largesses which Nero had made to actors and wrestlers and such like to be strictly required again, allowing only the tanth part to be retained; though it turned to very small account, most of those persons expending which with allowing only the tanth part to be retained; though it turned to very small account, most of those persons expending which who had bought or received from them, and called upon these people to refund. The trouble was infinite, the exactions being presented far, touching a great number of persons, bringing disreptic on Galba, and general hatted on Vinius, who made the emperor appear base-benated and mean to the word, whilst be himself was spending profusely, taking whatever he could get, and selling to any bryer. Hesiot delts us to drink without staining el-

"The end and the beginning of the cask."

And Vinius, seeing his patron old and decaying, made the most of what he considered to be at once the first of his fortune and the last of it.

Thus the aced man suffered in two ways, first, through the evil deeds which Vinius did himself, and, next, by his preventing or bringing into disgrace those just acts which he himself designed. Such was the punishing Nero's adherents. When he destroyed the bad, amongst whom were Helius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius, the peoples mightily applauded the act, crying out,. as they were dragged through the forum, that it was a goodly sight, grateful to the gods themselves, adding, however, that the gods and men alike demanded justice on Tigellinus, the very tutor and prompter of all the tyranny. This good man, however, had taken his measures beforehand, in the shape of a present and a promise to Vinius. Turpilianus could not be allowed to escape with life, though his one and only crime had been that he had not betrayed or shown batred to such a ruler as Nero. But he who had made Nero what he became, and afterwards deserted and betrayed him whom he had so corrupted, was allowed to survive as an instance that Vinius could do anything, and an advertisement that those that had money to give him need despair of nothing. The people, however, were so possessed with the desire of seeing Tigellinus dragged to execution, that they never exased to require it at the theatre. and in the race-course, till they were checked by an edict from the emperor himself, announcing that Tigellinus could not live

long, being wasted with a consumption, and requesting them not to seek to make his government appear errol and symmost to seek to make his power simpled at, and Tigellmus made a spiendid feast, and sarificed in thanksgiving for his deliverance, and after supper, Yimas, raus from the empeor's table, went to revel with Tigellmus, taking his daughter, a widow, with him, to whom Tigellmus presented his compliments, with a gitt of twinty five myrands of money, and bade the super intendent of his concubines take off a rich neckhaer from her own neck and the it about hers, the value of it being estimated as filtern myrands.

After this, even reasonable acts were consured, as, for example, the treatment of the Gauls who had been in the con source with Vindex. For people looked upon their abatement of tribute and admission to citizenship as a piece, not of clemency on the part of Galba, but of money making on that of Vinus And thus the mass of the people began to look with dislike upon the government. The soldiers were Lept on a while m expectation of the promised donative, supposing that if they did not receive the full, yet they should have at least as much as Nero gave them But when Galba, on hearing they began to complain, declared greatly, and like a general, that he was used to enlist and not to buy his soldiers, when they heard of this, they conceived an implacable hatred against him. for he did not seem to defraud them merely himself in their present expectations, but to give an ill precedent, and instruct his successors to do the File Alus beart burning, however, was as yet at Rome a thing and clared, and a certain respect for Galba's personal presence some mat retarded their motions, and took off their edge, and their baving no obvious occasion for begin ning a revolution curbed and kept under, more or less, their resentments But those forces that had been formerly under Virginius, and now were under Flaccus in Germany, valuing themselves much upon the battle they had fought with Vindex, and finding now no advantage of it, grew very refractory and intractable towards their officers. and Flaccus they wholly dis regarded, being incapacitated in body by unintermitted gout, and, besides, a man of hittle experience in affairs. So at one of their festivals, when it was customary for the officers of the army to wish all health and happiness to the emperor, the common soldiers began to murmur loudly, and on their officers persisting in the ceremony, responded with the words, "If he deserves it"

When some similar insolence was committed by the legions under Vitellius, frequent letters with the information came to Galba from his agents: and taking alarm at this, and fearing that he might be despised not only for his old age, but also for want of issue, he determined to adopt some young man of distinction, and declare him his successor. There was at this time in the city Marcus Otho, a person of fair extraction, but from his childhood one of the few most debauched, voluptuous, and luxurious livers in Rome. And as Homer gives Paris in several places the title " of fair Helen's love," making a woman's name the glory and addition to his, as if he had nothing else to distinguish him, so Otho was renowned in Rome for nothing more than his marriage with Poppea, whom Nero had a passion for when she was Crispinus's wife. But being as yet respectful to his own wife, and standing in awe of his mother, he engaged Otho underhand to solicit her. For Nero lived familiarly with Otho, whose prodigality won his favour, and he was well pleased when he took the freedom to jest upon him as mean and penurious. Thus when Nero one day perfumed himself with some rich essence and favoured Otho with a sprinkle of it, he, entertaining Nero next day, ordered gold and silver pipes to disperse the like on a sudden freely, like water, throughout the room. As to Poppaa, he was beforehand with Nero, and first seducing her himself, then, with the hope of Nero's favour, he prevailed with her to part with her husband, and brought her to his own house as his wife, and was not content afterwards to have a share in her, but grudged to have Nero for a claimant, Poppus herself, they say, being rather pleased than otherwise with this jealousy; she sometimes excluded Nero, even when Othe was not present, either to prevent his getting tired with her, or, as some say, not liking the prospect of an imperial metriage, though willing enough to have the emperor as her lover. So that Otho ran the risk of his life, and strange it was he escaped, when Nero, for this very marriage, killed his wife and sister. But he was beholden to Seneca's friendship, by whose persuasions and entreaty Nero was prevailed with to despatch him as practor into Lusitania, on the shores of the Occan; where he behaved himself very agreeably and indulgently to those he had to govern, well knowing this command was but to colour and disguise his banishment.

When Galha revolted from Nero, Otho was the first governor of any of the provinces that came over to him, bringing all the gold and silver he possessed in the shape of cups and tables,

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to be comed into money, and also what *ervants he had fitly qualified to wait upon a prince In all other points, too, he was faithful to him and gave him sufficient proof that he was inferior to none in managing public business. And he so far ingratiated himself, that he node in the same carriage with him during the whole journey, several days together And in this tourney and familiar companionship he won over Vinius also,

both by his conversation and presents, but especially by con ceding to him the first place, securing the second, by his interest, for himself. And he had the advantage of him in avoiding all odium and jealousy, assisting all petitioners, without asking for any reward, and appearing courteous and of easy access towards all, especially to the inilitary men, for many of whom he obtained commands, some immediately from the emperor, others by Vinus s means, and by the assistance of the two favourite freedmen, Icelus and Asiaticus, these being the men in thief power in the court. As often as he entertained Galba, he gave the cohort on duty, in addition to their pay, a piece of gold for every man there, upon pretence of respect to the

popularity with the soldiers So Galba consulting about a successor, Vinius introduced Othe. yet not even this gratis, but upon promise that he would marry his daughter if Galba should make him his adopted son and successor to the empire But Galba, in all his actions, showed clearly that he preferred the public good before his own private interest, not aiming so much to pleasure himself as to advantage the Romans by his selection. Indeed he does not seem to have been so much as inclined to make choice of Otho had it been but to inherit his own private fortune, knowing his extravagant and luxurous character, and that he was already plunged in debt five thousand myrads deep So he listened to Vinius, and made no reply, but mildly suspended his determination. Only he appointed himself consul, and Vinius his colleague, and it was the general expectation that he would declare his successor

emperor, while really he undermined him, and stole away his

at the beginning of the new year. And the soldiers desired nothing more than that Otho should be the person. But the forces in Germany broke out into their mutiny whilst be was yet deliberating, and anticipated his design. All the soldiers in general felt much resentment against Galba for not having given them their expected largess, but these troops made

a pretence of a more particular concern, that Virginius Rufus was cast off dishonourably, and that the Gauls who had fought Galba 491

with them were well rewarded, while those who had refused to take part with Vindex were punished; and Galba's thanks seemed all to be for him, to whose memory he had done honour after his death with public solemnities as though he had been made emperor by his means only. Whilst these discourses passed openly throughout the army, on the first day of the first month of the year, the Calends, as they call it, of January, Flaccus summoning them to take the usual anniversary outh of fealty to the emperor, they overturned and pulled down Galba's statues, and having sworn in the name of the senate and people of Rome, departed. But the officers now feared anarchy and confusion, as much as rebellion; and one of them came forward and said: "What will become of us, my fellow-soldiers, if we neither set up another general, nor retain the present one? This will be not so much to desert from Galba as to decline all subjection and command. It is useless to try and maintain Flaccus Hordeonius, who is but a mere shadow and image of Gaiba. But Vitellius, commander of the other Germany, is but one day's march distant, whose father was censor and thrice consul, and in a manner co-emperor with Claudius Casar; and he himself has the best proof to show of his bounty and largeness. of mind, in the poverty with which some reproach him. Him let us make choice of, that all may see we know how to choose an emperor better than either Spaniards or Lusitanians." Which motion whilst some assented to, and others gainsaid, a certain standard-bearer slipped out and carried the news to Vitellius, who was entertaining much company by night. This taking air, soon passed through the troops, and Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, riding up next day with a large body of horse, saluted Vitelius emperor. He had hitherto scemed to decline it, professing a dread he had to undertake the weight of the government; but on this day, being fortified, they say, by wine and a plentiful noon-day repast, he began to yield, and submitted to take on him the title of Germanicus they gave him, but desired to be excused as to that of Casar. And namediately the army under Flaccus also, putting away their fine and popular oaths in the name of the senate, swore obedience to Vitellius as emperor, to observe whatever he commanded.

Thus Vitellius was publicly proclaimed emperor in Germany; which news coming to Gaiba's car, he no longer deferred his adoption; yet knowing that some of his friends were using their luterest for Dolabella, and the greatest number of them for Otho, neither of whom he approved of, on a saudien, without any one's privity, he sent for Piso, the son of Crassus and Scribonia, whom Nero slew, a young man in general of excellent disposition for virtue, but his most emment qualities those of steadiness and austere gravity And so he set out to go to the camp to declare hun Cæsar and successor to the empire But at his very first going forth many signs appeared in the heavens, and when he becan to make a speech to the soldiers, partly extempore, and partly reading it, the frequent claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, and the violent storm of rain that burst on both the camp and the city, were plam discoveries that the divine powers did not look with favour or satisfaction on this act of adoption that would come to pe good result. The soldiers, also, showed symptoms of bidden discontent, and were sullen looks, no distribution of money being even now made to them. However, those that were present and observed Piso's countenance and voice could not but feel admiration to see him so little overcome by so great a favour, of the magnitude of which at the same tune he seemed not at all insensible. Otho's aspect, on the other hand, did not fail to let many marks appear of his bitterness and anger at his disappointment, since to have been the first man thought of for it, and to have come to the very point of being chosen, and now to be put by, was in his feelings a sum of the displeasure and ill will of Galba towards burn. This

a mind full of various passions, whilst be dreaded Pros, hated Galba, and was full of w ^a and dippletonson, and sent him home with a mind full of various passions, whilst be dreaded Pros, hated Galba, and was full of w ^a and indepantion against Vinus: And the Chaldeaus and for.

And the dreaded Prospective institute of the full of the state of the permit hum to lay sade hat hopes.

At the design, charly Prolements institute and the first, and Olbo succeed as emperer, for the first proving true, he thought the vaula full districts the sets. But none perhaps stimulated him more than those that professed pravately to pity his hard fate and compassionate him for being thus ungartelly dealt with by Galba, especially Nymphidus's and Tigelinus's creatures, who, bump now cant off and reduced to low estate, were eager to put themselves upon hum, exclassing at the indeputy be had sufficed, and provoking him to reverse himself.

whered, and provoking him to revenge himself
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Amongst these were Veturius and Barbus, the one an option
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was no hard matter, they being already corrupted, and only wanting a fair pretence. It had been otherwise more than the work of four days (which elapsed between the adoption and murder), so completely to infect them as to cause a general revolt. On the sixth day ensuing, the eighteenth, as the Romans call it, before the Calends of February, the murder was done. On that day, in the morning, Galba sacrificed in the Palatium in the presence of his friends, when Umbricius, the priest, taking up the entrails, and speaking not ambiguously, but in plain words, said that there were signs of great troubles ensuing, and dangerous snares laid for the life of the emperor. Thus Otho had even been discovered by the finger of the god; being there just hehind Galba, hearing all that was said, and seeing what was pointed out to them by Umbricius. His countenance changed to every colour in his fear, and he was betraying no small discomposure, when Onomastus, his freedman, came up and acquainted him that the master builders had come, and were waiting for him at home. Now that was the signal for Otho to meet the soldiers. Pretending then that he had purchased an old house, and was going to show the defects to those that had sold it to him, he departed; and passing through what is called Tiherius's house, he went ou into the forum, near the spot where a golden pillar stands, at which all the several roads through Italy terminate.

Here, it is related, no more than twenty-three received and saluted him emperor; so that, although be was not in mind as in body enervated with soft living and effeminacy, being in his nature bold and fearless enough in danger, nevertheless, he was afraid to go on. But the soldiers that were present would not suffer him to recede, but came with their swords drawn around his chair, commanding the bearers to take him up, whom he bastened on, saying several times over to himself, "I am a lost man." Several persons overheard the words, who stood by wondering, rather than alarmed, because of the small number that attempted such an enterprise. But as they marched on through the forum, about as many more met him, and here and there three or four at a time joined in. Thus returning towards the camp, with their bare swords in their hands, they saluted him as Casar; whereupon Martialias, the tribune in charge of the watch, who was, they say, noways privy to it, but was simply surprised at the unexpectedness of the thing, and alraid to refuse, permitted him entrance. And after this, no man made any resistance; for they that knew nothing of the design, being 494

purposely encompassed by the conspirators, as they were strangling here and there, first submitted for fear, and afterwards were persuaded into compliance. Tidings came immedistely to Galba in the Palatium, whilst the priests were still present and the sacrifices at hand, so that persons who were most entirely meredulous about such theses, and most positive in their neglect of them, were astonished, and began to marvel at the divine event. A multimide of all sorts of people now beran to run together out of the forem, Vinus and Laco and some of Galba's freedmen drew their swords and placed themselves beside him, Piso went forth and addressed himself to the guards on duty in the court, and Marius Celsus, a brave man, was despatched to the Hiyrian legion, stationed in what is called the Vipsanian chumber, to secure them.

Galba now consulting whether he should go out, Vinus dis-suaded him, but Celsus and Laco encouraged him by all means to do so, and sharply repremanded Vinius. But on a sudden a rumour came hot that Otho was slam in the camo, and presently appeared one Julius Atticus, a man of some distinction in the guards, running up with his drawn sword, trying out that he had slain Casar's enemy, and pressing through the crowd that stood in his way, he presented hunself before Galba with his bloody weapon, who, looking on him, demanded, "Who gave you your orders?" And on his answering that it had been his duty and the obligation of the oath he had taken, the people applauded, giving lond acclamations, and Galba got into his chair and was carried out to sacrifice to Juniter, and so to show himself publicly But coming into the forum, there met him there, like a turn of wind, the opposite story, that Otho had made hunself master of the camp. And as usual in a crowd of such a size, some called to him to return back, others to move forwards, some ercouraged him to be bold and fear nothing. others bade him to be cautious and distrust. And thus whilst his chair was tossed to and fro, as it were on the wayes, often

tottenng, there appeared first horse, and straightway heavyarmed foot, coming through Paulus's court, and all with one annet toot, coming turbugh randus's court, and all with one accord crying out, "Down with this private man," Upon this, the crowd of people set off running, not to fly and disperse, but to possess thems lives of the colonnades and clerated places of the forum, as it might be to get places to see a spectacle. And as soon as Atillius Vergilio knocked down one of Galba's statues. this was taken as the declaration of war, and they sent a dis tharge of darts upon Galba's litter, and missing their aim, came up and attacked him nearer hand with their naked swords. No man resisted ar offered to stand up in his defence, save one only, centurino, Semproinis Plensus, the single man among so many thousands that the sun beheld that day act worthly of the Roman empire, who, though he had nearer received any favour form Galba, yet out of havery and eligenace endeavoured to defend the litter. First, fifting up his switch of vine, with which the centurions correct the soldiers when disorderly, be called aloud to the aggressors, charging them not to touch their emptors. And when they came upon him hand-to-hand, he ofter his sword, and made a defence for a long time, until at state was act under the knees and throught to the ground.

Galba's chair was unset at the snot called the Lacus Curtius, where they ran up and struck at him as he lay in his corselet. He, however, offered his throat, bidding them "Strike, if it be for the Romaus' good." He received several wounds on his legs and arms, and at last was struck in the throat, as most say, by one Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion. Some name Terentius, others Lecanius; and there are others that say it was Fabius Fabulus, who it is reported cut off the head and carried it away in the skirt of his coat, the baldness making it a difficult thing to take hold of. But those that were with him would not allow him to keep it covered up, but bade him let every one see the brave deed he had done; so that after a while he stuck upon the lance the head of the aged man that had been their grave and temperate ruler, their supreme priest and consul, and, tossing it up in the air, ran like a bacchanal, twirling and flourishing with it, while the blood ran down the spear. But when they brought the head to Otho, "Fellow-soldiers," he cried out, "this is nothing, unless you show me Piso's too," which was presented him not long after. The young man, retreating upon a wound received, was pursued by one Murcus, and slain at the temple of Vesta, Titus Vinius was also despatched, avowing himself to have been privy to the conspiracy against Galba by calling out that they were killing him contrary to Otho's pleasure. However, they cut off his head, and Laco's tuo, and brought them

to Otho, requesting a boon.

And as Archilochus says—

"When six or seven lie breathless on the ground,
"Trus I, 'twas I, say thousands, gave the wound."

Thus many that had no share in the murder wetted their hands and swords in blood, and came and showed them to Otho, presenting memorials suing for a grainity. Not less than one hundred and twenty were elentified afterwards from their written petitions, ail of whom Vitalius sought out and nut to death. There came also into the camp Maries Celsus and was accused by many vo ces of encouraging the sold ers to assist Galba and was demanded to death by the multitude. Otho had no desire for this yet, learing an absolute demail he professed that he did not wish to take him off so soon, having many matters yet to learn from him, and so committed him safe to the custody of

those he most confided m

Forthwish a senate was conserved, and as if they were not the same men, or had o.h .. gods to swear by, they took that eath in Otho's name which he himself had taken in Galba's and had broken, and wishal conferred on him the titles of Casar and Augustus, while the dead carcasses of the slam lay yet m their consular roles in the martet place. As for their heads, when they could make no other use of them, I mus s they sold to his daughter for two thousand five hundred drachmas, Piso's was begged by bu wife, Verania, Galba's they gave to Patrobius's servants, who when they had it, after all sorts of abuse and md_mittes, tumb'ed it mto the place where those that suffer death by the emperor a orders are usually cost, called Sessorium Galba s body was conveyed a way by Priscus Helvidus by Otho s pennasion, and buried in the night by Argius has freedman

Thus you have the history of Galba, a person inferior to few Romans, e ther for birth or riches, rather exceeding all of his time m both, having lived in great bongur and reputation in the reigns of five emperors, insomuch that he overthrew hero mither by his fame and repute in the world than by actual force and power Of all the others that joined in Nero's deposition, some were by general consent regarded as unworthy, others had only them hes to rote them deserving of the empire. To him the title was offered, and by him at was accepted, and simply lending his name to Vindex's atterapt, he gave to what had been called re'ell, a before, the name of a rivil war, by the presence of ore that was accounted fit to govern. And therefore, as he considered that he had not so much sought the position as the position had sough him, he proposed to command those whom purphicus and Tigellinus had wheedled into obedience no otherwise than Supro formerly and Fabricus and Camillus had commanded the Powans of their times But being now over come with age, he was indeed among the troops and legions an up", ht ruler upon the antique model, but for the rest, giving himself up to Vinius, Laco, and his freedmen, who make their gain of all things, no otherwise then Nero had done to his insatiate favourites, he left none behind him to wish him still in power, though many to compassionate his death.

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The new emperor went early in the morning to the capitol, and surficed; and, having commanded Mains Celus to be brought, be saluted him, and with obliging language desired him rather to florget this accusation than remember his acquittal; to which Celus answered neither meanly nor ungratefully, that his very crime ought to recommend his integrity, since his guilt had been it fidthly to Galba, from whom he had never received any personal obligations. Upon which they were both of them admired by those that were present, and applicated by the solidiers.

In the smate, Othe said much in a genile and popular strain, lie was to have been consul for part of that year limited, but he gave the office to Virginius Ruius, and displaced more that had been named for the consulable by either Norro of Galba. Those that were remarkable for their age and dignity he promoted to the pictishnode; and restored the remains of their fortunes, that not yet been sold, to all those senators that were bankhad by New, and reactified by Galba. So that the nobelity and child of the Populs, who were at first apprehensive dist no human creature, but some suppranture, or penal vindictive power had existed the empire, hegan now to flatter themselves with hopes of a government that similar dupon them thus early.

Bodies, nothing smilled or gained the whole Roman people more the man pointing and relation to Tigellinas. It was not seen how he was in fact already suffering pumishment, not only by the Very terror of retribution which he saw the whole city requiring as a just cibit, but with several incurable diseases also; not to mention those unballowed frightful excesses among impure and Prostitute women, to which, at the very close of life, his level anature clum; and in them gasped out, as it were, its last; these, in the opinion of all reasonable men, being themselves the extremest punishment, and equal to many deaths. But it was fell like a grevance by people in general that he continued yet to see the light of day, who had been the occasion of the less of it to be less if it to

so many persons, and such persons, as had died by his means Wherefore Otho ordered him to be sent for, just as he was continuing his escape by means of some vexels that fay ready for him on the coast next where he lived, in the neighbourhood of Similessa. At first he endexyuncted to carrupt the messenger, by a large sum of money, to favour his design, but when he found this was to no purpose, he made him a counderable a present as it he had really connived at it, only entreating him to stay till he had shaved, and so took that opportunity, and with his razor desyntheth binness?

And while giving the people that most righteous satisfaction of their desires, for humself he seemed to have no sort of regard for any private injuries of his own And at first, to please the populate, he did not rettine to be called Nero in the theatre, and did not interfere when sone persons displayed Nero's statues to public wew. And Clavus Ridus says, imperial letters, such as are sent with courset, went into Spain with the name of Nero affixed adoptively to that of Otho, but as soon he personed this gave offices to the chief and most distinguished citizens, it was

amitted

After he had begun to model the government in this manner, the paid soldiers began to murmur, and endea-oured to make him suspect and chartise the nobility, either really out of a concern for his safety, or wishing, upon this pretence, to stir up trouble and warfare Thus, whilst Cuspinus, whom he had ordered to bring him the seventeenth cohort from Ostia, began to collect what he wanted after it was dark, and was putting the arms upon the waggons, some of the most turbulent cried out that Crispinus was disaffected, that the senate was practising something against the emperor, and that those arms were to be employed against Casar, and not for hun When this report was once set afoot, it got the belief and excited the passions of many, they broke out into violence, some seized the waggons, and others slew Crispinus and two centurions that opposed them, and the whole number of them, arraying themselves in their arms, and encouraging one another to stand by Casar, marched to Rome And hearing there that eighty of the senators were at supper with Otho, they flew into the palace, and declared it was a fair opportunity to take off Cesar's enemies at one atroke A general alarm ensued of an immediate coming sack of the city All were in confusion about the palace, and Otho himself in no small consternation, being not only concerned for the senators (some of whom had brought their wives to supper thither), but also feeling himself

to be an object of alarm and suspicion to them, whose eyes he saw fixed on him in silence and terror. Therefore he gave orders to the prefects to address the soldiers and do their best to pacify them, while he bade the guests rise, and leave by another door. They had only just made their way out, when the soldiers rushed into the room, and called out, "Where are Casar's enemies?" Then Otho, standing up on his couch, made use both of arguments and entreaties, and by actual tears at last, with great difficulty, persuaded them to desist. The next day he went to the camp, and distributed a bounty of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas a man amongst them; then commended them for the regard and zeal they had for his safety, but told them that there were some who were intriguing among them, who not only accused his own elemency, but had also misrepresented their loyalty; and, therefore, he desired their assistance in doing justice upon there. To which, when they all consented, he was satisfied with the execution of two only, whose deaths he know would be regretted by no one man in the whole army,

Such conduct, so little expected from him, was regarded by some with gratitude and confidence; others looked upon his behaviour as a course to which necessity drove him, to gain the people to the support of the war. For now there were certain tidings that Vitellius had assumed the sovereign title and authority, and frequent expresses brought accounts of new accessions to him; others, however, came, announcing that the Pannonian, Dalmatian, and Messian legions, with their officers, adhered to Otho. Ere long also came favourable letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, generals of two formidable armies, the one in Syria, the other in Judza, to assure him of their firmness to his interest: in confidence whereof he was so exalted, that he Brote to Vitellius not to attempt anything beyond his post; and offered him large sums of money and a city, where he might live his time out in pleasure and ease. These overtures at first were responded to by Vitellius with equivocating civilities; which soon, however, turned into an interchange of angry words; and letters passed between the two, conveying bitter and shameful terms of repreach, which were not false indeed, for that matter, only it was senseless and ridiculous for each to assail the other with accusations to which both alike must plead guilty. For it were hard to determine which of the two had been most profuse. most effeminate, which was most a novice in military affairs, and most involved in debt through previous want of means.

As to the prodigies and apparitions that happened about this

time, there were many reported which none could answer for, or which were told in different ways. Int one which very body extendly saw with their eyes, as the statue, in the capitol, of victory carried in a formation of the their statue, and the statue of their any longer, and a second, that cause Caser's statue in the sland of Tiber, without any entitionals or wind to account for it, turned round from the spatial and the statue of their statue, and the statue of their statue of the statue of their statue of the statue o

But when news was now brought that Coccus and Valens, commanding for Vitelluus, had possessed themselves of the Alag. Otho sent Dohabella (a patrician, who was suspected by the soldiery of some eval purpose), for whatever reason, whether it were lear of him or of any one else, to the town of Aquiunum, to gree encoursgement there, and proceeding then to choose which of the magnetates should go with him to the war, he named amongst the rest Lourus, Vitelluis's brother, without distinguishing him by any new marks either of his favour or dupleasure. He also took the greatest presentions for Vitelluis's wide and mother, that they might be safe, and free from all apprehension for themselves. He made Elvans Sahnus, Verspasans a brother, governor of Rome, either in honour to the memory of Nero, who had advanced him formerty to that command, which Gallab and taken away, or else to show his confidence in Vespasan by his layour to his brother.

After be came to Erwillum, a town of Italy near the Po, he stayed behan hamelf, and ordered the army to march under the combine of Marnu Crisus, Suctional Phalinum, Galius, and Suman, all near of exprence and reputation, but unable to carry them plans and purposes into effect, by treason of the unique manufacture of the stray, which would take orders from some broader than the superior whom they themselves had made their mater. It was a fine enemy under much better discipling, the soldiers there also being hamply and disobdenit upon the same account, but they were rore expensed and used to hard work, whereas Othès enim were soft from their long easy bring and

lack of service, having spent most of their time in the theatres and at state shows and on the stage; while moreover they tried to cover their deficiencies by arrogance and vain display, pretending to decline their duty, not because they were unable to do the thing commanded, but because they thought themselves above it. So that Spuring had like to have been cut in pieces for attempting to force them to their work; they assailed him with insolent language, accusing him of a design to betray and ruin Casar's interest; pay, some of them that were in drink forced his tent in the night, and demanded money for the expenses of their journey, which they must at once take, they said, to the emperar, to complain of him.

However, the contemptuous treatment they met with at Placentia did for the present good service to Spuring, and to the cause of Otho. For Vitellius's men marched up to the walls, and unbraided Otho's upon the ramparts, calling them players, dancers, idle spectators of Pythian and Olympic games, but novices in the art of war, who never so much as looked on at a battle; mean souls, that triumphed in the beheading of Galba, an old man unarmed, but had no desire to look real enemies in the face. Which reproaches so inflamed them that they kneeled at Spuring's feet, entreated him to give his orders, and assured him no danger or toil should be too great or too difficult for them. Whereupon when Vitellius's forces made a vigorous attack on the town, and brought up numerous engines against the walls, the besieged bravely repuised them, and, repelling the enemy with great slaughter, secured the safety of a noble city, one of

the most flourishing places in Italy.

Besides, it was observed that Otho's officers were much more inoffensive, both towards the public and to private men, than those of Vitellius; among whom was Cecina, who used neither the language nor the apparel of a citizen, an overbearing, foreignseeming man, of gigantic stature, and always dressed in trews and sleeves, after the manner of the Gauls, whilst he conversed with Roman officials and magistrates. His wife, too, travelled along with him, riding in splendid attire on horsehack, with a chosen body of cavalry to excert her. And Fabius Valens, the other general, was so rapacious that neither what he plundered from enemies, nor what he stole or got as gifts and bribes from his friends and allies, could satisfy his wishes. And it was said that it was in order to have time to raise money that he had marched so slowly that he was not present at the former attack. But some lay the blame on Cacina, saying, that out of a desire to

gain the victory by himself before Fabius joined him, he committed sundry other errors of lesser consequence, and by engaging unseasonably and when he could not do so thoroughly, he were nearly beginth all to nun.

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When he found himself beat off at Placentia, he set off to

attack Cremona, another large and nich city. In the meantime, Annus Gallus marched to join Spurms at Placentia, but having intelligence that the siege was raised, and that Cremona was in danger, he turned to its relief, and encamped just by the enemy, where he was daily reinforced by other officers Cecina placed a strong ambush of heavy infantry in some rough and woody country, and gave orders to his horse to advance, and if the enemy should charge them, then to make a slow retreat, and draw them into the snare. But his stratagem was discovered by some deserters to Celsus, who attacked with a good body of horse, but followed the pursuit cautiously, and succeeded in surrounding and routing the troops in the ambuscade, and if the infantry which he ordered up from the camp had come soon enough to sustain the horse, Cacina's whole army, in all appearance, had been totally routed But Paulinus, moving too slowly, was accused of acting with a degree of needless caution not to have been expected from one of his reputation So that the soldiers incensed Otho against him, accused him of treachery, and boasted loudly that the victory had been in their power, and that if it was not complete, it was owing to the mismanagement of their generals, all which Otho did not so much believe as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve He therefore sent his brother Titianus, with Proculus, the prefect of the guards, to the army, where the latter was general in reality, and the former m appearance Celsus and Paulmus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority or power At the same time, there was nothing but quarrel and disturbance amongst the enemy, especially where Valens commanded, for the soldiers here, being informed of what had happened at the ambuscade, were enraged because they had not been permitted to be present to strike a blow in defence of the lives of so many men that had died in that action, Valens, with much difficulty, quieted their

fury, after they had now begun to throw massies at him, and
oputting his camp, posed Gercias,
About this time, Othe came to Bedracoun, a little town near
Cemona, to the camp, and called a council of war, whire Proculsu and Trains declared for groung battle, while the soldiers
were fished with their late success, saying they ought not to

lose their time and opportunity and present height of strength, and wait for Vitellius to arrive out of Gaul. But Paulinus told them that the enemy's whole force was present, and that there was no body of reserve behind; but that Otho, if he would not be too precipitate, and chose the enemy's time, instead of his own, for the battle, might expect reinforcements out of Mossia and Pannonia, not inferior in numbers to the troops that were already present. He thought it probable, too, that the soldiers, who were then in heart before they were joined, would not be less so when the forces were all come up. Besides, the deferring battle could not be inconvenient to them that were sufficiently provided with all necessaries: but the others, being in an enemy's country, must needs be exceedingly straitened in a little time. Marius Celsus was of Paulinus's opinion; Annius Callus, being absent and under the surgeon's hands through a fall from his horse, was consulted by letter, and advised Otho to stay for those legions that were marching from Mossia. But after all he did not follow the advice; and the opinion of those that declared for a battle prevailed.

There are several reasons given for this determination, but the most apparent is this; that the pratorian soldiers, as they are called, who serve as guards, not relishing the military discipline which they now had begun a little more to experience, and longing for their amusements and unwarlike life among the shows of Rome, would not be commanded, but were eager for a battle, imagining that upon the first onset they should carry all before them. Otho also himself seems not to have shown the proper fortitude in bearing up against the uncertainty, and, out of effeminacy and want of use, had not patience for the calculations of danger, and was so uneasy at the apprehension of it that he shut his eyes, and like one going to lesp from a precipice, left everything to fortune. This is the account Secundus the rhetorician, who was his secretary, gave of the matter. But others would tell you that there were many movements in both armies for acting in concert; and if it were postible for them to agree, then they should proceed to choose one of their most experienced officers that were present; if not, they should convene the senate, and invest it with the power of election. And it is not improbable that, neither of the emperors then bearing the title having really any reputation, such purposes were really entertained among the genuine, serviceable, and sober-minded part of the soldiers. For what could be more odious and unreasonable than that the evils which the Roman

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ctizens had formerly thought it so lamentable to inflict upon each other for the sake of a Sylls or a Marius, a Cesar or a Fompey, should now be undergone anew, for the object of letting the empire pay the expenses of the gluttony and interperance of Vitellaus, or the looseness and effemmacy of Othor it is thought that Celsus, upon such reflections, protracted the time in order to a possible accommodation, and that Otho pushed on things to an extremity to prevent it.

pushed on tungs to an extremity of presence.

He himself returned to Birschlum, which was another false step, both because he withdrew from the combatants all the motives of respect and deare to gain his favour which his presence would have supplied, and because he weak-ened the army by detaching some of his best and most faithful troops for his horse and foot quarks

borse and foot guards.

About the same time also happened a skurmish on the Pa,
As Ceans was laying a bridge over it, Otho's men attacked
him, and tried to prevent it. And when they did not succeed,
on their putting into their boats torchwood, with a quantity of
sulphur and pitch, the wind on the river suddenly caught their
material that they had prepared against the enemy, and blew it
mus light. First same smoke, and then a clear faine, and the

men, getting into great confusion and jumping overboard, upset the boats, and put themselves ludicrously at the merry of their enemies. Also the Germans attacked Otho's gladiators upon a

small stand in the river, rooted them, and killed a good many. All which made the solders at Bedracum fill of singer, and eageness to be led to battle. So Procules led them out of Bedracum to a place fifty indices off, where he pitched his camp so ignorantly and with such a radiculous want of fortseght that the soldiers suffered extremely for want of water, though it was the spring inne, and the plants all around were fall of running streams and rivers that never dined up. The next dark her proposed to attack the enemy, first makings a march of not less than a hundred farlongs, but to this Paulimos dynected, saying they ought to want, and not inmediately after a journey engage men who would have been standing in their runns and arranging themsels et for battle at their lessure, whilst they were making a long march, with ell their beasts of hurden and there camp followers to enumber them a Sa the generals.

were arguing about this matter, a Numidian courier came from Othe with orders to lose no time, but give battle Accordingly they consented, and moved. As soon as Cacina had notice, he was much surprised, and quitted his post on the river to hasten to the camp. In the meantime, the men had armed themselves mostly, and were receiving the word from Valens; so while the legions took up their position, they sent out the best of their horse in advance.

Otho's foremost troops, upon some groundless rumour, took up the notion that the commanders on the other side would come over; and accordingly, upon their first approach, they saluted them with the friendly title of fellow-soldiers. But the others returned the compliment with anger and disdainful words; which not only disheartened those that had given the salutation, but excited suspicions of their fidelity amongst the others on their side, who had not. This caused a confusion at the very first onset. And nothing else that followed was done upon any plan; the haggage-carriers, mingling up with the fighting men, created great disorder and division; as well as the nature of the ground, the ditches and pits in which were so many that they were forced to break their ranks to avoid and go round them, and so to fight without order, and in small parties. There were but two legions, one of Viteliius's called The Ravenous, and another of Otho's, called The Assistant, that got out into the open out-spread level and engaged in proper form, fighting, one main body against the other, for some length of time. Othe's men were strong and bold, but had never been in battle before; Vitellius's had seen many wars, but were old and past their strength. So Otho's legion charged boldly, drove back their opponents, and took the eagle, killing pretty nearly every man in the first rank, till the others, full of rage and shame, returned the charge, slew Orfidius, the commander of the legion, and took several standards. Varus Alfenus, with his Batavians, who are the natives of an island of the Rhine, and are esteemed the best of the German horse, fell upon the gladiators, who had a reputation both for valour and skill in fighting. Some few of these did their duty, but the greatest part of them made towards the river, and, falling in with some cohorts stationed there, were cut off. But none behaved so ill as the pratorians, who, without ever so much as meeting the enemy, ran away, broke through their own body that stood, and put them into disorder. Notwithstanding this, many of Otho's mee routed those that were opposed to them, broke right into them, and forced their way to the camp through the very middle of their conquerors.

As for their commanders, neither Proculus nor Paulinus ventured to re-enter with the troops; they turned aside, and avoided the soldiers, who had already charged the miscarriage upon their

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officers Annus Gallus received into the town and milled the scattered parties, and encouraged then with an assurance that the battle was a drawn one and the vectory had in many parts been thems Marius Colans, collecting the officers, urged the public interest, Otho himself, if he were a brace man, would not, after such an expense of Roman blood, attempt anything further, expecually since even Galos and Scapis, though the iberty of Rome was then at take, had been accused of being too produgal of so many brave tries lives as were lost in Africa, rather than submit to Genar after the battle of Phansaha had gone against them. For though all persons are qually subject to the squirce of fortune, yet all good men have one advantage she ennoated draw which is this, to act reasonably under misfortunes.

This language was well accepted amongst the officers, who sounded the private soldiers, and found them desirous of peace. and Titianus also gave directions that envoys should be sent in order to a treaty And accordingly it was agreed that the conference should be between Celsus and Gallus on one part, and Valens with Czema on the other As the two first were upon their journey, they met some centurions, who told them the troops were already in motion, marching for Bedriacum, but that they themselves were deputed by their generals to carry proposals for an accommodation Celsus and Gallus expressed their approval, and requested them to turn back and carry them to Crecina However, Celsus, upon his approach, was in danger from the vanguard, who happened to be some of the horse that had suffered at the ambush For as soon as they saw hun, they hallooed, and were coming down upon him, but the centurions came forward to protect him, and the other officers crying out and briding them desist, Cecuna came up to inform himself of the tumult, which he quieted, and giving a friendly greeting to Celsus, took him in his company and proceeded towards Bednacum Titianus, meantime, had repented of having sent the messengers, and placed those of the soldiers who were more confident upon the walls once again, bidding the others also go and support them But when Ceesna rode up on his horse and held out his hand, no one did or said to the contrary, those on the walls greeted his men with salutations, others upened the gates and went out, and mingled freely with those they met, and instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual shaking of hands and congratulations, every one taking the oaths and submitting to Vitellius,

This is the account which the most of those that were present

at the battle give of it, yet own that the disorder they were in. and the absence of any unity of action, would not give them leave to be certain as to particulars. And when I myself travelled afterwards over the field of battle, Mestrus Florus, a man of consular degree, one of those who had been, not willingly, but by command, in attendance on Otho at the time. pointed out to me an ancient temple, and told me, that as he went that way after the battle, he observed a heap of bodies piled up there to such a height that those on the top of it touched the pinnacles of the roof. How it came to be so, he could neither discover himself nor learn from any other person; as indeed, he said, in civil wars it generally happens that greater numbers are killed when an army is routed, quarter not being given, because captives are of no advantage to the conquerors; but why the carcasses should be heaped up after that manner is not easy to determine.

Otho, at first, as it frequently happens, received some uncertain rumours of the issue of the hattle. But when some of the wounded that returned from the field informed him rightly of it, it is not, indeed, so much to be wondered at that his friends should bid him not give all up as lost or let his courage sink; but the feeling shown by the soldiers is something that exceeds all belief. There was not one of them would either go over to the conqueror or show any disposition to make terms for himsalf, as if their leader's cause was desperate; on the contrary, they crowded his gates, called out to him the title of emperor, and as soon as he appeared, cried out and entreated him, catching hold of his hand, and throwing themselves upon the ground. and with all the moving language of tears and persuasion, besought him to stand by them, not abandon them to their enemies, but employ in his service their lives and persons, which would not cease to be his so long as they had breath; so urgent was their zealous and universal importunity. And one obscure and private soldier, after he had drawn his sword, addressed himself to Otho: "By this, Casar, judge our fidelity; there is not a man amongst us but would strike thus to serve you;" and 50 stabbed himself. Notwithstanding this, Otho stood serene and unshaken, and, with a face full of constancy and composure, turned himself about and looked at them, replying thus: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, which gives me such proofs of your affection, is prejerable even to that on which you saluted me emperor; deny me not, therefore, the yet higher satisfaction of laying down my life for the preservation of so many brave

men, in this, at least, let me be worthy of the empire, that is, to die for it I am of opmon the canciny has neither gaused an entire nor a desiree viewtery. I have advice that the Morsina army is not many days' pourney distant, on its march to the Adratic, Ania, Syra, and Egypt, and the legions that are serving against the Jews, declare for us, the senate is also with us, and the wase and chaltene of our opponents are in nor power, but also, it is not an defence of Inly against Hamibal or Fyrths or the Cimbin that we fight, Romans combat here against Romans, and, whether we conquer or are defeated our country suffers and we commat a runer "vectory, to whichever it full, is gained at her expense. Believe it many times over, I can die with more honour that I can regis For I cannot see at all how I should do any such great good to my country by gaining the victory, as I shall by dying to establish peace and unanimally and to save Italy from such another unhappy day."

A soon as the had done, he was resolute seanst all manner.

of argument or persuasion, and taking leave of his friends and the senators that were present, he bade them depart, and wrote to those that were absent, and sent letters to the towns, that they might have every honour and facility in their journey Then he sent for Cocceius, his brother's son, who was yet a boy. and bade him be in no apprehension of Vitellius, whose mother and wife and family he had treated with the same tenderness as his own, and also told him that this had been his reason for delaying to adopt him, which he had meant to do as his son, he had desired that he might share his power, if he conquered, but not be involved in his ruin if he failed " Take notice." he added, "my boy, of these my last words, that you neither too negligently forget, nor too zealously remember, that Casar was your uncle." By and by he heard a tumult amongst the soldiers at the door, who were treating the senators with menaces for preparing to withdraw, upon which, out of regard to their safety, he showed himself once more in public, but not with a gentle aspect and in a persuading manner as before, on the contrary, with a countenance that discovered indignation and authority, he commanded such as were disorderly to leave the place, and was not deobesed

It was now evening, and feeling thirsty, he drank some water, and then took two daggers that belonged to him, and when he had carchily examined their copes, he had one of them down, and put the other in his robe, under his arm, then called his servant, and distributed some money amongst them, but not

inconsiderately, nor like one too lavish of what was not his own; for to some he gave more, to others less, all strictly in moderation, and distinguishing every one's particular merit. When this was done, he dismissed them, and passed the rest of the night in so sound a sleep that the officers of his bed-chamber heard him snore. In the morning, he called for one of his freedmen, who had assisted him in arranging about the senators, and hade him bring him an account if they were safe. Being informed they were all well and wanted nothing, "Go then said he, "and show yourself to the soldiers, lest they should cut you to pieces for being accessory to my death." As soon as he was gone, he held his sword upright under him with both his hands, and falling upon it expired with no more than one single groan to express his sense of the pang, or to inform those that waited without. When his servants, therefore, raised their exclamations of grief, the whole camp and city were at once filled with lamentation: the soldiers immediately broke in at the doors with a loud cry, in passionate distress, and accusing themselves that they had been so negligent in looking after that life which was laid down to preserve theirs. Nor would a man of them quit the body to secure his own safety with the approaching enemy; but having raised a funeral pile, and attired the body, they bore it thither, arrayed in their arms, those among them greatly exulting who succeeded in getting first under the bier and becoming its hearers. Of the others, some threw themselves down before the body and kissed his wound, others grasped his hand, and others that were at a distance knelt down to do him obcisance. There were some who, after putting their torches to the pile, slew themselves, though they had not, so far as appeared, either any particular obligations to the dead, or reason to apprehend ill-usage from the victor. Simply, it would seem, no king, legal or illegal, had ever been possessed with so extreme and vehement a passion to command others, as was that of these men to obey Otho. Nor did their love of him cease with his death; it survived and changed ere long into a mortal hatred to his successor, as will be shown in its proper place.

They placed the remains of Otho in the earth, and maked over them a monument which neither by its size nor the pomp of its isscription might excite heatility. I myself have seen it, at Bixillem; a plain structure, and the columb only this: To the memory of Marcus Otho. He died in his thirty-eighth year, dire a short rein of about three months, his death being as

Pintarch's Laves 510 much applauded as his life was consured, for if he lived not better than Nero, he died more nobly The soldiers were displeased with Pollio, one of their two prefects, who bade them immediately swear allegiance to Vitellius, and when they understood that some of the senators were still upon the spot, they made no opposition to the departure of the rest, but only disturbed the tranquillity of Virginius Rufus with an offer of the government, and moving in one body to his house in arms, they first entreated him, and then demanded of him to accept of the empire, or at least to be their mediator. But he, that refused to command there when conquerors, thought it ridiculous to pretend to it now they were beat, and was unwilling to go as their envoy to the Germans, whom in past time he had com-

pelled to do various things that they had not liked, and for these reasons he slipped away through a private door As soon as the soldiers perceived this, they owned Vitellius, and so got

their pardon, and served Luder Czema

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